

# The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini

## Volume V

**English Translation of Adhyāya Six with  
Sanskrit Text, Transliteration, Word-Boundary,  
Anuvṛtti, Vṛtti, Explanatory Notes,  
Derivational History of Examples, and Indices**

**Rama Nath Sharma**

This volume of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini* contains English translation of *adhyāya* six. It includes Sanskrit text of individual *sūtras* with their transliteration, word-boundaries, indication of inflectional endings and formation of compounds. Each *sūtra* is also furnished with *anuvṛtti*, *vṛtti*, examples, detailed explanatory notes and complete derivational history of examples cited by the *Kāśikāvṛtti*.

Explanatory notes are presented to facilitate proper understanding of individual *sūtras*, especially in view of their formulation, interpretation, application and relative placement. An attempt has been made to sort out and explain pertinent issues, as raised and discussed by major commentaries. The appendix contains major derivations, in addition to nearly five hundred derivations discussed in the text under individual *sūtras*.

This volume is the fifth of a planned six-volume study. The sixth, and the last volume, of this series will cover the *sūtras* of *adhyāyas* seven and eight.



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# THE AṢṬĀDHYĀYĪ OF PĀNINI

VOL. V

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF *ADHYĀYA* SIX WITH  
SANSKRIT TEXT, TRANSLITERATION, WORD-BOUNDARY,  
ANUVṚTTI, VṚTTI, EXPLANATORY NOTES, DERIVATIONAL  
HISTORY OF EXAMPLES, AND INDICES

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त्रिपाठिवर्याय मुदान्विताय  
रामप्रसादाय सुसज्जनाय ।  
समर्प्य ग्रन्थं गुरवेऽहिताय  
मोदं समाप्नोति ममाद्य चेतः ॥

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## Preface

This present is the fifth of a planned six-volume study on the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini. It also constitutes the fourth of the five translated volumes of the *sūtrapāṭha* of Pāṇini, with Sanskrit text, transliteration, word-boundary, *anuvṛtti*, *vṛtti*, English translation, examples, explanatory notes, derivations and appendices. This volume contains the English translation of *adhyāya* six of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. The sixth and final volume of this series will soon be published with the English translation of *adhyāyas* seven and eight.

I have, as usual, relied very heavily on commentarial sources for sorting out issues relative to rule-formulation, interpretation, application and order. Three *prakriyā* texts, the *Rūpāvatāraḥ* of Dharmakīrti, the *Prakriyākaumudī* of Rāmacandra and the *Siddhāntakaumudī* of Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita have served as primary sources for derivational details. I have benefited most from the *Vyākaraṇa-mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali, the *Vyākaraṇa-candrodaya* of Charudeva Shastri, the *Kāśikāvṛtti*, with the commentaries Nyāsa of Jinendrabuddhi and Padamañjarī of Haradatta (with Hindi translation of Jayashankar Lal Tripathi), the *Aṣṭādhyāyī-bhāṣya* of Prajñā Devī, the Hindi translation of the *Laghukaumudī* of Varadarāja made by Bhimsen Shastri and the *Siddhāntakaumudī* of Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita with the *Tattvabodhinī* of Jñānendra Sarasvatī and the *Bālaṃanoramā* of Vāsudeva Dikṣita. I have mostly followed the *Kāśikāvṛtti* with the Nyāsa and Padamañjarī for explanatory notes. Nyāsa, Padamañjarī and *Siddhāntakaumudī* have proved extremely valuable in clarifying issues relative to rule interaction and conflict resolution. Here again, under individual rules, I have taken detours to accomodate remarks of cultural importance.

I have presented some general derivational processes at the beginning of the appendix so that repetition can be minimized. I have still offered major derivational details to illustrate issues, mostly in the text but also in the appendix. Frequent references to derivational details of earlier volumes have proved very helpful. I have, at places, found accentual rule-interaction somewhat puzzling. My reader must remain on guard in deciding issues pertaining to accentuation.

I fully realize the extremely complex nature of the form and content of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. I am also aware of my own limitations due to which I may have made many mistakes. I realize that there are many typographical errors in the earlier volumes. I have tried not to repeat them in this volume. As I get closer to the completion of my last volume I feel much confident in presenting the complexity of issues based on explanatory details of commentaries. It also reinforces my belief that *Kāśikā*, with the Nyāsa and Padamañjarī, is the best source for fully understanding intricacies of the

*Aṣṭādhyāyī*. I have already started preparing a more detailed version of volume one and do intend to edit volumes two and three. I shall greatly appreciate my reader's comments in this regard.

I must express my deep sense of indebtedness to authors of works I have regularly consulted. My brother Narendra and Pandit Ramaprasad Tripathi, both of the Sampurnanand Sanskrit University at Varanasi, have always been generous to me in giving of their time. I dedicate this volume in memory of Pandit Ramaprasad Tripathi who recently passed away. I had the honor of studying the entire *Kāśikāvṛtti* with its commentaries Nyāsa and Padamañjarī with him. I have, as usual, greatly benefited from the writings of Professor George Cardona.

The University of Hawaii, especially through its Research Council and Research Relations, has been very generous in supporting my research endeavors with grants. The American Institute of Indian Studies still remains the major funding agency to support this entire project. I must express my special thanks to Chris Bopp without whose programming skills I could never find my way out of the software jungle. These volumes owe a great deal to him. These volumes owe the most to my wife Kamala who has always protected me from many of my duties as a householder. I could not do this project without her support. Finally, I must thank Mr. Devendra Jain, Director of Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, my publishers, in dealing with this often not-so-very organized Pandit.

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# Abbreviations

abl	ablative
acc	accusative
<i>Ait</i>	<i>Aitareya Brāhmaṇa</i>
<i>bu</i>	<i>bahuvrīhi</i>
<i>cat tat</i>	<i>caturthī-tatpuruṣa</i>
<i>DP</i>	<i>Dhātupāṭha</i>
dat	dative
du	dual
<i>dv</i>	<i>dvandva</i>
<i>dvi tat</i>	<i>dviṭhī-tatpuruṣa</i>
<i>itar dv</i>	<i>itaretara-dvandva</i>
fem	feminine
<i>GP</i>	<i>Gaṇapāṭha</i>
gen	genitive
inst	instrumental
int	internal
<i>KS</i>	<i>Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā</i>
<i>Kāś</i>	<i>Kāśikāvṛtti</i> of Vāmana Jayāditya with Padamañjarī (PM) of Haradatta and the Nyāsa of Jinendrabuddhi
loc	locative
<i>LS</i>	<i>Laghuśabdenduśekhara</i> of Nāgeśa
<i>Mbh</i>	<i>Vyākaraṇamahābhāṣya</i> of Patañjali with the Pradīpa of Kaiyaṭa and the Udyota of Nāgeśa
masc	masculine
<i>nañ tat</i>	<i>nañ-tatpuruṣa</i>
neut	neuter
nom	nominative
<i>PM</i>	<i>Padamañjarī</i> of Haradatta as <i>Kāśikāvṛtti</i> of Vāmana Jayāditya
<i>Pś</i>	<i>Paribhāṣenduśekhara</i> of Nāgeśa
<i>Pai</i>	<i>Paippalāda Saṃhitā</i>
<i>pbh</i>	<i>paribhāṣā</i>
<i>pañc</i>	<i>pañcamī</i>
pl	plural
<i>RV</i>	<i>Rgveda</i>
<i>SK</i>	<i>Vaiyākaraṇasiddhāntakaumudī</i> of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita with the Bālaṃanoramā of Vāsudeva Dīkṣita, and the Tattvabodhinī of Jñānendra Sarasvatī
<i>SP</i>	<i>Sūtrapāṭha</i>
<i>sam</i>	<i>samāhāra</i>

sg	singular
Śs	Śivasūtra
Śat	Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa
ṣaṣ	ṣaṣṭhī
Tai	Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa
tat	tatpuruṣa
tr/tṛt	tṛtīyā
VP	Vākyapadīya of Bhartṛhari with the commentary Ambākartrī of Paṇḍita Raghunātha Śarmā
vt	vārttika
Vāj	Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā
voc	vocative

# Adhyāya Six

## PĀDA ONE

### 6.1.1 एकाचो द्वे प्रथमस्य

*ekāco dve prathamasya*  
*/ekācaḥ 6/1 = ekaḥ ac yasya (bv.), tasya;*  
*dve 1/2 prathamasya 6/1/*  
*ekācaḥ prathamasya iti dve vaktavyaḥ*

That which is formed with the first vowel of an item is iterated to become two.

#### EXAMPLES:

*jajāgāra* ‘... remained awake’  
*papāca* ‘... cooked’  
*iyāya* ‘... returned’  
*āra* ‘... departed’

1. This is an *adhikāra*. Consequently, one must read it in all subsequent rules prior to 6.1.13 *śyañ samprasāraṇam*. . . . The true status of this rule must be determined since it also orders an operation (*vidhi*). Is this an *adhikāra*, merely to be carried to, and intended for, other rules (*parārtha*)? Is this an operational rule, especially since it specifies both an operand (*kāryin*; *prathamasya ekācaḥ*) as well as an operation (*kārya*; *dve*)? For, in this sense, it can be treated as intended for itself (*svārtha*). Since this rule must be carried to facilitate iteration in subsequent rules, it can also be accepted as intended for other rules (*parārtha*). An exclusive *svārtha* ‘intended for itself’ interpretation will create problems. For, in that case, this rule alone will be control iteration of all formal units. This, in turn, will make rules such as 6.1.8 *liṭi dhātor*. . . . vacuous (*vyartha*). A restrictive (*niyama*) interpretation of 6.1.8, i.e., *liṭi dhātor eva*. . . . ‘iteration of a *dhātu* only when *LIT* follows’, can save it from being vacuous. But a restrictive interpretation cannot be favored over a non-restrictive operational interpretation because of the *paribhāṣā* (84): *vidhinīyamasambhave vidhir eva jyāyān* ‘operational interpretation alone is to be preferred where restrictive and operational interpretations both become possible’. For reasons of connection with subsequent rules (*uttarottara-sambandha*), this rule is to be accepted as an *adhikāra*, different in nature from general operational rules.

2. Note that *ekācaḥ* of this rule, when read with 6.1.8 *liṭi dhātor*. . . , is interpreted as a qualifier to *dhātoḥ*. A question is raised whether *ekācaḥ* should be treated as a coreferential (*samānādhikaraṇa*), or else as a non-coreferential

(*vyadhikaraṇa*), qualifier to *dhātoḥ*. If it is accepted as a coreferential qualifier, iteration will then be permitted only in connection with monosyllabic roots such as *paṭh* and *pac*, etc. For, *dhātoḥ*, when qualified with *ekācaḥ*, will yield the interpretation: 'of a root which consists of a single vowel'. Iteration, with this interpretation, will be blocked in connection with *jāgr* 'to wake up' and *danidrā* 'to be poor', etc., which consist of more than a single vowel. It is to remove such difficulties that the genitive in *dhātoḥ* is interpreted as denoting the part (*avayava*) of a whole (*avayavin*). That is, *ekācaḥ* will be interpreted as a unit constituted by a single vowel which, in turn, forms part of a root. Of course, *ekācaḥ* will be further modified by *prathamasya*. This will yield the interpretation as follows: 'a unit constituted by the first vowel which is also a part of the root'. This will clear the way for iteration in *jāgr*, etc. To conclude, genitive of *dhātoḥ* is interpreted as denoting a part-whole relationship (*avayavāvayavabhāva*). Additionally, *ekācaḥ* is not accepted as a coreferential qualifier.

The compound in *ekācaḥ* cannot be interpreted as a *karmadhāraya-tatpuruṣa* with the analyzed form: *ekāś cāsau ac ca* 'that (a root) which is also constituted by a single vowel'. For, it will then allow iteration only in the context of roots such as *iK* 'to remember', and *iÑ* 'to study', etc. Iteration in contexts where the root is not constituted by anything but a single vowel will be blocked. That is, *pac*, etc., cannot avail iteration to yield *papāca*, etc. It is to remove this difficulty that *ekāc* is interpreted as a *bahuvrīhi* compound with the analyzed form: *eka ac yasmin* 'that in which there is only one vowel'. Application of rules such as 7.4.70 *halādi śeṣaḥ* and 7.4.61 *śarṣṭūrvaḥ khayayāḥ* also attest to this. For, retention of a unit constituted by the first vowel, and deletion of the others, is possible only when a *bahuvrīhi* interpretation is accepted. A *tatpuruṣa* interpretation will block application of 7.4.70 *halādi śeṣaḥ*.

The *bahuvrīhi* of *ekāc* is further interpreted as a *tadguṇa-saṃvijñāna*. Consider the following sentences:

- (i) *citravāsasam ānaya*  
'bring one who wears colorful clothes'
- (ii) *citragum ānaya*  
'bring one who owns brindled cows'

The first is a type of *tadguṇa-saṃvijñāna-bahuvrīhi* where its constituent *citra* of *citravāsas* is paraphrased with the verb. That is, when the person is brought, colorful (clothes) are also brought. The second sentence is a type of *atatadguṇa-saṃvijñāna-bahuvrīhi* where *citra* of *citra(gu)* is not construed with the verb. That is, when the person is brought the cows are not brought along. The word *ekāc*, when interpreted as an *atatadguṇa-saṃvijñāna-bahuvrīhi*, will not permit *aC* to be paraphrased with the verb. It will then refer to something not qualified with a single vowel. This interpretation, however, is not desired. A *tadguṇasaṃvijñāna* interpretation is favored because it will

permit *aC* of *ekāC* to be paraphrased with the verb. *Kāśikā*, therefore, states that *sācasyaiva dvirvacanaṃ bhavati* 'iteration applies only to that which consists of an *aC*'. The part-whole relationship of the genitive in *dhātoḥ* further strengthens this interpretation (*Kāś.*: *abhyantaraś ca samudāye* 'vayavo bhavati sācasyaiva dvirvacanaṃ bhavati').

3. A question is raised as to why the focus of iteration with the qualification of *ekāC*, for example in *pac*, cannot be accepted as *pa*, or *ac*, as opposed to *pac*. If there were more vowels then, in view of the qualification of *prathamasya*, determining a formal unit constituted by the first among vowels will be a lot easier. A root such as *pac*, for reasons of containing a single vowel, poses a problem in determining the object of iteration. In the absence of any clear solution the entire unit *pac* undergoes iteration. Iteration of *pa*, *a*, or *ac*, will yield undesired results. Besides, *pa*, *a*, or *ac*, as separate units constituted by a single vowel will not produce the cognition of the whole, i.e., verbal root *pac*. For, cognition will take place one at a time. That is, *pac* will be cognized as *ekāC* on one occasion, and *a*, and *pa*, on the other. Even if cognition is accomplished simultaneously (*yugapat*), it will not be possible to accomplish iteration simultaneously. It is in view of this that *Kāśikā* states: *sakṛc chāstraṇpravrṭtyā sāvayavaḥ samudāyo* 'nugrhyate' a whole with its parts alone is (to be) accepted (as focus of iteration) since the rule which allows iteration applies only once'.

A question is raised as to why iteration of more than one unit constituted by the single vowel of a larger whole cannot be accomplished in turn (*paryāya*). That is, why can *pac*, *pa*, *ac* and *a* cannot go through iteration in turn, as may be desired in view of the usage. This application of iteration in turn is not free of trouble. Consider the derivation of *nenekti*, *neniktaḥ* and *nenijati*, the third singular, dual and plural present indicative active forms of *ñij* 'to nourish', derived from: *ñij* + *Śap* + *ti*, *ñij* + *Śap* + *tas* and *ñij* + *Śap* + *jhi*, respectively. The focus of iteration in case of *ñij* should be correctly accepted as *ñij*. If  $(n \rightarrow n)i$ , as against *ñij*, is accepted as focus of iteration, deriving the first two forms will not pose any problem. We will thus get:  $(n \rightarrow n)ij + (LAT \rightarrow tiP) = nij + ŚaP + ti(P \rightarrow \phi) = nij + (ŚaP \rightarrow ŚLU) + ti \rightarrow (ni + nij) + \phi + ti = ninijti \rightarrow n(i \rightarrow e) n(i \rightarrow e) jti \rightarrow nene(j \rightarrow k) ti = nenekti$ . Similar rules can be applied in deriving *neniktaḥ*. But the derivation of *nenijati* will run into problems, especially in view of the assignment of the term *abhyasta* (6.5.1 *ubhe abhyastam*). Given *ninij* + *jhi*, rule 6.1.5 *ubhe abhyastam* will assign the term *abhyasta* to *nini*. But this term is desired to be assigned to *ninij*. For, 7.1.4 *ad abhyastāt* will be blocked from introducing *at* as a replacement for *jh* which, in turn, occurs after *nini*, an *abhyasta*. Everything will be in order if *ninij* is termed *abhyasta*. Thus,  $(n \rightarrow n)ij + (LAT \rightarrow jhi) \rightarrow nij + jhi \rightarrow nij + (ŚaP) + jhi \rightarrow nij + (ŚaP \rightarrow ŚLU) + jhi \rightarrow nij + nij + jhi \rightarrow ni(j \rightarrow \phi) + nij + jhi = ninij + (jh \rightarrow at)i = ninij + at + i = n(i \rightarrow e) nij + at + i = nenijati$ . Note that, in addition to deletion of *Śap* by *ŚLU* (2.4.75 *jhotyādibhyaḥ śluḥ*), and iteration (6.1.10 *ślaw*; 6.1.1

*ekāco dve prathamasya*) with assignment of the terms *abhyāsa* (6.1.4 *pūrvō bhyāsaḥ*) and *abhyasta* (6.1.5 *ubhe abhyastam*), we also apply 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ* and 7.4.75 *ñijām trayānām guṇaślau*. Thus, *nij* + *nij* → *ni* (*j*=ϕ) + *nij* = *ninij* and *ninij* → *n* (*i*→*e*) *nij* = *nenij*.

Refer to the appendix for derivational details.

### 6.1.2 अजादेर्द्वितीयस्य

*ajāder dvitīyasya*

/ *ajādeḥ* 6/1 = *aj ādir yasya* (*bv.*), *tasya*;

*dvitīyasya* 6/1/

(*ekācaḥ dve* #1)

*ac ādir yasya dhātoḥ tadavayavasya dvitīyasyaikāco dve bhavataḥ*

That which is constituted by the second vowel of a root beginning with a vowel is iterated to become two.

#### EXAMPLES:

*aṭiṭṣati* ‘... wishes to constantly wander about’

*aṣiṣati* ‘... wishes to eat’

*ariṣati* ‘wishes to go’

1. This rule offers iteration of a formal unit which may be constituted by the second vowel (*dvitīyasya*) of a verbal root beginning with a vowel (*ajādeḥ*). Our preceding rule offers iteration of a formal unit constituted by the first vowel of a verbal root. This rule is thus treated as an exception to the first, and hence, blocks its application. A question is raised against such blocking. That is, the question of blocking arises only when there is a possibility (*sambhava*) of application of both the rules (*ubhayaprasaṅga*). But how is it possible for these two rules to apply at the same time. These rules offer different objects of application. An argument in favor of application in turn (*paryāya*) cannot be made since *anabhyāsasya* of 6.1.8 *liṭi dhātor unabhyāsasya* will negate it.

2. Consider *aṭiṭṣati* ‘... wishes to constantly wander about’, where verbal root *aṭiṭṣa* derives from *aṭ* + *saN*, via augment *iṭ*, replacement of *s* of *saN* with *ṣ* (*ṣatva*; 8.3.59 *ādeṣa pratyayayoḥ*) and iteration of *ṭṣ* of *aṭ* + *i*(*ṭ*) + (*s*→*ṣ*) *a*(*N*)) = *aṭṣa*, to produce *aṭiṭṣa* subsequent to the application 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*. This same is also true of *aṣiṣati* ‘... wishes to eat’, where iteration of 6.1.9 *sanyaṇoḥ* is similarly regulated by provisions of this rule.

Note that deriving *ariṣati* still may pose some problem. For example, *ariṣa* of verbal root *ariṣa*, yet another derivate of *saN*, derives from *ṛ* + *saN*, where *ṛ* is replaced with its *guṇa* counterpart *a* followed immediately with *r* (*rapara*; 1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*). We then derive *ar* + *iṭ* + *sa* = *ariṣa*, where rule 7.2.74 *smipūnrañjasām sani* orders augment *iṭ* to yield *ariṣa*. Rule 1.1.59 *dvivracanē* *ci* will create a problem in connection with focus of iteration. That

is, it will not allow *r* to be replaced with its *guṇa* counterpart *ar*, and hence, *r* alone will be included as part of the focus of iteration.

It is argued that rule 1.1.59 *dvirvacane'ci* applies only when a vowel (*aC*) is to serve as a condition (*nimitta*) for iteration (*dvitva*). What forms the condition of iteration here is *saN*, and not the *r*, or its replacement in *ar*. Rule 6.1.9 *sanyaṇoḥ* orders this iteration with reference to a unit ending in *saN*. One may also argue here in favor of treating augment *iṭ* as part of condition of iteration. But this cannot be done because *saN*, and not the augment, is the condition for iteration. To this one can argue that, since *iṭ* is an augment (*āgama*), and hence, it is part of *saN*, *iṭ* can also be treated as a condition for iteration. For, What forms as part of *saN* can also be accepted as *saN*. But *i* will also be a part of *is*, the operand (*kāryin*). A *kāryin*, while going through the application of a rule (*kārya*), cannot be treated as a condition for an operation ordered by that rule (*Kās.*: *na ca kāryī nimittatvenāśriyate*; also see *paribhāṣā* (11): *kāryam anubhavan hi kāryī na nimittatvenāśriyate*). This is why the negation of *guṇa* or *vṛddhi*, as per 1.1.5 *kniti ca*, does not apply on *śayitā*. For, *śiN* cannot be treated as *nimitta* for its own *guṇa*.

It is explained that a *nimitta* must follow, and as such, it should serve as a condition for an operation to take place on what precedes. Close to this context of iteration (*dvirvacana*), its *nimitta* must constitute a right condition (*PM*: *yatra parato dvirvacanam ucyate tad eva tasya nimittam iti bhāvaḥ*). Augment *iṭ* here does not follow. It is included within the operand (*kāryī*), instead.

3. Note that *Kāśikā* accepts *ajādeḥ* as a *bahuvrīhi* compound ending in *ṣaṣṭhi* 'genitive'. It thus serves as a qualifier to *dhātoḥ* and yields the interpretation: *ajāder dhātor avayavasya dvitīyasyaikāco dve bhavataḥ* 'iteration in place of a unit formed by the second vowel of a root beginning with a vowel'. *Kāśikā* mentions that some also interpret *ajādeḥ* as a *karmadhāraya* compound (*ac cāsau ādiś ca*) used here with the *pañcamī* 'ablative'. This, as has also been discussed by the *Mahābhāṣya*, yields the interpretation: *ajāder uttarasya ekāco dve bhavataḥ* 'two in place of a unit constituted by a vowel occurring after an initial vowel'. The *pañcamī* of *ajādeḥ*, when interpreted in view of 1.1.67 *tasmād ity uttarasya*, will automatically make the second vocalic unit as focus of iteration. This will then render *dvitīyasya* useless. Or else, *dvitīyasya* can then be accepted as used for clarity (*Kās.*: *teṣāṃ 'dvitīyasya' iti viśpaṣṭārtham draṣṭavyam*).

### 6.1.3 न न्द्राः संयोगादयः

*na ndrāḥ saṃyogādayaḥ*

/ *na*  $\phi$  *ndrāḥ* 1/3 = *naś ca daś ca raś ca* (*itar. dv.*); *saṃyogādayaḥ* 1/3 =

*saṃyogasya ādayaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*)/

(*ekācaḥ dve* #1 *dvitīyasya* #2)



*nakāra-dakāra-rephā dvitīyaikāco' vayavabhūtāḥ saṃyogādayo na dvir ucyante*  
 The initial *n*, *d* and *r* of a consonant cluster which occurs as part of a syllable formed with the second vowel of a vowel-initial root is not iterated to become two.

EXAMPLES:

*undidiṣati* '... wishes to make (it) wet'

*aḍḍidiṣati* '... wishes to press charges'

*arciciṣati* '... wishes to worship'

1. This rule does not permit iteration of a unit which is formed with the second vowel of a root, and also contains a conjunct beginning with *n*, *d*, or *r*. Thus, *undidiṣati* '... wishes to make (it) wet' is derived from (*undi* + *sa*) + *LAṬ*, where *n* occurs as part of the conjunct *nd*, occurring as initial of *ndi*, a unit formed with the second vowel *i* of verbal root *undi*. This rule, for purposes of iteration, will not permit *n* as part of a unit constituted by *i* of *undi*. Consequently, we will get: *undi* + *di* + *sa*, where *di* alone is accepted as constituting the focus of iteration. Note that *d* cannot be excluded from becoming a part of the unit which forms the focus of iteration. For, *d* does not occur after an *aC* and is also not the initial of a conjunct. Note also that this rule is not formulated for blocking iteration. It only blocks, for purposes of iteration, the initial *n*, *d*, or *r*, of a conjunct from becoming part of a unit constituted by the second vowel. The twin conditions of *saṃyogādi* 'initial of a conjunct' and *ajādi* 'that which begins with a vowel' are both important. Consequently, this negation will not be applicable in deriving *prāṇiṇiṣati*, where *n* of *pra* + *an* + *iT* + *saN* → *prāṇiṣa* does not occur at the beginning of a conjunct. Though it does occur after a vowel. What goes through iteration is *niṣ*, a form constituted by the second vowel *i*, where *n* is also replaced with *ṇ* (*ṇatva*). Refer to the appendix for further derivational details.

2. Some also bring *ajādeḥ* from the previous rule and interpret it as a *karmadhāraya* (*ac cāsau ādiś ca*) compound ending in *pañcamī* 'ablative'. This blocks the *n* of *indri* from being included within the unit *dri*, formed by the second vowel *i*. For, in view of a *pañcamī* interpretation, *n* will be occurring immediately after *i*, here characterized as *ajādi*. The iteration of *d* which occurs after *n* cannot be blocked since it does not occur immediately after *i*. Incidentally, *indidrīṣati* '... wishes to wish for Indra' derives from *indidrīṣa* + *LAṬ*. Verbal root *indidrīṣa* itself derives from *indrīya* + *saN*, where *indrīya* is paraphrased as *indram icchatī*, parallel to (*indra* + *am*) + *KyaC*. Deriving *indidrīṣa*, from *indrīya* + *saN*, involves introducing augment *iT*, deleting *a* of *indrīya* (6.4.48 *ato lopah*) and iteration of *dri* of *indrīṣa*. The *n* of the root cannot be accepted as part of *ndri*, a unit formed by *i*, the second vowel of *indrīṣa*. For, *n* happens to occur immediately after *i*, a unit beginning with a vowel. Since *d* of *dri* is intervened by *n*, *dri* is treated as a unit fit for iteration. See the appendix for additional derivational details.

Note that a *karmadhāraya* interpretation of *ajādeḥ* is favored over a *bahuvrīhi* so that a desired form such as *indidrīyīṣati* can be derived. The *Mahābhāṣya* discusses these interpretations both. *Kāśikā* seems to be favoring the *bahuvrīhi* interpretation. Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita (*SK: ādibhūtād acaḥ parasya dve na staḥ*) prefers the *karmadhāraya* interpretation.

3. A series of *vārtikas* offer additional negations (*pratiśedha*) relative to iteration:

- (i) Iteration of a *b* occurring at the beginning of a conjunct must also be negated (*bakārasyaāpy ayaṃ pratiśedho vaktavyaḥ*). Thus, we get *ubjīṣati*. This negation applies only when the root is specified as *ubj*, with *b* in its *upadhā*. It does not apply when the root is specified as *udj*, with *d* in its *upadhā*. But then its *d* must be replaced with *b* to derive forms such as *ubjitā* and *ubjitum* (cf.: *bakārasya pratiśedho vaktavyaḥ. yadā bakāropadha ubjir upadiśyate tadāyaṃ pratiśedhaḥ. dakāropadhopadeśe tu na vaktavyaḥ. batvaṃ tu tadā dakārasya vidhātavyam*).
- (ii) Iteration of a *r* which is followed by *y* should not be stated (*yakāra-parasya rephasya pratiśedho na bhavatīti vaktavyam*). Thus, we get *arīryate* where iteration finds its scope in *arya*, derived from *r + yaN* (cf. *aṭyartīśūṇoṭinām upasaṃkhyānam*) through *guṇa* (7.4.30 *yañi ca*). Note that *r* occurs at the beginning of a conjunct (*ry*) which, in turn, occurs after *a* (*ajādi*). A negation of iteration which obtains here is blocked at the strength of this *vārtika*. Incidentally, the source of this *vārtika* is doubtful.
- (iii) Iteration of the third of *īṣya* should also be stated (*īṣyates tṛtīyasya dve bhavata iti vaktavyam*). But a question remains: iteration of the third of what? Some say of the third consonant (*vyañjanasya*). This would then yield an example such as: *īṣyīṣati*. But others state that iteration affects a unit formed with the third vowel (*tṛtīyasyaikācaḥ*). This would then yield *īṣyīṣati*, etc.
- (iv) A *vārtika* recommends iteration of a unit formed with the third vowel when verbal roots listed in the *kaṇvādi* group are involved (*kaṇvādīnām tṛtīyasyaikāco dve bhavata iti vaktavyam*). This will give us *kaṇḍūyīṣati* and *asūyīṣati*.
- (v) Yet another *vārtika* allows iteration of a unit formed with the third vowel of a denominative, only optionally (*vā nāmadhātūnām tṛtīyasyaikāco dve bhavata iti vaktavyam*). This will offer us: *asūyīṣati* and *asīśūyīṣati*.
- (vi) Yet others claim that iteration applies as desired in connection with denominatives (*yatheṣṭam nāmadhātuṣu iti vaktavyam*). Thus observe: *puputṛīṣati*, *putitṛīṣati*, *putṛīyīṣati*, *puputitṛīyīṣati* (\*doubtful) and *putṛīyīṣati*.

## 6.1.4 पूर्वोऽभ्यासः

*pūrvō' bhyāsaḥ*

*/pūrvah 1/1 abhyāsaḥ 1/1/*

*(dve #1)*

*asmin prakaraṇe ye dve vihitē tayoṛ yaḥ pūrvō' vāyavaḥ so'*

*bhyāsasamjño bhavati*

The first of the two elements gotten via iteration is termed *abhyāsa*.

## EXAMPLES:

*pāpāca* 'he cooked'

*pīpakṣati* '... wishes to cook'?

*pāpacyate* '... cooks over and over again'?

*juhōti* '... offers ritual sacrifice'

*apīpacat* '... had something cooked'

1. The word *abhyāsa* is commonly used in the sense of *āvṛtti* 'repetition'. As such, the first of the two units in iteration cannot be assigned the term *abhyāsa*. For, in this section of iteration, the term *abhyāsa* can apply only to the subsequent second (*parasya*). It is to make this term also applicable to the first of the two units in iteration that the word *pūrvā* is specified (*Nyāsa: abhyāsaśabdo'yaṁ āvṛttivacano loke prasiddha eva. sa cāvṛttiḥ prathamasya nāstīty abhyāsa-pradeśeṣu parasyagrahaṇe prāpte pūrvasya grahaṇaṁ yathā syād ity evam arthaṁ tasyābhyāsasamjñā vidhīyate*). This word is here used in the sense of *avayava* 'part of a whole' as we find in expressions such as *pūrvam kāyasya paśoḥ* 'the front part of the body of an animal'. But we always refer to parts with reference to a whole which contains them. Since no specification of this whole is made in this rule we must carry the *anuvṛtti* of *dve*. But a whole with reference to which *pūrvā* can specify a part must be given in the genitive (*śaṣṭhī*) with the denotatum of *avayavin* 'whole'. That is, as a *śaṣṭhī* marking the relationship understood by the genitive in *vṛkṣasya*, as in *vṛkṣasya śākhā* 'branch of a tree'. The nominative of *dve* cannot mark such a relationship.

Commentators state that the nominative of *dve* will be transformed into genitive for availing this desired meaning (*Nyāsu: arthād vibhaktiviparīṇāmo bhavati*). That is, the genitive of *dvayor* will enable us to interpret the rule as: *dvayor yaḥ pūrvas tasyābhyāsasamjñā vidhīyate* 'the term *abhyāsa* is applied to that which is first of the two'. If this is how we apply the term *abhyāsa* to the first of the two then this term can also apply in the domain of 8.1.1 *sarvasya dve*. Commentators state that this can be blocked in view of close contextual proximity (*pratyāsatti*). That is, this term will be applicable only to that first which forms part of the two units brought about by applying an operational rule from this section dealing with iteration (*Kāś: tatra pratyāsatter asmin-prakarāṇe ye dve vihitē tayoṛ yaḥ pūrvō' vāyavaḥ so' bhyāsasamjño bhavati*). Inci-

dentally, the maxim (*nyāya*) of *vyāpti* ‘pervasion’ will focus on instances of iteration. The maxim of *pratyāsatti* will limit the scope of operation on hand.

Is it necessary to state that *pūrva* denotes *avayava* here? Yes, because *pūrva* can also denote *vyavasthā* ‘definite arrangement or position (east)’.

2. The scope and function of assigning the term *abhyāsa* can best be illustrated by provisions of rules such as 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*, 7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ*, 7.4.83 *dirgho’ kitaḥ*, 7.4.93 *sanvallahuni* . . . , 7.4.94 *dirgho laghoḥ*, 8.4.54 *abhyāse car ca*, etc. Thus, 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ* allows an *abhyāsa* to retain only that unit which is formed with its initial consonant. Consequently, in *pac* of *pac + pac*, where the first *pac* is termed an *abhyāsa*, only *pa* is retained. Rule 7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ* orders that a velar stop and its corresponding nasal, as well as the *h* of an *abhyāsa*, be replaced with its palatal counterpart. Rule 7.4.83 *dirgho’ kitaḥ* orders a long vowel as a replacement for the short of an *abhyāsa*, other than one marked with *Kas* an *it*. Rule 7.4.93 *sanvallahuni* . . . , under special circumstances, extends operations similar to a *saN* affix to the *abhyāsa* of an item termed *aṅga* (1.4.13 *yasmāt pratyayavidhis* . . . ; 6.4.1 *aṅgasya*). Our next rule orders a long vowel replacement for the *laghu* ‘light’ vowel of an *abhyāsa* in situations similar to that of the preceding rule. A replacement denoted by the abbreviatory term *caR*, and *jaś* as well, is ordered by 8.4.54 *abhyāse car ca* for sounds denoted by *jhaL*, and contained within an *abhyāsa*.

### 6.1.5 उभे अभ्यस्तम्

*ubhe abhyastam*

/ubhe 1/2 abhyastam 1/1/

(*dve* #1)

*ye dve vihite te ubhe api samudite abhyastasaṃjñe bhavataḥ*

The two thus obtained via iteration are together termed *abhyasta*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*dadati* ‘third plural active *LAṬ* of *dā* (to give)’

*dadat* ‘nominative singular of *dā* ending in *ŚatR*’

*dadhatu* ‘third plural active *LOṬ* of *dhā* (to place, hold)’

1. Jinendrabuddhi states that *ubhe* is specified so that the nominatum (*saṃjñin*) of the term *abhyasta* could be clearly specified (*Nyāsa ad Kāś.*: *iha ubhegrahaṇam saṃjñānirdeśārtham kriyate*). Haradatta strongly objects to this interpretation. He states that bringing *dve*, via *anuvṛtti*, itself specifies the nominatum (*PM*: . . . *na tu saṃjñānirdeśārtham. dve ity asyānuvṛtyaiva saṃjñānirdeśasya siddhatvād ity arthaḥ*). But a question still remains. Why make a specification by *ubhe* when its purpose can be served by carrying the *anuvṛtti* of *dve*? A specification by *ubhe* becomes necessary since, in its absence, the term *abhyasta* will be assigned to the two constituents of iteration individually. Although a term applying to the two constituents singly, may still be

treated as applying to them also as a group, such a practice is not desired. That is, this term assignment can not be likened to a situation where the action of bringing two people individually in response to *dvāv ānīyetām* 'let the two be brought' may also be interpreted as bringing them both at once. The word *ubhe* is used in this rule so that *abhyasta* could not be assigned to constituents of iteration individually. This term is assigned, instead, to the two constituents both at once. This is what a specification by *ubhe* accomplishes (Nyāsa: *yad ubhegrahaṇam na kriyeta tadā pratyekam abhyastasaṃjñā pravartate. pratyekam api hi tayoh pravartamānāsau pravṛttaiva bhavati tathā hi dvāv ānīyetām ity ukte pratyekam apy ānayanena tāv ānītau bhavataḥ. tasmāt samudāye saṃjñāyāḥ pravṛttir yathā syād ekaikasya mā bhūd ity evam artham ubhe grahaṇam*).

### 6.1.6 जक्षित्यादयः षट्

*jakṣa ityādayaḥ ṣaṭ*

/ *jakṣa* (1/1 deleted) *ityādayaḥ* = *ity ādiḥ yeṣām* (bv.); *ṣaṭ* 1/1/ (*abhyastam* #5)

*jakṣa ity ayaṃ dhātur ity ādayaś ca ṣaṭ dhātavo' bhyastasaṃjñā bhavanti. seyaṃ saptaṇām dhātūnām abhyastasaṃjñā vidhīyate*

Verbal root *jakṣA* 'to eat, laugh', and an additional six roots enumerated thereafter, are also termed *abhyasta*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*jakṣati* 'they eat'

*jāgrati* 'they are awake'

*daridrati* 'they are poor'

*cakāśati* 'they glow'

*śāśati* 'they instruct'

(These examples are all third personal plural derivatives of present indicative active)

1. The expression *jakṣityādayaḥ* '*jakṣA* and roots enumerated thereafter' refers to seven verbs, namely *jakṣA* 'to eat, laugh', *jāgr* 'loss of sleep, to remain awake', *daridrā* 'state of things going bad, be poor', *cakāśR* 'to glow', *śāśR* 'to instruct', *dīdhīN* 'to glow' and *vevīN* 'to move'. Assigning the term *abhyasta* serves diverse purposes. For example, an item termed *abhyasta* is marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.189 *abhyastānām ādiḥ*). It also ends up losing its *ā* when followed by a *sārvadhātuka* affix marked with *K* and *N* (6.4.112 *śnābhyastayor ātaḥ*). It can also prove instrumental in blocking augment *nUM* (7.1.78 *nābhyastāc chatuḥ*). More directly, it is to enable the assignment of the term *abhyasta* that these roots are explicitly cited. This rule thus facilitates the application of rule 7.1.4 *ad abhyastāt*. Refer to derivational details under examples of relevant rules.

Our preceding rule assigns the term *abhyasta* to both elements of an iterated string. This rule assigns the term to specific roots which have not gone through iteration. Refer to the appendix for additional derivational details.

### 6.1.7 तुजादीनां दीर्घोऽभ्यासस्य

*tujādīnām dīrgho' bhyāsasya*

/ *tujādīnām* 6/3 = *tuja ādir yeśām* (bv);

*dīrghaḥ* 1/1 *abhyāsasya* 6/1/

*tujādīnām abhyāsasya dīrghaḥ sādthur bhavati*

A long (*dīrgha*) comes in place of the *abhyāsa* of *tujA* and other roots of its kind.

#### EXAMPLES:

*tūtujānaḥ* 'quick, eager'

'nominative singular of *tuj* + (*LIT*→*KānaC*) = *tūtujāna*'

*māmahānaḥ*

'nominative singular of *maha* + (*LIT*→*KānaC*) = *māmahāna*'

*gnādvān dādihāra*

*dādihāra* 'third singular of *dhr* + (*LIT*→*tiP*→*NaL*)'

*svadhām mīmāya*

'third singular of *mi* + (*LIT*→*tiP*→*NaL*) = *mīmāya*'

... *tūtāva* 'third singular of *tu* + (*LIT*→*tiP*→*NaL*)'

*tutoja* ... 'a form of classical usage'

1. The word *ādi* is here used in the sense of *prakāra* 'kind'. That is, a *vyavasthā* 'fixed' meaning of *ādi* will refer to roots which are found in *sūtras* and in different groups of verbal listings. It is, therefore, desired that *ādi* be interpreted as meaning *prakāra* 'kind, like'. Consequently, *tujādi* will here refer to roots of the kind of *tuj* where its *abhyāsa* is not subjected to lengthening (*dīrgha*) by any specific rule application (*na vihitah*) but is seen in usage (*dṛśyate*). Such seen-in-usage lengthening is accepted as correct (*sādhu*). Thus, consider *tūtujānaḥ* which derives from *tuj* + *LIT*→ (*tutuj* + (*LIT*→*KānaC*)) = *tutuj* + *āna* where no rule replaces the *u* of the first *tu* with its long counterpart. Our present rule considers this replacement valid based upon usage. It does not order the replacement. Incidentally, one must also infer *LIT* from the *abhyāsa* specification of this rule. For, that is where iteration and assignment of the term *abhyāsa* is possible. Incidentally, a long vowel in the Vedic forms of these roots is seen only when some particular affix follows (*Kāś.*: *dīrghaś caiśām chandasi pratyayaviśeṣe eva dṛśyate, tato'nyatra na bhavati*). Refer to the appendix for full derivational details.

*Nyāsa* indicates that this rule is unnecessary. That is, all examples are Vedic and hence, 3.1.85 *vyatyayo bahulam* can account for its provision. A

*vyatyaya*, other than that of a *sUP*, can thus be accepted as an expatiation (*prapañca*) of 3.1.85 *vyatyayo bahulam*.

### 6.1.8 लिटि धातोरनभ्यासस्य

*liṭi dhātor anabhyāsasya*

/liṭi 7/1 dhātoḥ 6/1 anabhyāsasya (nañ tat.) 6/1/

(*ekāco dve prathamasya* #1 *ajāder dvitīyasya* #2)

*liṭi parato anābhyāsasya dhātor avayavasya prathamasyaikāco*

*dvitīyasya vā yathāyogaṃ dve bhavataḥ*

That part of a root which is formed with its first vowel, or is formed with its second if the root begins with a vowel, is iterated to become two if not already iterated, provided affix *LIT* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*papāca* 'third singular active *LIT* of *pac*'

*papāṭha* 'third singular active *LIT* of *paṭh*'

*prorṇunāva* 'third singular active *LIT* of *pra-ṛṇu* (to cover)'

1. This rule offers iteration of a unit of root constituted by its first vowel, or its second if the root begins with a vowel and, of course, when affix *LIT* follows. This iteration is allowed only when the unit constituted by the first or second vowel of a root has not gone through iteration previously. Consider *papāca* which derives from *pac* + (*LIT*→*tiP*) = *pac* + (*tiP*→*NaL*) = *pac* + *a*→*pac* + *pac* + *a*→*pa*(*c*→*ḥ*) + *pac* + *a*→*pa* + *p*(*a*→*ā*)*c* + *a* = *papāca*, where *LIT* is replaced with *NaL*, via *tiP*, and iteration with the assignment of the term *abhyāsa* to first *pac* yields *papac*, through *halādisēsa* 'retention of a unit of *abhyāsa* constituted by its initial consonant'. A replacement in *vṛddhi* for the penultimate vowel of *papac* + *a* finally yields *papāca*. This same also is followed in deriving *papāṭha*. Deriving *prorṇunāva* from *pra* + *ṛṇu* + (*LIT*→*tiP*) = *pra* + *ṛṇu* + (*tiP*→*NaL*) = *pra* + *uṛṇu* + *nu* + *a* involves iteration of the second syllable of the root, i.e., *nu* (6.1.2 *ajāder dvitīyasa*). The *ṇu* of *ṛṇu* is here treated as *nu* (cf. *vācya ṛṇor ṇuvadbhāvaḥ*). This *ṇuvadbhāva* blocks introduction of affix *ām* (3.1.36 *ijādeś ca...*). Note that iteration cannot apply to *u* since the root begins with a vowel. It cannot apply to *r* since 6.1.3 *ndrāḥ samyogādayaḥ* will block it. The *u* + *a* sequence of *pra* + *ṛṇu* is replaced with a single *guṇa* vowel *o* (6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ*), yielding *pror* + *nu* + *a*. We will arrive at the string *pror* + *nu* + *nu* + *a* after iteration, where the *u* of the second *nu* will be replaced with *āv* (6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ*) via its *vṛddhi* counterpart *au* (7.2.115 *aco' ṇṇiti*). Incidentally, a form such as \**prorṇuvāñcakāra* cannot be derived here because affix *ām* (3.1.37 *ijādeś ca gurumato' nṛcchah*) is negated in this context of *ṛṇu* (cf. *vt. ṛṇoteś ca pratīsedho vaktavyaḥ*).

Why can we not apply 7.2.115 *aco' ṇṇiti* to replace the *u* of *nu* of *pror* + *nu* before *NaL*? Rule 1.1.59 *dvirvacane'ci* will block this vocalic replacement.



Thus, a replacement in *vrddhi* will apply to the *u* of the second *nu* of *pror + nu + nu*. Now the question. How could this *vrddhi* apply on the second *nu* when it is not an *aṅga* ending in a vowel? This *nu* comes from iteration and hence is not the *nu* after which *NaL* was introduced (1.4.13 *yasmāt pratyayavidhis . . .*). Commentators accept *dvirvacana* as *dviprayoga* 'repetition'. It is not accepted as *sthāne dvirvacana* 'two utterances in place of one'. That is, the same *nu* after which *NaL* was introduced is repeated.

Yet another question. Why *vrddhi*? Why not *guṇa* of 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārddhadhātukayoḥ*? An application of *vrddhi* will be favored since *NaL* is marked with *N* as an *it*. This will block *guṇa* on the basis of *śiṅhropasthiti-kāntaraṅgātva* 'immediately available internal conditioning' and *alpāpekṣatva* 'minimum dependency'. This same conflict will appear in *pāpāca* and *pāpātha* where *vrddhi* will obtain from 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*. Rule 1.1.59 *dvirvacane* 'ci will again block *ajādeśa* 'vocalic replacement', i.e., *vrddhi*. This kind of interaction between 7.2.115 *aco* 'ñiti and 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārddhadhātukayoḥ* will appear everywhere in connection with derivatives of *LIT*.

2. Why do we have to state 'when *LIT* follows'? So that given *kr + LUT* and *hr + LUT*, from which one derives *kartā* and *hartā*, we do not end up applying iteration. Why is iteration restricted to apply only to a root (*dhātoḥ*)? Consider *somam indrāya sunvire* where *sunvire* is a derivate of verbal root *ṣuṇ* 'to press out juice' used with *LIT*. The final form of *sunvire* is derived with augment *śnu*. Iteration is blocked here since a root such as *ṣu*, when used with *śnu*, is not accepted as a root (*dhātu*). Iteration will here be blocked because of interruption (*vyavadhāna*) caused by the augment (*vikaraṇa*). One may also invoke *chandasi bahulam* 'variously in the Vedic' (see *Nyāsa*) to block this iteration. The restriction that only a root not gone through iteration should go through iteration before *LIT* is also important. For, *nonū + LIT* where *nonū* derives from *n(u→o) + n(n→ū) + (yaN→LUK)* with affixal denotatum of repeated action (*paunaḥpunya*), will not qualify. Incidentally, *yaN* is deleted by 2.4.74 *guṇo yañ luki*. Our final derivate *nonāva* also entails *tiP→NaL* where, given *nonū + a*, *ū* is replaced with *ā* via its *vrddhi* counterpart *au*. Recall that iteration has already been accomplished in deriving *nonū*. Since the root has already gone through assignment of the term *abhyāsa*, iteration again cannot be allowed in *nonū + LIT*.

3. The following *kārikā* verse has consequences for derivatives of this rule:

*nakārajāv anusvārāpañcamau jhali dhātuṣu/  
sakārajāḥ śakāraś ca rasāt ṭavargaḥ ṭavargajāḥ/ /*

'*anusvāra* and nasals which occur in a root before a sound denoted by *jhaL* are understood as having their origin in *n*.

A palatal *ś* before *c* is to be understood as having its origin in a dental *s*. A retroflex stop of the *ṭ*-series which occurs after *r* and *ṣ* should be accepted as having its origin in the stop of the dental *t*-series.'

Note that the iteration of *nu* of *ur̥nu*, especially after its impaired association with *r* results in *ṇ* replaced with *n*, can be accomplished with the help of this *kārikā*. One thus does not have to resort to a statement such as *vācya ūr̥nor ṇuvadbhāvaḥ*.

4. A *vārttika* proposal under this rule makes iteration optional in case of the Vedic usage (*dvivacanaprakaraṇe chandasi veti vaktavyam*). Thus, we get examples such as *jāgāra/jajāgāra; dāti/dadāti; dātu/dadātu*, etc.

#### 6.1.9 सन्यङोः

*sanyaṇoh*

/sanyaṇoh 6/2/

(*ekāco dve prathamasya #1 ajāder dviṭīyasya #2 dhātor anabhyāsasya #8*)

*sanantasya yañantasya cānabhyāsasya dhātor avayavasya*

*prathamasyaikāco dviṭīyasya vā yathāyogaṃ dve bhavataḥ*

That part of a root which is formed with its first vowel, or is formed with its second if the root begins with a vowel, is iterated to become two if not already iterated, provided the root ends in affixes *saN* and *yaN̄*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*pipakṣati* 'third singular active present of *pac* + *saN* = *pipakṣa*'

*pipatiṣati* 'third singular active present of *pat* + *saN*

*arīṣati* 'third singular active present of *r̥* + *saN* = *arīṣa*'

*undidiṣati* 'third singular active present of *undī* + *saN* = *undidiṣa*'

*pāpacyate* 'third singular present middle of *pac* + *yaN̄* = *pāpacya*'

*aṭātyate* 'third singular present middle of *aṭ* + *yaN̄* = *aṭātya*'

*yāyajyate* 'third singular present middle of *yaj* + *yaN̄* = *yāyajya*'

*arāryate* 'third singular present middle of *r̥* + *yaN̄* = *arārya*'

*pror̥ṇonūyate* 'third singular present middle of *pror̥ṇonūya*'

*lolūyīṣate* 'third singular present middle of *lūN̄* + *yaN̄* = *lolūya*'

1. This rule orders iteration again of a non-*abhyāsa* unit constituted by the first or second vowel of a verbal root, provided the same ends in affixes *saN* and *yaN̄*. Our earlier rules order iteration for a root which occurs before *LIT* and has not gone through iteration. The word *sanyaṇoh* is genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) dual (*dvivacana*). The *anuvṛtti* of *dhātor anābhyāsasya* is still valid. Consequently, the non-*abhyāsa* unit which is here required to go through iteration must be part (*avayava*) of a root which has not gone through iteration. Additionally, the root must also end in affixes *saN* and *yaN̄*. Needless to say that units formed by the first or second vowel of a root will form the focus of iteration.

2. Note that *sanyaṇoh* is interpreted as ending in genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*), and not in the locative (*saptamī*). This, in consonance with *pratyayagrahaṇe*

*tadantagrahaṇam* (Paribh. 24) yields the interpretation ‘... the root which ends in affixes *saN* and *yaN*’. A locative interpretation will yield the following meaning: ‘... the root when affixes *saN* and *yaN* follow’. Clearly then the locative interpretation will permit iteration, for example, in *aṭ + sa(N → φ)* = *aṭ + sa*. The result will be a wrong string: \**aṭ + aṭ + sa*. Our correct string should be *aṭi + aṭ + sa* which results from iteration of a unit formed with the second vowel of the root. For, verbal root *aṭ* begins with a vowel. This second vowel of the root is gotten from introduction of augment *iṭ* (*iḍāgama*). We thus get *aṭ + saN* → *aṭ + i + sa* → *aṭi + ṭi + sa*. If one accepts the locative interpretation then the base, i.e., *aṭ*, will form the focus of iteration under the condition of following suffixes, i.e., *saN* and *yaN*. Consequently, augment *iṭ*, because it will then be intervened by affix *saN*, cannot be part of iteration (PM ad Kās.: *saptamīpakṣe tu sanyaṇoḥ parataḥ pūrvasya dhātor dvirvacanaṁ bhavaty ity ayam arthaḥ syāt, tataś ca sanbhaktasyeṭo dvirvacanaṁ na syāt*...). Iteration will be blocked here since augment *iṭ*, the second vowel before *saN*, will no longer be available. The *i* of *iṭ* will become a part of *saN*, the affix which follows. Besides, a locative interpretation will create problems in cases where affixal deletion, for example deletion of *yaN*, has taken effect. Iteration in such instances will then apply to an *aṅga* before the affix which has gone through deletion. One cannot here invoke *pratyayalakṣaṇa* ‘characteristic affixal operations take place even when the affix is deleted (1.1.62 *pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam*)’ since 1.1.63 *na lumatāṅgasya* will block it. Invoking *pratyayalakṣaṇa* in case of a genitive interpretation to introduce *iṭ* to a base which has lost its *yaN* does not create any problem. For, that base, through *pratyayalakṣaṇa*, will still have *yaN* as its final part. Refer to the *Tattvabodhinī* ad SK for further details.

3. Note that iteration involves two formal possibilities as foci: (a) a formal unit constituted by the first vowel of the base, or (b) a formal unit constituted by the second vowel of the base. This context of iteration also involves two affixes *saN* and *yaN*. Shall we then establish some kind of *yathāsamkhyā* ‘assignment of equivalency in accord with enumeration of equal number of elements in two sets (1.3.10 *yathāsamkhyāṁ anudeaḥ samānām*)?’ Should we say that a formal unit constituted by the first vowel of the base is iterated when affix *saN* is involved; and a formal unit constituted by the second vowel is iterated when affix *yaN* is involved? Since such an interpretation will yield many wrong derivations, especially in examples where affix *yaN* is involved, the idea of *yathāsamkhyā* must be abandoned. For, accepting *yathāsamkhyā* will block introduction of augment *nīK* to *vañcU*, etc. (7.4.84 *nīgvañcus-ramsudhvamsubhramsu*...) when a deleted *yaN* follows (Nyāsa ad Kās.: *yadi hy atra yathāsamkhyāṁ abhipretam syāt tadā ‘nīgvañcu’ ityādinā ‘vañcuprabhṛtīnām abhyāsasya yañluko nīgāgamavidhānaṁ nopapadyate*).

Refer to the appendix for derivational details of examples.

## 6.1.10 श्लौ

ślau

/ślau 7/1/

(ekāco dve prathamasya #1 ajāder dviṭiyasya #2 dhātor anabhyāsasya #8)

ślau paratao' nabhyāsasya dhātor avayavasya prathamasyaikāco dviṭiyasya  
vā yathāyogaṃ dve bhavataḥ

That part of a root which is formed with its first vowel, or is formed with its second if the root begins with a vowel, is iterated to become two if not already iterated, provided ŚLU follows the root.

## EXAMPLES:

juhoti 'third singular active present of hu (to call)'

bibhetti 'third singular active present of Āibhī (to fear)'

jihreti 'third singular active present of hrīN (to be shy)'

1. This rule allows iteration of a unit formed with the first or second vowel of a root when ŚLU follows. Recall that roots such as hu 'to call', Āibhī 'to fear' and hrīN 'to blush' are classed in the juhotyādi group. As such, ŚLU comes in place of ŚaP which follows these roots (2.4.75 juhotyādibhyaḥ śluḥ). But how can ŚLU form a right condition for iteration when it has gone through non-appearance (adarśana). How could ŚaP which has gone through non-appearance (adarśana) be still made to reappear and follow? It is possible via upacāra 'assumed application' which will enable a replacement (ādeśa), in our present context ŚLU, to be acceptable as the item it replaced (sthānin), i.e., ŚaP. ŚLU can thus form the right condition of iteration by way of ŚaP it replaced (Nyāsa ad Kāś.: sthāninah paratvāt tasyāpi taddvāreṇa paurvāparyam aupacārikam grhītvaiva yuktam uktam ity adoṣaḥ). Refer to the appendix for derivational details of examples.

## 6.1.11 चङि

caṇi

/caṇi 7/1/

(ekāco dve prathamasya #1 ajāder dviṭiyasya #2 dhātor anabhyāsasya #8)

caṇi parato' nabhyāsasya dhātor avayavasya prathamasyaikāco dviṭiyasya  
vā yathāyogaṃ dve bhavataḥ

That part of a root which is formed with its first vowel, or is formed with its second if the root begins with a vowel, is iterated to become two if not already iterated, provided CaN follows the root.

## EXAMPLES:

apīpacat 'third singular active LUN of pāci'

apīpaṭhat 'third singular active LUN of pāṭhi'

āṭṭat 'third singular active LUN of āṭ'

*āśīsat* '... of *āśī*'

*ārdidat* '... of *ārdī*'

1. This rule orders iteration when *CaṆ* follows. Consider the derivation of *apīpacat*, a derivate of *LUN* introduced after verbal root *pac* used with *NiC*. Thus we get: *pac* + *NiC* = *pāc* + *i* = *pāci* where affix *NiC* is introduced after verbal root *pac* by 3.1.26 *hetumati ca*. The long replacement (*dirgha*) for the short *a* of *pac* is accomplished by 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*. Affix *LUN* can now be introduced after a newly derived verbal root *pāci* (3.1.23 *sanādyantā dhātavaḥ*). A subsequent introduction of augment *aṭ* will yield *aṭ* + *pāc* + *i* + *LUN* → *a* + *pāc* + *i* + *LUN* → *a* + *pāc* + *i* + *CLI* + *LUN* → *a* + *pāc* + *i* + (*CLI* → *CaṆ*) + *LUN* = *a* + *pāc* + *i* + *a* + *LUN*, where *CLI* is introduced after *pāci* (3.1.43 *cli luṇi*) when *LUN* follows. This *CLI* is then replaced with *CaṆ* (3.1.48 *ṇisridrumbhyāḥ kartari caṇ*) under the right condition of *LUN* with the denotatum of *kartṛ* 'agent'. Iteration now becomes applicable under the provision of this rule. However, deletion of the causal affix *i* (*NiC*; *ṇilopa*) is also available under the provision of rule 6.4.51 *ner aniṭi*. Both these operations are obligatory (*nitya*). The deletion of *NiC* will apply even when iteration does not apply. Iteration itself will apply even when deletion of *NiC* does not apply. We find a conflict of equal strength between these two operations, especially since their obligatory nature is established based upon *kṛtā-kṛtaprasaṅga*, a context where two operations come into conflict such that performing or not performing one against the other does not alter their obligatory status.

Deletion of *NiC*, since it is to be accomplished by a rule subsequent in order (*para*), will take precedence. Thus we get: *a* + *pāc* + (*i* →  $\phi$ ) + *a* + *LUN*. What follows now is shortening of the penultimate vowel (*upadhāhrasva*; 7.4.1 *ṇau caṇi upadhāyāḥ hrasvaḥ*) *ā* in *pāc*, yielding *a* + *p*(*ā* → *a*)*c* +  $\phi$  + *a* + *LUN*. An application of our present rule for iteration and a subsequent application of 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ* will produce: *a* + *pac* + *pac* +  $\phi$  + *a* + *LUN* → *a* + *pa*(*c* →  $\phi$ ) + *pac* +  $\phi$  + *a* + *LUN*. *Nyāsa* ad *Kāś*. reminds that *upadhāhrasva* and *dvirvacana* are both obligatorily available again, based upon the same notion of *kṛtākṛtaprasaṅga*. Here again the decision is made on the basis of *paratva* 'subsequent order of a rule in conflict'. Rule 7.4.79 *sany atāḥ* will replace the *a* of *pa* with *i* (*itva*). The short *i* will then be replaced with its long counterpart by 7.4.94 *dirgho laghoḥ*. We thus get: *a* + *p*(*a* → *i*) + *pac* + *a* + *LUN* → *a* + *p*(*i* → *i*) + *pac* + *a* + *LUN*.

2. *Kāśikā* recommends that operations on *pac*, etc., when ending in *NiC*, and subsequent to when *CLI* is replaced with *CaṆ*, should be performed in the order of (i) *ṇilopa* 'deletion of *NiC*', (ii) *upadhāhrasva* 'shortening of the penultimate vowel' and (iii) *dvirvacana* 'iteration' ('*pacādinām nyantānām caṇikṛte ṇilopa upadhāhrasvatvaṃ dvirvacanam*' ity *eṣām kāryāṇām pravṛttikramāḥ*). Such a recommendation is made in view of the application of rule 7.4.93 *sanvallahuni caṇpare* 'naglope, whereby *sanvadbhāva* 'operation simi-

lar to when *saN* follows' applies. This extensional application will be available to an *abhyāsa*, in our present case *pa* of *a + pa + pac + φ + a + LUN*, provided *ṆiC*, followed by *CaṆ*, follows, and deletion of a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *aK* has not occurred in the *aṅga*. The *abhyāsa* unit is also constrained by this extensional operation. That is, it should be followed by a light (*laghu*) vowel. The *a* of *pa* in *a + pa + pac + a + LUN* is the required light vowel which follows *pa*. Rule 7.4.79 *sany ataḥ* thus orders *a* replaced with *i* which, in turn, is replaced with *ī* by 7.4.94 *dirgho laghoḥ*. Now the question? A treatment as if *saN* followed (*sanvadbhāva*) allows operations such as *itva* and *dirgha* (*a → i → ī*). The *itva* is made with the understanding that *a* of *pa* is *laghu* 'light'. But why, through *sthānivadbhāva* (1.1.56 *sthānivad ādeṣo' nalvidhau*), this *a* cannot be treated as the long *ā* which it replaced. It has been established under the provisions of rule. 1.1.57 *acaḥ parasmin pūrvavidhau* that such a *sthānivadbhāva* is permitted only relative to an operation which occurs before a non-replacement (*anādiṣṭa*) vowel (*Kāś.*: *yo hy anādiṣṭād acaḥ pūrvas tasya vidhiṃ prati sthānivadbhāvo bhavati*). If *a* of *pa* is considered as if it was *ā* which it replaced then *sanvadbhāva* will be blocked. That is, the *pa* of *a + pa + pac + a + LUN* cannot yield *pī* through *itva* and *dirgha*. A *dvirvacana* 'iteration' performed before *upadhāhrasva* will allow *sthānivadbhāva* and will thus block *sanvadbhāva* which facilitates operations such as *itva* and *dirgha*. One must follow this order of application to facilitate *sanvadbhāva*. That is, iteration follows penultimate shortening (*upadhāhrasva*). Similar problems will be encountered in deriving *āṭitat* if this particular operational order is not followed. Refer to the appendix for derivational details of examples.

### 6.1.12 दासवान्सहवानीमिध्वानच

*dāsvān sāhvān mīdhvānś ca*

/dāsvān 1/1/ sāhvān 1/1/ mīdhvān 1/1 ca φ/

*dāsvān, sāhvān, mīdhvān ity ete śabdās chandasi bhāṣāyām cāvīṣeṣeṇa nipātyante*

Forms such as *dāsvān, sāhvān* and *mīdhvān* are derived via *nipātana*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*dāsvān* 'generous'

*sāhvān balāhakaḥ* 'victorious cloud'

*mīdhvas tokāya* 'generous for offsprings'

1. Forms such as *dāsvān, sāhvān* and *mīdhvān* are all derived in the Vedic, as well as in the Classical usage, via *nipātana*. Our first example *dāsvān* is derived by introducing affix *LIT* after verbal root *dāsR* 'to give'. Affix *LIT* is here replaced with *KvasU* (3.2.107 *kvasuś ca*) Rule 6.1.8 *liṭi dhātor*... is blocked from accomplishing iteration by *nipātana*. This same *nipātana* is

also responsible for blocking introduction of augment  $i\bar{T}$  (7.2.67 *vasve-kājād* . . .). Additional operations follow the pattern of *citavān*. Deriving *sāhvān* also involves *KvasU*, followed by lack of iteration and  $i\bar{T}$ , again via *nipātana*. In addition, *parasmaipada*, as against the required *ātmanepada* after *śah* 'to endure, be angry' and lengthening of the penultimate *a* of the root, are both accomplished via *nipātana*. Deriving *mīdhvān* from *mih* + *KvasU* involves similar lack of operations via *nipātana*. The lengthening of the short *i* of the root, and the  $dh$ -replacement for *h* is also accomplished via *nipātana*.

2. Following *vārttika* proposals have also been made under this rule:

- (i) Verbal roots  $kṛ\bar{N}$ , etc., go through iteration when affix *Ka* follows. We thus get *cakram* and *ciklidam* where affix *Ka* is introduced with the significations of *ghañ* (cf. (*vt.*): *ghañarthe kavidhānam*). A sequence  $kṛ + a$  yields  $kar + kṛ + a$ , through iteration and the application of 7.4.66 *ur at*. An application of 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ* will then produced  $ka + kṛ + a$ . The *k* of *ka* is replaced with *c* by 7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ*. An application of  $ya\bar{N}$  on  $\bar{r}$  will produce *cak*( $\bar{r} \rightarrow \bar{r}$ ) + *a* = *cakra*. Note that a replacement in  $ya\bar{N}$  cannot be accomplished before iteration. For, 1.1.59 *divrivacane'ci* will block it. A derivate of *klid*, i.e., *ciklida*, is similarly derived;
- (ii) Verbal roots *carI*, *call*, *patI* and *vadI* go through iteration before affix *aC*. The *abhyāsa* of these verbal roots also gets augment  $\bar{a}K$ . The application of 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ* is then blocked since introducing augment  $\bar{a}K$  and applying 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ* removes the difference between the replacement and augment. Affix *aC* is introduced with the denotatum of *kartṛ* of 3.1.134 *nandigrahi-ṣacādy*. . . . A string such as  $car + a$  will yield  $car + \bar{a} + car + a = carācara$ , through iteration and introduction of augment  $\bar{a}$  to the *abhyāsa*. Note that specifying the augment with long  $\bar{a}$  blocks shortening and 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*. This same applies to other examples such as *calācalaḥ*, *patāpataḥ* and *vadāvadaḥ*;
- (iii) These preceding derivates are also made optional through yet another *vārttika* proposal. That is, an absence of iteration, etc., will produce *carah* 'goer', *calaḥ*, *pataḥ* and *vadaḥ* (*veti vaktavyam*);
- (iv) A *vārttika* proposal is also made to derive *ghanāghanaḥ* with the introduction of affix *aC* after verbal root *han* 'to kill'. This *vārttika* especially provides for a  $gh$ -replacement for *h* of the *abhyāsa*. The following *h* is replaced with  $gh$  by 7.3.55 *abhyāsāc ca*. Thus,  $han + han + a \rightarrow han + \bar{a}(K) + han + a \rightarrow (h \rightarrow gh)an + \bar{a} + han + a \rightarrow ghan + \bar{a} + (h \rightarrow gh)an + a = ghanāghana$ , through iteration and introduction of augment  $\bar{a}K$ ;
- (v) A derivate of causal verbal root *pāṭi* is derived as *pāṭūpaṭaḥ* by introducing affix *aC*. Deletion of  $\bar{N}$  and iteration, followed by augment  $\bar{u}K$  introduced to the *abhyāsa* and a subsequent lengthening, will



produce the desired derivate. Thus, *paṭ + ū + paṭ + a* → *pāṭ + ū + paṭ + a* = *pāṭūpāṭa* (vt. *pāṭer niluk cok ca dirghas cābhyāsasya*).

### 6.1.13 छडः सम्प्रसारणं पुत्रपत्योस्तत्पुरुषे

*ṣyaṇaḥ samprasāraṇam putrapatyos tatpuruṣe*  
 / *ṣyaṇaḥ* 6/1 *samprasāraṇam* 1/1 *putrapatyoh* = *putraś ca patiś ca* = *putrapati*  
 (itar. dv.), *tayoh*; *tatpuruṣe* 7/1/  
 'putra, pati'ity etayor uttarapadayos tatpuruṣe samāse ṣyaṇaḥ  
*samprasāraṇam bhavati*  
*ṢyaN* goes through *samprasāraṇa* when *putra* and *pati* follow in a *tatpuruṣa* compound.

#### EXAMPLES:

*kāriṣagandhīputraḥ*  
 'son of Kāriṣagandhyā, a woman who smells like dried cowdung'  
*kāriṣagandhīpatiḥ* 'husband of Kāriṣagandhyā . . .'  
*kaumudagandhīputraḥ*  
 'son of a woman who smells like water-lily'  
*kaumudagandhīpatiḥ* 'husband of a woman . . .'

1. Note that the *anuvṛtti* of *samprasāraṇam* carries over through 6.1.44 *vibhāsa pareḥ*.

2. This rule orders *samprasāraṇa* (1.1.45 *iḡ yaṇaḥ samprasāraṇam* 'a sound denoted by *iK* comes in place of a corresponding sound denoted by *yaN*') for *SyaN* in a *tatpuruṣa* compound formed with *putra* and *pati* as following (final) constituents. Let us consider *kāriṣagandhīputraḥ* which is a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound paraphrased as: *kāriṣagandhyāyāḥ putraḥ*. The first constituent of this compound, i.e., *kāriṣagandhyā*, is a derivate of the feminine affix *CāP* (4.1.74 *yaṇas cāp*) introduced after *kāriṣagandhya*, ending in *SyaN*, itself a replacement for the *aN* introduced after *kāriṣagandhi* + *Nas*. The word *kāriṣagandhi* derives from *kāriṣa* + *sU gandha* + *sU*, parallel to *kāriṣasya iva gandhaḥ asya*, a *bahuvrīhi* where rule 5.4.137 *upamānā ca*, read with 5.4.135 *gandhasyed . . .*, orders *i* to replace the final *a* of *kāriṣagandha*. Affix *aN* is then introduced after *kāriṣagandhi* + *Nas* to be further replaced with *SyaN*. The *i* of *kāriṣagandhi* is deleted (6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*; 1.4.18 *yaci bham*) before the *a* of *aN*. It is *kāriṣagandhya* which then receives affix *CāP* (4.1.74 *yaṇas cāP*). The *a* of *ya* is deleted (6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*; 1.4.18 *yaci bham*) before the feminine affix *CāP*. The son of this *kāriṣagandhyā* will then be characterized with the genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound *kāriṣagandhīputraḥ* where, given the compound *kāriṣagandhyāputra*, *samprasāraṇa* applies. The result obtained through this process then goes through a replacement in *i* (6.1.107 *samprasāraṇāc ca*) of *i + ā* of *kāriṣagandh(γ→i ā)*. . . . An application of 6.3.139 *samprasāraṇasya* will then replace the short *i* of *kāriṣagandhīputra* with a long

ī to yield: *kāriṣagandhīputra*. Similar rules apply in deriving *kāriṣagandhīpatiḥ* ‘husband of a woman who smells like dried cowdung’, *kaumudagandhīputraḥ* ‘son of a woman who smells like a lily’ and *kaumudagandhīpatiḥ* ‘husband of a woman who smells like a lily’.

3. Note that the word *samprasāraṇa* can refer to sounds (*varṇa*) denoted by the abbreviatory term *iK* which, in turn, occur as substitutes for sounds of a parallel set denoted by *yaN*. The word *samprasāraṇa* can also refer to this very process (*vidhi*) of replacing a sound denoted by *yaN* with a sound denoted by *iK*. This rule uses the word *samprasāraṇa* in the sense of *vidhi*. By the way, *samprasāraṇa* is an *anvarthasamjñā* ‘a term interpreted in its etymological sense’.

4. The word *ṢyaN* is here interpreted as an affix via *sthānivadbhāva* ‘substitute treated as the item it replaced’ introduced under the denotatum condition of 4.1.3 *striyām* ‘when feminine is to be denoted’. This delimitation of scope is also responsible for blocking *tadādiniyama* ‘a constraint pertaining to that which begins with that’ in a feminine derivative other than one termed an *upasarjana* ‘secondary’. Thus, *kāriṣagandhi* is a non-secondary (*anupasarjana*) constituent of the compound after which *ṢyaN* is introduced. The application of *samprasāraṇa* thus cannot be blocked. It can also not be blocked in examples such as *paramakāriṣagandhīputraḥ* and *paramakāriṣagandhīpatiḥ* where *kāriṣagandhyā* does not occur at the beginning. That is, the *samprasāraṇa* cannot be blocked based upon the *tadādiniyama* of the *paribhāṣā* (27) *na striṭratyaye cānupasarjane (yasmāt sa vihitas tadādeḥ)* ‘not also when a non-secondary affix with its scope as feminine (beginning with that after which the affix is introduced)’. That is, this *samprasāraṇa* cannot be limited to only those instances where a non-secondary constituent such as *kāriṣagandhi* after which affix *ṢyaN* is introduced occurs as the initial constituent of the compound. It is the non-applicability of *tadādiniyama* that *samprasāraṇa* is permitted in examples such as *paramakāriṣagandhīputraḥ* and *paramakāriṣagandhīpatiḥ* which obviously do not begin with *kāriṣagandhi*. Incidentally, a constituent ending in *ṢyaN* here does not become secondary in meaning after forming a compound with *parama*.

Now consider an example such as *atikāriṣagandhyāputraḥ* ‘the son of one who has excelled *Kāriṣagandhyā*’ where a constituent ending in *ṢyaN* is secondary (*upasarjana*). The *samprasāraṇa* must be blocked here. An additional example parallel to the preceding will be *atikāriṣagandhyāpatiḥ*.

5. The condition of *ṣyaṇaḥ* is imposed so that *samprasāraṇa* applies only to the *y* of *ṢyaN*. Thus, it will not apply to the *y* of *ibhyāputraḥ* ‘son of a woman who deserves an elephant’ and *kṣatriyāputraḥ* ‘son of a *kṣatriya* woman’ where it is introduced by rules 5.1.66 *daṇḍādibhyo yat* and 4.1.138 *kṣatrād ghaḥ*, respectively. Recall that a replacement is only introduced in place of that for which it is specified (*paribhāṣā* (13): *nirdiśyamānasyādeśā bhavanti*).

A similar condition of *putrapatyoh* is imposed so that this *samprasāraṇa* is

also blocked in examples such as *kāriṣagandhyākulam* ‘the clan of a woman who smells like dried cowdung’ and *kaumudagandhyākulam* ‘the clan of a woman who smells like a lily’. Note that *putra* and *pati* must occur as following constituents combined after the constituent ending in *ṢyaṆ*, and not when they combine as initial, or final, constituent of the compound. Thus, the *samprasāraṇa* will again be blocked in examples such as *kāriṣagandhyā-putrakulam* ‘the family of the son of the woman who smells like dried cowdung’ and *kāriṣagandhyāputraparamaḥ* ‘the excellent son of the woman who smells like dried cowdung’.

Finally, this *samprasāraṇa* is constrained also with the condition of *tatpuruṣe*. For, a *bahuvrīhi* such as *kāriṣagandhyāpatiḥ*, parallel to *kāriṣagandhyā patiḥ asya grāmasya* ‘the village of which Kāriṣagandhyā is the leader’ will not come under the scope of this rule.

#### 6.1.14 बन्धुनि बहुव्रीहौ

*bandhuni bahuvrīhau*

/bandhuni 7/1 bahuvrīhau 7/1/

(*ṣyaṇaḥ samprasāraṇam* #13)

*bandhuśabda uttarapade bahuvrīhau samāse ṣyaṇaḥ samprasāraṇam bhavati* *ṢyaṆ*, in a compound termed *bahuvrīhi*, goes through *samprasāraṇa* when *bandhu* combines to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*kāriṣagandhībandhuḥ* ‘friend of the woman who smells like dried cowdung’

*kaumudagandhībandhuḥ* ‘friend of the woman who smells like a lily’

1. This rule allows *samprasāraṇa* also when *bandhu*, preceded by the constituent ending in *ṢyaṆ*, is combined as a final constituent in a *bahuvrīhi* compound. Thus, we get examples such as *kāriṣagandhībandhuḥ*. The compound must be a *bahuvrīhi* so that a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound such as *kāriṣagandhyābandhuḥ* ‘a friend of she who smells like dried cowdung’ can be excluded from the scope of this rule. Our constituent *kāriṣagandhyā* is here an *upasarjana* ‘secondary’. Recall that *samprasāraṇa* is applicable to non-secondary (*anupasarjana*) constituents. Examples such as *paramakāriṣagandhyābandhudhanaḥ* and *kāriṣagandhyāparamabandhuḥ* will also be blocked from availing *samprasāraṇa* for reason that, in the first example, *bandhu* alone is not used as final. Instead, we have *bandhudhanaḥ*. The second example has *bandhu* occurring after *kāriṣagandhyā* intervend by *parama*.

2. Note that *bandhu* is a masculine here specified as neuter. Such a specification is made in view of form (*śabdasvarūpa*), as against meaning (*artha*). Commentators state that a neuter specification is intended so that *bandhu* could denote its form only. A specification in view of meaning, with *bandhu*

used as masculine, would have allowed *samprasāraṇa* also to apply when a synonym of *bandhu* followed.

3. A *vārttika* proposal favors an optional *samprasāraṇa* also when *mātaC*, *māṭṛka* and *māṭṛ* occur in a *bahuvrīhi* compound following a constituent ending in *SyaN*. Consider *kāriṣagandhyāmātā* and *kāriṣagandhīmātā* as optional examples parallel to *kāriṣagandhyā mātā asya* ‘he whose mother is one who smells as dried cowdung’. A similar set of two optional forms each for *mātaC* and *māṭṛka* are: *kāriṣagandhyāmātāḥ/kāriṣagandhīmātāḥ*; *kāriṣagandhyāmāṭṛkaḥ/kāriṣagandhīmāṭṛkaḥ*. Remember that *māṭṛ* and *māṭṛka* are specified here as separate options. Consequently, affix *KaP* of 5.4.153 *nadyrtaś ca* is also made optional. An optional *mātaC* also mandates final *udātta* accent of 6.1.163 *citāḥ*, as against the retention of original accent of initial constituent in a *bahuvrīhi* compound (6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau prakṛtyā pūrvapadam*).

### 6.1.15 वचिस्वपियजादीनां किति

*vacisvapīyajādīnām kiti*

/*vaci-svapi-yajādīnām* 6/3 = *yaja ādir yesām te = yajādayaḥ* (*bu.*); *vacis ca svapis ca yajādayaś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām; kiti* 7/1/  
(*samprasāraṇam* #13)

*vaci-svapi-yajādīnām kiti pratyaye parataḥ samprasāraṇam bhavati*

Verbal roots *vac* ‘to speak’, *ṆIsvap* ‘to sleep’, and also roots headed by *yaj*, go through *samprasāraṇa* when an affix marked with *K* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*uktaḥ* ‘spoken, said’

*uktavān* ‘said’

*suptaḥ* ‘fallen asleep’

*suptavān* ‘slept’

*iṣṭaḥ* ‘performed sacrifice’

*iṣṭavān* ‘ibidem’

*upṭaḥ* ‘sown’

*upṭavān* ‘ibidem’

*ūḍhaḥ* ‘carried, brought’

*ūḍhavān* ‘ibidem’

*uṣitaḥ* ‘dwelt’

*uṣitavān* ‘ibidem’

*utaḥ* ‘woven’

*utavān* ‘ibidem’

*saṃvītaḥ* ‘properly covered’

*saṃvītavān* ‘ibidem’

*āhūtaḥ* ‘called’

*āhūtavān* ‘ibidem’

*uditaḥ* ‘uttered’

*uditavān* 'ibidem'

*śūnaḥ* 'enlarged, grown'

*śūnavān* 'ibidem'

\*Examples are all derivatives of *Kta* and *KtavatU*.

1. Note that the *anuvṛtti* of *Śyanaḥ* is dropped. The word *samprasāraṇam* still carries over.

2. The specification made by *ādi* is here associated only with *yaj*, and not also individually with *vacI* and *svapI*. How do we know this? From the order of enumeration of roots in the *gaṇa* in general, and the enumeration of *svapI* after *vacI*, in particular. There was no need for specifying *svapI* after *vacI* if a reference was intended to be made to *svapI* as one of the roots included in the set headed by *vacI*. For *svapI* is listed in the *adādi* group after *vacI*, intervened by four roots. A reference with *ādi* associated with *vacI* could thus have also accounted for *svapI*. The *ādi* associated with *yaj* includes references to the last nine roots of the *bhvādigāṇa* 'listings enumerated beginning with *bhū*'.

Verbal root *vac* here refers to both (i) the *adādi* root *vac* 'to speak' and (ii) the replacement in *vac* of *brūṆ* (2.4.53 *bruvo vaciḥ*). A specification relative to an affixal provision made with reference to specific form of a verbal root (*dhātu*) conditions operations relative only to that particular affix (*Kās.*: *dhātoḥ svarūpagrahane tatpratyaye kāryam vijñāyate*). The existence of this *paribhāṣā* is inferred from the derivation of *bhrauṇahatyam* where the *n* of verbal root *han* is to be replaced with *t*. But since such a replacement is allowed *han* when an affix with *Ṣ* and *Ṇ* as an *it* follows (7.3.32 *hanas* . . .), this *taddhita* derivate cannot avail this provision. It must then receive this *t*-replacement via *nipātana* (6.4.174 *dāṇḍināyanahāstināyana* . . .). This *nipātana* then indicates that an operation specified with a particular form of a verbal root obtains only when a specified affix follows. Thus, we do not find *samprasāraṇa* applicable to derivatives such as *vācyati* 'wishes to speak' and *vācikaḥ* 'relating to speech' where the first is a derivate of *KyaC* and the second of *ṭhaK* introduced after *vāc*, a derivate of *KvIP*. The first will be treated as a root by 3.1.23 *sanādyantā dhātavaḥ*. The *vāc* of the second example may also be treated as a root at the strength of Patañjali's desideratum that items ending in a *KvIP* do not abandon their status as a root. The first is denied *samprasāraṇa* because *KyaC* is introduced after an item ending in a *sUP* (3.1.8 *supa ātmanaḥ kyac*). The second is denied *samprasāraṇa* expressly by an *Uṇādi* affix (II.57). Besides, *ṭhaK* is introduced in the domain of 4.1.1 *nyāp-prātipadikāt*.

Refer to derivational details in the appendix.

#### 6.1.16 ग्रहज्यावयिव्यधिवष्टिविचतित्वृचतिपृच्छतिभृज्जतीनां डिति च

*grahijyāvayivyadhivaṣṭivicitivṛcchatiḥṛjjanāṃ ṇiti ca*

/grahi-jyā-vayi-vyadhi-vaṣṭi-vicati-vṛṣcati-ṛcchati-bhrjjaṭinām (itar. dv.)  
6/3 ṇiti 7/1 ca φ/

(samprasāraṇam #13 kiti #15)

'graha upādāne, jyā vayoḥānau, veṇo vayiḥ, vyadha tāḍane, vaśa kāntau, vyaca vyāñikarāṇe, vraścū chedane, praccha jñāpsāyām, bhrasja pāke'ity eteṣām dhātūnām ṇiti pratyaye parataś cakārāt kiti ca samprasāraṇam bhavati

Verbal roots *grahA* 'to grab, seize', *jyā* 'to decay, grow old', *vay* (a replacement of *veṇ* 'to weave'; 2.4.41 *veṇo vayiḥ*), *vyadhA* 'to pierce, hurt', *vaśA* 'to shine', *vyacA* 'to deceive', *VraścŪ* 'to cut', *pracchA* 'to ask, enquire' and *bhrasjA* 'to cook' also go through *samprasāraṇa* when an affix marked with *K* and *Ṇ* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*grhītaḥ* 'seized'  
*grhitavān* 'he seized'  
*grhṇāti* 'he seizes . . .'  
*jañgrhyate* ' . . . is seized again and again'  
*jñāḥ* 'decayed, grown old'  
*jñavān* 'he grew old'  
*jināti* 'he grows old'  
*jeṭiyate* 'grows older'  
*ūyatuh* 'they (two) wove . . .'  
*ūyuh* 'they (all) wove'  
*viddhaḥ* ' . . . pierced'  
*viddhavān* 'he pierced'  
*vidhyati* 'he pierces'  
*vevidhyate* 'pierces again and again'  
*uśitaḥ* ' . . . desired; dazzled'  
*uśitavān* 'he desired; glowed'  
*uṣṭaḥ* 'desired'  
*uśanti* 'they desire'  
*vicitaḥ* ' . . . deceived'  
*vicitavān* 'he deceived'  
*vicati* ' . . . creates an illusion'  
*vevicyate* ' . . . deceives again and again'  
*udvicitā* 'he who will deceive'  
*udvicitum* 'for deceiving'  
*udvicitavyam* 'to be deceived'  
*vṛkṇaḥ* 'cut'  
*vṛkṇavān* 'he cut'  
*vṛṣcati* 'he cuts'  
*varivṛṣcyate* 'he cuts over and over again'  
*prṣṭaḥ* 'asked'

*pr̥ṣṭavān* 'he asked (a question)'

*pr̥cchati* 'he inquires'

*pari̐pr̥cchyate* 'he asks over and over again'

*bhṛṣṭaḥ* 'cooked'

*bhṛṣṭavān* 'he cooked . . .'

*bhṛjyati* 'he cooks'

*bari̐bhṛjyate* 'he cooks over and over again'

1. The *ca* at the end of this rule is used to attract *kiti* from the preceding rule.

2. What is *vayI*? It is interpreted as a replacement of *veṅ* gotten from rule 2.4.41 *veṅo vayiḥ*. It cannot be interpreted as *vay* 'to go' since that is an active (*parasmaipada*) verb. The *vay* of this rule is interpreted as the middle (*ātmanepada*), i.e., *veṅ*. Of course, via its replacement (*ādeśadvāreṇa*) due basically to its association (*sāhacarya*) here with *grahA*.

Why do we not have any examples of *vay* occurring before an affix marked with *ṅ*? Because rule 1.2.5 *asamyogāl liṭ kit* extends *Kit* 'as if marked with *K*' status to a replacement of *LIT*.

3. Questions have also been raised against listing *vayI* in this rule. It is argued that *vayI*, since it is already covered by the *yajādi* 'yaj, etc.' group of the preceding rule, can easily avail *samprasāraṇa*. Offering *samprasāraṇa* again through this listing does not make any sense. The fact that this rule lists *vayI* as a replacement and our earlier rule includes the root itself in the *yajādi* group should not create any problem. For, a replacement (*ādeśa*) will, through the process of *sthānivadhbhāva*, be treated as the item (*sthānī*) it replaced. That is, *vayI* of this rule can be treated as *veṅ* of the *yajādi* listing. This way one does not need to provide *samprasāraṇa* which is already available.

Commentators state that this separate listing is made so that *samprasāraṇa* in *vayI* is not blocked by 6.1.40 *veṇaḥ*. It is argued that *sthānivadhbhāva* will operate in connection with a negative provision (*niṣedha*) in a manner similar to one made in connection with a positive (PM ad Kās.: *yathā sthānivadhbhāvād vidhiḥ prāpyate tathā pratiṣedho'pi prāpnoti*). Thus, rules 6.1.15 *vacisvapīyajādīnām kiti* and 6.1.16 *grahijyāvayī . . .* will both invoke *sthānivadhbhāva* in connection with the *samprasāraṇa* of *vayI*. That is, if *sthānivadhbhāva* is offered as the basis for rejecting inclusion of *vayI* in rule 6.1.16 *grahijyāvayī . . .* A separate listing of *vayI* is made here so that it can be saved from the negation of 6.1.40 *veṇaḥ*. The process of *sthānivadhbhāva* is thus not accepted. Besides, Pāṇini's listing of *vayI*, as against *veṅ* particularly in this rule in contradistinction with the negation of 6.1.40 *veṇaḥ*, must serve some special purpose. That purpose must be accepted as blocking of negation via cancellation of *sthānivadhbhāva*. It is further stated that situations of conflict between *vidhi* and *pratiṣedha* favor *vidhi* (Nyāsa ad Kās.: *vidhipratiṣedhayor virodhād ekatra vidhir eva bhaviṣyati na pratiṣedha iti*). Consequently, we get two sets of third personal singular/dual/plural forms in perfect (*LIT*) of *vayI*: *uvāya/ūyatuh/*

ūyuh; and *vavau/vavatuh/vavuh*.

Now consider rule 6.1.38 *liṭi vayo yaḥ* whereby a negative provision of *samprasāraṇa* is made for *vayI*. Note that a negative provision does not make any sense unless a positive provision already exists. This, in turn, becomes an indicator (*jñāpaka*) for the positive provision of *samprasāraṇa* of *vayI*. It should also be noted that the negative provision of *samprasāraṇa* 6.1.38, made with the specification of *vayI*, does not include any reference to *veñ*. A separate negation is provided by 6.1.40 *veñah*. *Kāśikā* thus rightly remarks: '*liṭi vayo yaḥ*' *iti yakārasya samprasāraṇapratishedhād vayer vidhau grahaṇam pratishedhe cāgrahaṇam anumāsyate* 'it is assumed on the basis of the negative provision of *samprasāraṇa* of *y* in 6.1.38 *liṭi vayo yaḥ* that *vayI* is included in *vidhi* and excluded from *pratishedha*'.

4. Note that derivatives of *vyac*, for example *udvicitā/udvicitum/udvicitavyam*, all involve *samprasāraṇa* when an affix other than one marked with *Ñ* and *Ṇ* follows. This operational provision is facilitated by a *vārttika* proposal (under 1.2.1 *gāṅkluṭādibhyo*...) whereby *vyac* is treated similar to the *kuṭādi* group of roots before an affix other than one marked with *Ñ* and *Ṇ*.

5. Let us briefly consider the derivation of *vr̥kṇah* and *vr̥kṇavān* from *vraśc* + (*K*→*ϕ*) *ta* and *vraśc* + (*K*→*ϕ*) *tavat*(*U*→*ϕ*), respectively. These strings will both go through *samprasāraṇa* (*v(r→r) aśc*...), *pūrvavārūpa* (*v(r + a→r) śc*...) and *kutva* (*vr̥ś(c→k)*...). Why is *c* of *vraśc* replaced with *k* against the provision of *ṣ* made by rule 8.2.36 *vraścabhraṣja*...? Commentators argue that a replacement in *ṣ* is conditioned by an affix beginning with a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *jhAL* (Śs. 8-14; *jh, bh, gh, dh*, etc.). The *niṣṭhā* affixes *Kta* and *KtavatU*, in *vr̥kṇah* and *vr̥kṇavān*, can no longer be accepted as beginning with a *jhAL* since the same gets replaced with *n* of 8.2.42 *radābhyām niṣṭhāto*... Consequently, *c* of *vraśc* cannot be replaced with *ṣ*. Rule 8.2.42 *radābhyām*... cannot be treated as *asiddha* 'suspended' in view of the application of 8.2.36 *vraścabhraṣja*... because of a *vārttika* proposal (*vt.*: *niṣṭhādeśaḥ śatvasvarapratyayavidhīdvidhiṣu siddho vaktavyaḥ* 'a replacement of *niṣṭhā* should be declared effective (*siddha*) in operations relative to: *ṣ*-replacement (*śatva*), accent (*vara*), affix (*pratyayavidhi*) and augment *iT* (*iḍvidhi*)). Since this *vārttika* proposal renders *n*-replacement (*natva*) of a *niṣṭhā* affix as *siddha* in view of a *ṣ*-replacement (*śatva*), the *ś* of *vraśc* cannot be replaced with *ṣ*. A replacement in *k* for *c* of *vraśc* cannot be blocked since *n*-replacement (*natva*) of 8.2.42 *radābhyām*... cannot be accepted as *siddha* in view of the same.

6. Why would *r* of *praśna* not go through *samprasāraṇa*? Because Pāṇini himself uses *praśna* as the correct form (cf. 3.2.117 *praśne cāsannakāle*). Refer to the appendix for additional derivational details.

### 6.1.17 लिट्यभ्यासस्योभयेषाम्

*liṭy abhyāsasyobhayeṣām*

/ *liṭi* 7/1 *abhyāsasya* 6/1 *ubhayeṣām* 6/3/



(*samprasāraṇam* #13)

*ubhayeṣāṃ vacyādīnāṃ grhyādīnāṃ ca liṭi parato'bhyāsasya samprasāraṇaṃ bhavati*

The *abhyāsa* of verbal roots enumerated beginning with both *vac* 'to speak' (6.1.15) and *grah* 'to hold, seize' (6.1.16) goes through *samprasāraṇa* when affix *LIT* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*uvāca* 'third person singular active *LIT* of *vac*'

*uvacitha* 'second person singular . . .'

*suśvāpa* 'third person singular *LIT* of *svap* 'to sleep''

*suśvapitha* 'second person singular . . .'

*iyāja* 'third singular active *LIT* of *yaj*'

*iyajitha* 'second person singular . . .'

*uvāpa* 'third person singular active *LIT* of *vap* 'to sow''

*uvapitha* 'second person singular . . .'

*jagrāha* 'third person singular active *LIT* of

*grah* 'to hold, seize''

*jagrahitha* 'second person singular . . .'

*jījyau* 'third person singular active *LIT* of *jyā* 'to grow old''

*jījyitha* 'second person singular . . .'

*uvāyu* 'third person singular active *LIT* of *veṇ* to weave'

*uvayitha* 'second person singular . . .'

*vivyādha* 'third person singular active *LIT* of *vyadh* 'to pierce' used with the preverb *vi*'

*vivyadhitha* 'second person singular . . .'

*uvāśa* 'third person singular active *LIT* of *vaś* 'to desire''

*uvaśitha* 'second person singular . . .'

*vivṛāca* 'third person singular active *LIT* of *vyac* 'to deceive''

*vivṛacitha* 'second person singular . . .'

*vavraśca* 'third person singular active *LIT* of *vraśc* 'to cut''

*vavraścitha* 'second person singular . . .'

*ūcatuḥ* 'third person dual active *LIT* of *vac* 'to speak''

*ūcuḥ* 'third person plural active . . .'

*vivyādha*

1. Note that 6.1.15 *vacisvapīyajādīnāṃ* . . . allows *samprasāraṇa* within the right context of an affix marked with *K* and *Ṇ* as an *it*. The *Kit*-status to a replacement of *LIT* is extended by 1.2.5 *asamyogāl liṭ kit*. Given this, why state our present rule when the *samprasāraṇa* required by it can be accomplished by 6.1.15 *vacisvapī*. . . It is argued that rule 1.2.5 *asamyogāl liṭ kit* extends *Kit*-status to only those replacements of *LIT* which are not marked with *P* (*apit*; 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit*). This rule is then needed to allow *samprasāraṇa* in contexts where a replacement of *LIT* may be marked with *P*.

Consider, for example, affixes *NaL* and *thaL* which replace *tiP* and *siP*, the third and second person singular replacements of *LIT*. Affixes *NaL* and *thaL* are extended *pit*-status via *sthānivadbhāva* 'treatment of a replacement (*ādeśa*) as if it was the item (*sthānin*) it replaced'. Our present rule facilitates *samprasāraṇa* even when a non-*Kit*, in the present context a *pit*, follows. Thus we get *uvāca* and *uvacitha* from  $vac + (LIT \rightarrow tiP \rightarrow NaL) = vac + a$  and  $vac + (LIT \rightarrow siP \rightarrow thaL) = vac + tha$ , respectively, through *dvirvacana* 'iteration' and *samprasāraṇa*.

2. It is argued that forms of *grah*, *pracch* and *bhrasj* can be derived even without this rule. That is, we can get  $grah + (N) a(L) = grah + a \rightarrow grah + grah + a \rightarrow gra + grah + a \rightarrow ga + grah + a$ , through iteration and operations specific to 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*. Our string  $ga + grah + a$  will eventually produce *jagrāha* through the *j* replacement of *g* and *vṛddhi* of *a* in *grah*. This same form can also be derived through iteration ( $grah + grah + a$ ); *samprasāraṇa* and *pūrvavṛpa* ( $g(r \rightarrow r) ah + grah + a \rightarrow g(r + a \rightarrow r) h + grah + a$ ; *uradatva* (7.4.66 *ur at* #1.1.51 *ur aṇ raparah*)  $g(r \rightarrow ar) h + a + grah + a$  and *halādiśeṣaḥ* ( $ga(rh \rightarrow \phi)$ ) + *grah* + *a* = *gagraha*). Similar derivational cases can be made for derivatives for *praccha* and *bhrasj*, with or without the application of *samprasāraṇa* of this rule. One avails *samprasāraṇa* without iteration (*dvirvacana*) with regard to an affix not marked with *K* as an *it* (*Kāś.*: *akidarthaṃ ced anabhyāsasya samprasāraṇaṃ vidhīyate*). In case of an affix marked with *K*, *samprasāraṇa* will be availed prior to iteration on account of being subsequent (*paratvāt*). Iteration can then follow in view of *paribhāṣā* (*PŚ.*: 40): *punaḥ prasaṅgaviññānāt siddham* 'a previously set aside rule applies when its operational context reappears'. Incidentally, the *Tattvabodhinī* reminds that rules apply like clouds which rain indiscriminately (*parjanyaival lakṣaṇaṃ pravartate*). That is, our present rule still applies in the context of cited verbs even if one can do without.

3. The case of *vraśc* is special. If one believes that this rule is not needed for *vraśc* then *vavraśca* can be derived through iteration and *halādiśeṣa*. That is,  $vraśc + vraśc + a \rightarrow vra + vraśc + a \rightarrow va + vraśc + a = vavraśca$ . This is basically the view of the *Kāśikā*. Patañjali feels that this rule is still needed for *vavraśca*. If one accepts this then *samprasāraṇa* must precede iteration. We will thus get  $vraśc + a \rightarrow vṛaśc + a \rightarrow vṛśc + a$ . If iteration precedes *samprasāraṇa* then, given  $va + vraśc + a$ , our present rule will demand the *samprasāraṇa* of initial *v*, thereby producing an undesired form  $(v \rightarrow u) a + vraśc + a \rightarrow (u + a \rightarrow u) + vraśc + a \rightarrow *uvraśca$ . If *samprasāraṇa* precedes iteration then we get  $vṛ + vraśc + a$ . The *ṛ* will then be replaced with *ar* and the *r* will be dropped under the provisions of 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*. Thus,  $v(r \rightarrow ar \rightarrow va(r \rightarrow \phi)) + vraśc + a = vavraśca$ . The initial *v* of *vavraśca* can then be saved from going through *samprasāraṇa* under the protection of *sthānivadbhāva*. That is, the *a* after *v* of *va* will then be treated as if it was *ṛ*. Rule 6.1.37 *na samprasāraṇe samprasāraṇaṃ* will block this *samprasāraṇa*, especially when another *samprasāraṇa* followed.

4. Since Pāṇini uses *ubhayeṣām* explicitly even when reference to the two groups of *vacyādi* and *grahyādi* roots can be easily made by the context, this explicit mention of *ubhayeṣām* must serve some special purpose. It is to make clear that *samprasāraṇa* and operations relative to it must take precedence over, for example operations relative to 7.4.60 *halādisēṣa*, that Pāṇini explicitly uses *ubhayeṣām*. Consider the derivation of *vivyādha* from *vyadh + vyadh + (N) a(L) = v(y→ia) dh + vyadh + a→vidh + vyadh + a→vi(dh→ϕ) + vyadh + a→vi + vy(a→ā) dh + a = vivyādha*. If, at the stage of *vyadh + vyadh + a*, we apply 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ* as against *samprasāraṇa*, the result will be *va + vyadh + a*. A *samprasāraṇa* followed by penultimate *vṛddhi* will then yield a wrong form *(vi→u) + vy(a→ā) dh + a = \*uvyādha*. That is why *samprasāraṇa* applies on *vyadh + vyadh + a* to yield *vi + vyadh + a* on which 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ* applies. An explicit mention of *ubhayeṣām* warns that a conflict in the application of *samprasāraṇa* and *halādisēṣa* should not be decided on the basis of *paratva*. This may also be the reason why the tradition also recognizes *samprasāraṇam tadāśrayam ca kāryam balavat* ‘*samprasāraṇa* and operations related to that are treated as stronger’.

Incidentally, a reference to two groups of roots without any explicit mention of *ubhayeṣām* is not facilitated by the governing contexts (*adhikāra*) mediated by *anuvṛtti* ‘recurrence’. Instead, it is facilitated by the governing context mediated by *apekṣā* ‘expectancy’.

#### 6.1.18 स्वापेश्चङि

*svāpeś caṇi*

/ *svāpeḥ* 6/1 *caṇi* 7/1/

(*samprasāraṇam* #13)

*svāper iti svaper nyanasya grahaṇam, tasya caṇi parataḥ*

*samprasāraṇam bhavati*

Verbal root *svāpi* goes through *samprasāraṇa* when *caṇi* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*asūṣupat* ‘third person singular active *LUN*-derivate of *svap* ‘to sleep’ used with causal *NIC*’

*asūṣupan* ‘third person plural active . . .’

1. This rule specifies verbal root *svap* in its causal form (*ñijanta*). We know it from *caṇi*, a right context which is not possible to obtain without the root ending in *ṆiC* (*Nyāsa: na hy anyantāc caṇ sambhavati*). Note also that one cannot here interpret *svāpi* as specifying non-causal verbal root *āpLR* ‘to pervade’ used with *su*. For, *caṇi* again will be impossible to justify. *Kāśikā* states that *svāpi*, in deriving *asūṣupat*, goes through *samprasāraṇa* prior to iteration (*dvirvacana*), possibly based upon *paratva* and surely on the basis of *samprasāraṇam tadāśrayam ca balavat* (*PS*: 129). A *guṇa*-replacement of the

short penultimate vowel (*laghūpadhagūṇa*; 7.3.86 *pugantalaghūpadhasya ca*) and shortening (*hrasva*) of its result (7.4.1 *ṇau caṇy upadhāyā hrasvaḥ*) follow. Iteration (*dvirvacana*) then applies followed by a long replacement for the light vowel (7.4.94 *dirgho laghoḥ*). Refer to the appendix for further derivational details.

2. Why was it necessary to state *caṇi*? So that *samprasāraṇa* can be blocked in examples such as *svāpyate* and *svāpitaḥ* where both are derivatives of *NiC*. The first is a third person singular present passive and the second a derivative of *Kta*. Needless to say, these examples cannot involve *CaÑ*. Why did Pāṇini not formulate the *sūtras* as *svāpēs ca* with *ṇiti* carried via *anuvṛtti*? Such a formulation would confuse about whether the *anuvṛtti* of *ṇiti* was still valid? Answering it in the affirmative will raise the question whether the *anuvṛtti* of *ṇiti* was dropped. Besides, *ṇiti* would have offered a much wider right context. It is for clarity then that Pāṇini used *caṇi*.

Consider the derivation of *asūṣupat* ‘third singular active causal past imperfect of *svap*’. Thus, *svap* + *NiC* (3.1.27 *hetumati ca*) = *sv(a→ā)p + i + LUN* (7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*; 3.1.23 *sanādyantā . . .*; 3.2.110 *luṇ*) = *svāp + i + CLI + LUN* (3.1.43 *clī luṇi*) = *svāp + i + (CLI→CaÑ) + LUN* (3.1.48 *niśridusrubhyaḥ kartari caṇ*) = *svāp + i + (C)a(Ñ) + LUN* = *svāp + i + a + LUN→a(Ṭ) + svāp + i + a + LUN* (6.4.71 *luṇlaṇṭṛṇkṣv aḍ udāttaḥ*)→*a + svāp + i + a + LUN→a + svāp + (i→ḥ) + a + LUN* (6.4.51 *ṇer anīṭi*) = *a + svāp + a + LUN→a + sv(ā→a)p + a + LUN* (7.4.1 *caṇy upadhāyā hrasvaḥ*) = *a + svāp + a + LUN→a + s(v→u)ap + a + LUN* (6.1.18 *svāśpēs caṇi*) = *a + suap + a + LUN→a + s(u→u)p + a + LUN* (6.1.108 *samprasāraṇāc ca*)→*a + sup + a + LUN→a + sup + sup + a + LUN* (6.1.1 *ekāco dve prathamasya*) = *a + su + sup + a + LUN* (7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*) = *a + su + sup + a + LUN→a + s(u→ū) + sup + a + LUN* (7.4.94 *dirgho laghoḥ*) = *a + sū + sup + a + LUN*.

A replacement of *LUN* with *tiP* yields *a + sū + sup + a + t*. Rule 7.2.86 *pugantalaghūpadhasya ca* applies to yield *a + sū + s(u→o)p + a + t*. Rule 7.4.1 *ṇau caṇy upadhāyāḥ hrasvaḥ* would then apply to yield *a + sū + s(o→u)p + a + t*. An application of *ṣatva* (8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayaḥ*) will now yield: *a + su + (s→ṣ)up + a + t = asūṣupat*.

### 6.1.19 स्वपिस्यमिव्येजं यङि

*svapisyamivyeñām yaṇi*

/ *svapisyamiveñām* (itar. dv.) 6/3 *yaṇi* 7/1/

(*samprasāraṇam* #13)

‘*niṣvap śaye, svamu svana dhvana śabde, veṇa samvarane*’ ity *eteṣāṃ dhātūnām yaṇi parataḥ samprasāraṇam bhavati*

Verbal roots *Ñiṣvap* ‘to sleep’, *syamU* ‘to shout’ and *vyeÑ* ‘to cover’ go through *samprasāraṇa* when affix *yaṇ* follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*soṣṭpyate* ‘third person singular middle present derivate of *svap* ‘to sleep’ ending in *yaṅ*’

*sesimyate* ‘third person singular . . . of *syam* ‘to cry’ ending in *yaṅ*’

*vevñyate* ‘third person singular . . . of *vyeN* ‘to wrap’ ending in *yaṅ*’

1. Note that a right context of *yaṅ* is imposed so that *samprasāraṇa* could be blocked from applying elsewhere. Consider, for example *svapṇak*, a derivate of affix *najIN* introduced after verbal root *svap* (3.2.172 *svapitṛṣor najin*).

2. Note that *v* and *y* of verbal root *vyeN* can both form the focus of *samprasāraṇa*. But since Pāṇini blocks *samprasāraṇa* when *samprasāraṇa* forms the right condition (6.1.37 *na samprasāraṇe samprasāraṇam*), we learn that a *samprasāraṇa* which is subsequent should be accomplished first. The first *samprasāraṇa* then gets automatically blocked. The *samprasāraṇa* of *y*, thus accomplished in *vyeṅ*, blocks the *samprasāraṇa* of *v*. Besides, the *samprasāraṇa* of *y* should also precede because of *pratyāsatti* ‘proximity’ with the condition (*nimitta*), i.e., *yaṅ*. The *e* of the root is replaced with *ā* (6.1.45 *ādeca upadeśe’siti*). Refer to the appendix for further derivational details.

## 6.1.20 न वशः

*na vaśaḥ*

/ *na*  $\phi$  *vaśaḥ* 6/1/

(*samprasāraṇam* #13 *yaṅ* #19)

*vaśer dhātor yaṅ parataḥ samprasāraṇam na bhavati*

Verbal root *vaśA* ‘to desire’ does not go through *samprasāraṇa* when *yaṅ* follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*vāvaśyate* ‘third person singular middle present of *vaś* ‘to desire’ ending in *yaṅ*’

*vāvaśyete* ‘third person dual . . .’

*vāvaśyante* ‘third person plural . . .’

1. Our present rule negates the *samprasāraṇa* of verbal root *vaśA* when *yaṅ* followed. Recall that *vaś* can avail *samprasāraṇa* of 6.1.6 *grahijyāvayi*. . . Derivates of this root will thus go through iteration. Thus, *vaś* + *ya(N)* → *vaś* + *vaś* + *ya* → *va* + *vaś* + *ya* → *v(a→ā)* + *vaś* + *ya*. The long vowel replacement for the short of *va* is accomplished after iteration and *halādiśeṣa* (7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*) by 7.4.83 *dīrgho’ kiṭaḥ*. Deriving the present active third personal singular dual and plural forms of verbal root *vaś* used with affix *yaṅ*, i.e., *vāvaśyate*, *vāvaśyete* and *vāvaśyante*, from *vāvaśya* + *LAṬ* with subse-

quent replacements for *LAṬ* and relevant operations, should pose no problem.

2. That this negation of *samprasāraṇa* is available only when *yaṆ* follows is important. For, the *samprasāraṇa* offered by 6.1.16 *grahijyāvayī* . . . applies elsewhere. Consider *uṣṭaḥ* and *uṣanti* which derive from *vaś* + *Kta* and *vaś* + (*LAṬ*→*jhi*). Verbal root *vaś* goes through *samprasāraṇa* and *pūrvārūpa* (6.1.108 *samprasāraṇāc ca*) here because affix *yaṆ* does not follow. Note that *uṣṭaḥ* is derived similar to *prṣṭaḥ* from (*uś* + *ta*) + *sU*) where *uś* is gotten through *samprasāraṇa* and *pūrvārūpa*. Our third plural present indicative active from *uṣanti* also involves *samprasāraṇa* and *pūrvārūpa*. Additionally, it involves deletion of *ŚaP* (2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ* . . .) and replacement of *jh* by *ant* (7.1.3 *jho'ntaḥ*). Thus, *vaś* + *LAṬ*→*vaś* + (*LAṬ*→*jhi*)→*vaś* + *ŚaP*+ *jhi*→*vaś* + (*ŚaP*→*φ*) + *jhi*→(*ṽ*→*u*) *aś* + *jhi*→*ṽ*(*ua*→*u*) *ś* + *jhi*→*uś* + (*jh*→*ant*) *i* = *uś* + *anti*→*uṣanti*.

### 6.1.21 चायः की

*cāyaḥ kī*

*cāyaḥ* 6/1 *kī* (1/1 deleted)

(*yaṇi* #19)

'*cāyṛ pūjāniśāmanayoḥ*' ity *etasya dhātor yaṇi parataḥ* 'kī' ity *ayam ādeśo bhavati*  
Verbal root *cāyṛ* 'to honor' is replaced with *kī* when affix *yaṆ* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*cekīyate* 'third person singular present middle of *cāyṛ*

'to honor' ending in *yaṆ*

*cekīyete* 'third person dual . . .'

*cekīyante* 'third person plural . . .'

*cekītaḥ* 'third person dual active of *cāyṛ* with deletion of *yaṆ*'

1. Deriving *cikīyate/cekīyete/cekīyante* from (*cāyṛ*→*ki* + *ya(Ṇ)*) + (*LAṬ*), through iteration (*kī* + *kī* + *ya*), *guṇa* of the *abhyāsa* (*k(ī*→*e*)) + *kī* + *ya* and *cutva* (*k*→*c*) *e* + *kī* + *ya* should not pose any difficulty. Affix *LAṬ* is as usual replaced with third personal *ātmanepada* suffixes. Look for additional details in the appendix.

2. Why specify *kī* with the long *ī* when a short *i* could easily be replaced with its long counterpart via application of 7.4.25 *akṛtasārvadhātukayor dīrghaḥ*. A specification with long *ī* is made because *LUK*-deletion of *yaṆ* would make this long replacement impossible. Consider *cekī* + *tas*→*cekītaḥ*.

### 6.1.22 स्फायः स्फी निष्ठायाम्

*sphāyaḥ sphī niṣṭhāyām*

/ *sphāyaḥ* 6/1 *sphī* (deleted 1/1) *niṣṭhāyām* 7/1/

(*samprasāraṇam* #13)

'sphāyī opyāyī vṛddhau'ity asya dhātor niṣṭhāyām parataḥ 'sphī'ity ayam ādeśo bhavati

Verbal root *sphāyī* 'to swell' is replaced with *sphī* when an affix termed *niṣṭhā* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*sphūtaḥ* 'swollen (*Kta*)'

*sphūtavān* 'ibidem (*KtavatU*)'

1. The condition of *niṣṭhā* (1.1.26 *ktavatū niṣṭhā*) is required so that a string such as *sphāy* + *KtiN* (3.3.94 *striyām ktin*) could be blocked from availing this replacement. That is, *sphī* comes as a replacement only when the context is that of *niṣṭhā*. A derivate of *sphāy* + *KtiN* will thus be *sphātī* as in *sphātī bhavati* 'that which swelled which previously it was not'. Note that 6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali* will delete *y* of *sphāy* + *ti*. The long replacement for the short final *i* of *sphātī* is gotten under the right context of *CvI* (7.4.26 *cvau ca*). This *CvI* is, of course, introduced by 5.4.50 *abhūtataḍbhāve . . .*, in coordination with *bhū* thereby yielding *sphātī bhavati*. The affixal *v* is deleted by 6.1.67 *ver aprktasya*.

2. The *anuvṛtti* of *niṣṭhā* is valid prior to 6.1.29 *liṅyanoś ca*. Commentators warn that *sphī* is not marked with *svarita*. Consequently, the *anuvṛtti* of *sphī* is suspended.

#### 6.1.23 स्त्यः प्रपूर्वस्य

*styah prapūrvasya*

/ *styah* 6/1 *prapūrvasya* 6/1 = *pra pūrvō yasya* (bv.), *tasya/*

(*samprasāraṇam* #13 *niṣṭhāyām* #22)

'*styā*'ity *etasya prapūrvasya dhātor niṣṭhāyām parataḥ samprasāraṇam bhavati*

The *styā* of verbal root *styai* 'to sound, crowd', used with the preverb *pra*, goes through *samprasāraṇa* when an affix termed *niṣṭhā* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*prastūtaḥ* 'assembled, gathered (*Kta*)'

*prastūtavān* 'ibidem (*KtavatU*)'

*prastīmaḥ* 'ibidem (*Kta*)'

*prastīmavān* 'ibidem (*KtavatU*)'

*prasamstūtaḥ* 'ibidem (*pra-sam-styai* + *Kta*)'

*prasamstūtavān* 'ibidem (*pra-sam-styai* + *KtavatU*)'

1. *Kāśikā* states that *styah* includes references to verbal roots *styai* and *ṣtyai* both. For, they both yield the form *styā*. They both have their *ai* replaced with *ā* of 6.1.45 *ādeca upadeśe aṣīti*. The *ṣ* of *ṣtyai* is replaced with *s* of 6.1.64 *dhātuvādeḥ sah*. The *ṭ* which will then follow *s* have to be replaced with a corresponding dental *t*. This is how one gets the form *styā*. A form such as

*prastūta* is derived from *pra + sty(ai→ā) + (K) ta→pra + st(y→i) ā + ta = prast(i + a→i) + ta = prast(i→i) + ta*. A long replacement for the short *i* is gotten from the application of 6.4.2 *halaḥ*. Similar steps have to be followed for deriving *prastūtavān*, nominative singular of *prastūtavat*. The *t* of these *niṣṭhā* suffixes is optionally replaced with *m* when occurring after *styai* used with the preverb *pra* (8.2.55 *prastyo' nyatarasyām*).

2. Why do we have to use *prapūrvasya* when a formulation such as *prastyah* could account for what it does. The expression *prapūrvasya* is used so that *samprasāraṇa* and *t→m*-replacement can also be availed in examples such as *prasamstūtaḥ* and *prasamstūtavān*. The word *prapūrvasya* will then have to be interpreted as genitive signifying *avayava* 'part of a whole'. The compound *prapūrvah* itself will be interpreted as a *vyadhikaraṇa-bahuvrīhi* paraphrased as *pra pūrvō yasya* 'that (a root or preverb + root) whose initial is *pra*'. Given *prasamstūtaḥ*, etc., *prapūrvasya* will refer to *samstyai* used with *pra* as its initial.

#### 6.1.24 द्रवमूर्तिस्पर्शयोः इयः

*dravamūrtti-sparśayoh śyah*

/ *drava-mūrtti-sparśayoh* 7/2 = *dravasya mūrttiḥ kāṭhīnyam = dravamūrttiḥ* (ṣaṣ. tat.), *dravamūrttiś ca sparśaś ca* (ītar. dv. with int. bu.), *tayoh; śyah* 6/1/

(*samprasāraṇam* #13 *niṣṭhāyām* #22)

'*dravakāṭhīnye sparśe vartamānasya 'śyaiṇ gatau'ity asya dhātor niṣṭhāyām parataḥ samprasāraṇam bhavati*

Verbal root *ŚyaiN*, when used in the sense of *dravamūrtti* 'solidification of liquid' and *sparśa* 'touch', goes through *samprasāraṇa* when an affix termed *niṣṭhā* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*śinaṃ ghṛtaṃ* 'solidified clear butter'

*śinā vasā* 'solidified animal fat'

*śinaṃ medaḥ* 'solidified fat'

*śitaṃ vartate* 'it (the touch) is cold'

*śito vāyuh* 'wind with a touch of cold'

*śitam udakam* 'water with a touch of cold'

1. Note that *dravamūrtti* is glossed by *Kāśikā* as *dravakāṭhīnya* 'solidification of liquid'. The same is further explained by *Nyāsa* as *dravāvasthāyā uttaro' vāsthāviśeṣaḥ kāṭhīnyākhyah* 'a subsequent state of liquid characterized as solidified'.

The word *sparśa* 'touch, contact' has been glossed as a quality accompanied with form, etc. (*rūpādisahacarito guṇaḥ*). A question is now raised concerning coreferentiality between a modifier (*guṇa*) such as *vāyu* characterised as *sparśa* and the modified such as *vāyu* 'wind', a *dravaya* 'thing'. It is ex-



plained that certain modifiers, for example *śukla* 'white' of *paṭasya śuklaḥ* 'whiteness of the cloth', based upon their inseparable relationship with corresponding modifieds, for example *śuklaḥ* of *śuklaḥ paṭaḥ* 'the white cloth', at times can be accepted as co-referential. A modifier such as *śīta* can thus be construed in both the senses of *guṇa* 'quality' and *guṇin* 'locus of quality'.

2. Note that derivatives of *niṣṭhā* with no signification of *sparsa* 'touch' will have their *t* replaced with *n* (8.2.47 *śyo'sparśe*). We will thus get *śīnam ghṛtam*, etc. This also explains why the *t* of *śīto vāyuh* cannot be replaced with *n*. The *ai* of *śyai* goes through *ā*-replacement (*ātva*), *samprasāraṇa*, *pūrvārūpa* and *i*-replacement similar to *styai* of the preceding rule.

3. What is the consequence of not meeting the twin conditions of *dravamūrtti* and *sparsa*? Lack of *samprasāraṇa*, and *n*-replacement of *t* of the affix termed *niṣṭhā* (*niṣṭhānatva*). Consider, for example, *saṁśyāno vṛścikaḥ* 'a rolled up scorpion'.

### 6.1.25 प्रतेश्च

*prateś ca*

/prateḥ 6/1 ca φ/

(*samprasāraṇam* #13 *niṣṭhāyām* #22 *śyaḥ* #24)

*prater uttarasya śyāyater niṣṭhāyām parataḥ samprasāraṇam bhavati*

Verbal root *ŚyaiN*, when used after the preverb *prati*, also goes through *samprasāraṇa* when a suffix termed *niṣṭhā* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*pratiśīnaḥ* 'that which has melted; liquid'

*pratiśīnavān* 'that which has a tendency to melt'

1. This rule is formulated to also allow *samprasāraṇa* outside the meaning conditions of *dravamūrtti* and *sparsa*. Verbal root *śyaiN* is to be used here with the preverb *prati*. Derivational steps are followed similar to examples of the preceding rule. The *n*-replacement of *t* is accomplished by 8.2.43 *saṁyogāder āto dhātor*. . . .

### 6.1.26 विभाषाऽभ्यवपूर्वस्य

*vibhāṣā' bhyavapūrvasya*

/vibhāṣā 1/1 *abhy-ava-pūrvasya* 6/1 = *abhiś ca avaś ca abhyavau*

(*dv*); *abhyavau pūrvau yasya* (*bv*. with internal *dv*.) /

(*samprasāraṇam* #13 *niṣṭhāyām* #22 *śyaḥ* 24)

'*abhi*, *ava*'ity *evam pūrvasya śyāyater niṣṭhāyām vibhāṣā samprasāraṇam bhavati*

Verbal root *ŚyaiN*, when used after the preverbs *abhi* and *ava*, goes through *samprasāraṇa* only optionally.

## EXAMPLES:

*abhiśīnaṃ ghṛtaṃ* ‘melted clarified butter’

*abhiśyānaṃ* ‘ibidem’

*avaśīnaṃ medaḥ* ‘melted animal fat’

*avaśyānaṃ ghṛtaṃ* ‘ibidem’

*abhiśīto vāyuh* ‘cold wind’

*abhiśyānaḥ vāyuh* ‘ibidem’

*avaśītaṃ udakaṃ* ‘cold water’

*avaśyānaṃ udakaṃ* ‘ibidem’

1. Note that this option of *vibhāṣā* is *ubhayatra*. That is, it is now available (*prāpta*) to the context of *abhi* and *ava* which it previously was not (*aprāpta*). The *samprasāraṇa* in the context of *dravamūrtti* and *psarśa*, which was not made available (*aprāpta*) by rule 6.1.24 *dravamūrttisparśayoh* . . . to the context of *abhi* and *ava*, is now made optionally available. Consequently, we get two sets of forms: one with *samprasāraṇa* and the other without. A set with application of *samprasāraṇa* lacks *n*-replacement for the *t* of *niṣṭhā*. For, the derivate does not retain any sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *yaN* (cf. 8.2.43 *saṃyogāder* . . .). A set of derivates with no application of *samprasāraṇa* will remain *yaṇvān* ‘possessing a sound denoted by *yaN*’. Consequently, *n*-replacement for *t* of *niṣṭhā* will apply. Derivates of *ŚyaiN* will also have their *t* replaced with *n* when derivates denote non-touch (*asparśa*).

## 6.1.27 शृतं पाके

*śṛtaṃ pāke*

/śṛtaṃ 1/1 pāke 7/1/

(*niṣṭhāyām* #22 *vibhāṣā* #26)

‘śṛā pāke’ity etasya dhātor nyanasyānyantasya ca pāke’ *bhidheye*

*ktapratyaye parataḥ śṛbhāvo nipātyate*

Verbal root *śṛā* is optionally replaced with *śṛ*, via *nipātana*, when it is used with the signification of *pāka* ‘cooking’, and affix *Kta* follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*śṛtaṃ kṣīram* ‘cooked milk’

*śṛtaṃ haviḥ* ‘cooked ritual oblation of food’

1. Commentators explain that *śṛtaṃ* here refers to verbal root *śṛā*, when used with or without the causal suffix *ṆiC*. This option is explained as *vyavasthita-vibhāṣā* ‘a fixed option made available in special contexts’. That is, a replacement in *śṛ* is obligatory (*nitya*) in the context of deriving *śṛtaṃ*, only when *pāka* ‘softening’ is denoted. Elsewhere, it is not available. The word *pāka* is here used to clearly specify the context of this *nipātana*, i.e., *kṣīra* ‘oblation of rice-pudding’ and *havi* ‘oblation’. A replacement of *śṛā*

with *śr*, for example, in *śrāṇā yavāgūḥ* 'barley gruel is cooked' and *śrapitā yavāgūḥ* 'barley gruel was caused to be cooked', cannot be permitted. Incidentally, *śrāṇā* is a derivate of *Kta* where *t* is replaced with *ṇ* via *n* (8.2.43 *saṃyogāder āto . . .*). Feminine affix *ṬāP* is then introduced to *śrāṇa* to derive *śrāṇā*. Our next example *śrapitā* is also a derivate of *Kta* ending in *ṬāP*, though *śrā* is here used with *NiC*. Augment *pUK* (7.3.36 *artūhrīvū . . .*) with a subsequent application of *hrasva* 'shortening' produces: *śrā + p(UK) + (N)i(C) + (K)ta → śr(ā → a) + p + (N)i(C) + (K)ta*. Note that a *sūtra* of the *dhātupāṭha*, i.e., *ghaṭādayo mitaḥ*, recognizes *śrā* as marked with *M* as an *it*. This, in turn, enables application of shortening (6.4.92 *mitām hrasvaḥ*). Affix *NiC* is deleted by 6.4.52 *niṣṭhāyām seṭi* after augment *iṬ* is introduced. Thus, *śra + p + (N)i(C) → φ* + *i(Ṭ) + (K)ta → śra + p + i + ta = śrapita*. Affix *ṬāP* can now be introduced to derive *śrapitā*.

2. It is stated that the *śr*-replacement is also not allowed when a *bāhya* 'indirect' *prayojaka* 'instigator' is involved. Thus, consider *śrapitaṃ kṣīraṃ devadattena yajñadattena* 'Devadatta had Yajñadatta cook the oblation of rice-pudding' where *yajñadatta* is the indirect instigator. Verbal root *śrā* is explained as intransitive (*akarmaka*), used here in the sense of *pac* with its object having agent as its locus (*karmakarṭṛviṣayaka*). Thus, consider *śṛtaṃ kṣīraṃ svayam eva* 'the oblation cooked by itself' and *śṛtaṃ kṣīraṃ devadattena* 'Devadatta had the oblation cooked'. The word *pāka* is used in this *sūtra* so that *nipātana* could be restricted to the context of 'oblation'.

### 6.1.28 प्यायः पी

*pyāyah pī*

/ *pyāyah* 1/1 *pī* (1/1 deleted) /

(*niṣṭhāyām* #22 *vibhāṣā* #26)

'*opyāyī vṛddhau*' ity *asya dhātor niṣṭhāyām vibhāṣā* ' *pī* ' ity *ayam ādeśo bhavati*

Verbal root *Opṛāyī* 'to swell' is optionally replaced with *pī* when a suffix termed *niṣṭhā* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*pīnaṃ mukham* 'a swollen face; a wide face'

*pīnau bāhū* 'strong arms'

*pīnaṃ uraḥ* 'strong chest'

1. This provision of replacement can also be labeled as *vyavasthita-vibhāṣā*. That is, it is obligatorily available when verbal root *Opṛāyī* is not used with a preverb. It is, of course, blocked when the root is used with a preverb. Thus, no replacement is available in *āpyānāś candramāḥ* 'a full moon' where *pyā* is used with the preverb *ā*. Incidentally, *n*-replacement for the *t* of *niṣṭhā* is accomplished by 8.2.45 *oditāś ca*.

2. Commentators add, however, that *pyā* is replaced with *pī* when it is used with the preverb *āñ*, and when derivatives denote *andhu* ‘water-well’ and *ūdhas* ‘udder’. Yet another instance of *vyavasthita-vibhāṣā*. Thus, *āpīno’ ndhuḥ* ‘a water-well full to the brim’ and *āpīnam ūdhaḥ* ‘an udder full of milk’.

### 6.1.29 लिङ्यङोश्च

*lidyañś ca*

/lid-yañś 7/2 (itar. dv.) ca φ/

(*pyāyaḥ pī* #28)

*līti yañi ca parataḥ ‘pyāyaḥ pī’ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*

Verbal root *Opṛyāyī* is replaced with *pī* when affixes *LIT* and *yañ* follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*āpīpye* ‘third singular middle perfect (*LIT*) of *Opṛyāyī* (to fill)’

*āpīpyire* ‘third plural . . .’

*āpepiyate* ‘third singular middle present of *āpepiya*’

*āpepiyete* ‘second dual present of . . .’

*āpepiyante* ‘third plural present . . .’

1. Note that *vibhāṣā* is not carried over, especially since *vibhāṣā* is explicitly stated in the following rule. Particle *ca* is used for bringing *pyāyaḥ pī* to facilitate the replacement in *pī*. Thus, this rule allows a replacement in *pī* when affixes *LIT* and *yañ* follow. Consider *āpīpye* and *āpīpyire*, the third singular and plural middle forms of *LIT* which derive from *ā(ñ) + (pyā→pī) + (LIT→ta→eś)* and *ā(ñ) + pyā + (LIT→jha→ireC)*, respectively. A replacement in *eś* and *ireC* for third person middle singular and plural affixes *ta* and *jha* is gotten from 4.4.81 *lītas tajhayor. . .* A replacement in *pī* is accomplished prior to iteration since the rule which allows this replacement happens to be subsequent (*para*) in order. Iteration then applies because its applicational context presents itself again (*PŚ*: 40) *punaḥ prasaṅgavijñānāt siddham*. We thus get *ā + (pyā→pī) + (LIT→ta→eś)*.

Note that a conflict of application between *pī*-replacement and iteration is not of the type one finds between a general (*sāmānya*) rule and its related exception (*apavāda*). Actually, the *pī*-replacement, if not applied prior to iteration, will render this rule without any scope of application (*niravakāśa*). To put iteration temporarily on hold is the best (*utkrīṣṭa*) way of saving this rule from becoming vacuous.

An application of iteration produces *ā + pī + pī + e*. The long *i* of the *abhyāsa* is replaced with its short counterpart to produce: *āp(i→i) + pī + e*. The following long *i* is replaced with *y* (*yañ*) to yield *āpīpye*. This *yañ*-replacement is accomplished by 6.4.82 *er anekāco’ samyogapūrvasya*. The plural *āpīpyire* follows similar pattern. The third personal singular, dual and plural present indicative middle (*LAT*) derivatives with *yañ* also involve *pī*-replace-

ment and iteration. A *guṇa* of their *abhyāsa* is accomplished by 7.4.82 *guṇo yaṅlukoh*. Follow derivational patterns of many *yaṅ*-derivates already explained.

### 6.1.30 विभाषा इवे:

*vibhāṣā śveḥ*

/ *vibhāṣā* 1/1 *śveḥ* 7/1/

(*samprasāraṇam* #13 *liḍyaṇoh* #29)

*liṭi yaṅi ca śvayater dhātor vibhāṣā samprasāraṇam bhavati*

Verbal root *ṬUōvi* 'to swell' optionally goes through *samprasāraṇa* when affixes *LIT* and *yaṅ* follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*śuśāva* 'third person singular active *LIT*-derivate of

*śvi* 'to swell'

*śiśvāya* 'ibidem'

*śuśuvatuḥ* 'third person dual . . .'

*śiśviyatuḥ* 'ibidem'

*śośūyate* 'third person singular middle derivate of *LAṬ* of *śvi* ending in *yaṅ*'

*śeśvīyate* 'ibidem'

1. This rule carries the *anuvṛtti* of *samprasāraṇa*, *LIT* and *yaṅ*. Of course, the application of *samprasāraṇa* is optional. The option (*vibhāṣa*) itself is interpreted as *ubhayatra-vibhāṣā*. Verbal root *śvi* has *samprasāraṇa* available (*prāpta*) to it obligatorily (*nitya*) before a *LIT* affix marked with *K* (*kit*, 6.1.15 *vacisvapiyajādīnām* . . .). That is, the *samprasāraṇa* is not available (*aprāpta*) to it before an affix not marked with *K* (*akit*). The *samprasāraṇa* before *yaṅ* has not yet been made available. Our present rule makes it optionally available.

The word *vibhāṣa* has been defined by 1.1.44 *na veti vibhāṣā* as denoting the sense of *na vā* 'or not'. This *na vā* is construed with a rule of *ubhayatra-vibhāṣā* in part. Thus, *na* 'not' first negates the option which may be made available (*prāpta*) elsewhere (*anyatra*). The *vā* then makes that negative provision optional. The *na*, in the context of our present rule, will first negate provisions made by 6.1.15 *vacisvapiyajādīnām* . . . The *vā* will then make it available optionally in case of verbal root *śvi*. In case of the option of *samprasāraṇa*, which is not made available (*aprāpta*) elsewhere, *na* of *na vā* cannot be construed with the rule. For, negation can apply only when a positive provision is already made. Consequently, *vā* alone will provide for optional *samprasāraṇa*.

Refer to the appendix of 1.1.44 *na veti vibhāṣā* (II:379-82) for derivational details.

## 6.1.31 णौ च संश्चडोः

*ṇau ca saṁścaṇoh*

/ *ṇau* 7/1 *ca*  $\phi$  *saṁścaṇoh* 7/2 = *saṁś ca caṇ ca, tayoh* (itar. dv.) /

(*samprasāraṇam* #13 *vibhāṣā śveḥ* #30)

*saṇpare caṇpare ca ṇau parataḥ śvayater dhātor vibhāṣa samprasāraṇam bhavati*

Verbal root *ṬUOśvi* 'to swell' goes through *samprasāraṇa* provided when *ṆiC*, followed by affixes *saN* and *CaN*, follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*śusāvayīṣati* 'third person singular causal *saN* derivate in *LAṬ* of *śvi*'

*śīśvāyayīṣati* 'ibidem'

*aśūśavat* 'third person singular causal derivate of *śvi* in *LUN*'

*aśīśvayāt* 'ibidem'

1. Note that the *parasaptamī* 'locative of right context' in *ṇau* and *saṁścaṇoh* denote different loci (*bhinnādhikaraṇa*). It is used in *ṇau* with reference to *śvi*. It is used in *saṁścaṇoh* with reference to *ṇau*. Consequently, this rule must be interpreted with two-step qualifiers to *ṬUOśvi* as follows:

- (i) *saṁścaṇoh parato yo'niḥ* 'the *ṆiC* which occurs when *saN* and *CaN* follow';
- (ii) *tasmin ṇau parato yaḥ śvayatīḥ* 'the *śvi* which occurs when *ṆiC*, particularly of the kind of (i) follows'.

Thus, the interpretation: *saṇpare caṇpare ca ṇau parataḥ* 'when *ṆiC*, followed by *saN* and *CaN*, follows'.

2. Commentators remind here again that *samprasāraṇa*, or an operation related to *samprasāraṇa*, is treated as comparatively more powerful (*balavattara*; *samprasāraṇam samprasāraṇāśrayam ca baliyo bhavati*). Consequently, *samprasāraṇa* is able to block *vṛddhi*, etc., which happens to be internally conditioned (*antaraṅga*). Of course, *vṛddhi* and replacement in *āu*, as in *śusāvayīṣati*, apply subsequent to *samprasāraṇa*.

Rule 7.4.80 *oḥ puyan̄jy āpare* provides that 'an *i* comes in place of the final sound of an *abhyāsa* when affix *saN* follows, provided the *abhyāsa* ends in *u* and occurs before a labial (*pU*), a semivowel (*yaN*) or *j*, followed by *a*'. This, in turn, becomes an indicator that a substitution caused by *ṆiC*, for purposes of iteration (*dvirvacana*), is treated as what it replaced, irrespective of whether or not it conditions iteration. Let us consider a somewhat controlled derivation of *śīśvāyayīṣati* where verbal root *śu* is used with the causal *ṆiC* before affix *saN*. A *vṛddhi* of *i* followed by its replacement by *āy* will yield: *śv(i→ai→āy) + i + i + (Ṭ→ϕ) + sa* = *śvāyi + i (s→ṣ) a* = *śvāyi + i + ṣa*. An iteration on *śvāyi* where *śvi* is not treated as a root via *sthānivadbhāva* will produce wrong results: \**śā + śvāyi + i + ṣa*. But bringing *śvi* via *sthānivadbhāva* for

purposes of iteration will offer the correct form  $\acute{s}(v \rightarrow \phi) \acute{i} + \acute{s}vāy\acute{i} + i + \acute{s}a \rightarrow \acute{s}i\acute{s}vāy\acute{i}(i \rightarrow e \rightarrow ay) + i + \acute{s}a = \acute{s}i\acute{s}vāy\acute{i}y\acute{i}sa$ . Given  $\acute{s}v\acute{i} + i + \acute{s}a$ , an application of *samprasāraṇa* will similarly produce  $\acute{s}(v \rightarrow u) \acute{i} + \acute{s}a \rightarrow \acute{s}(u \rightarrow i \rightarrow u) + i + \acute{s}a \rightarrow \acute{s}(u \rightarrow au \rightarrow \acute{a}v) + i + \acute{s}a = \acute{s}\acute{a}v + i + i + \acute{s}a$ , where iteration, if applies with reference to  $\acute{s}\acute{a}v + i$  will produce wrong results:  $*\acute{s}\acute{a} + \acute{s}\acute{a}v + i + i + \acute{s}a$ . The correct form should be  $\acute{s}u + \acute{s}\acute{a}v + i + \acute{s}a$  which will finally, through  $\acute{s}u$  retrieved via *sthānivadbhāva*, augment *iT*, and  $i \rightarrow e \rightarrow ay$  replacements of *NiC*, will produce  $\acute{s}u\acute{s}\acute{a}v\acute{i}y\acute{i}sa$  of  $\acute{s}u\acute{s}\acute{a}v\acute{i}y\acute{i}sa$ .

Let us return to our reference to rule 7.4.80 *oḥ pūyanjy apare* which becomes an indicator for applying iteration via *sthānivadbhāva* when *NiC* follows. It also means that *samprasāraṇa* blocks iteration initially. For, in its absence, the question of  $\acute{s}\acute{a}v\acute{i}$  forming the focus of iteration via *sthānivadbhāva* does not arise. It also makes known that internally conditioned *vṛddhi*, etc., are also blocked by *samprasāraṇa*. Consequently, *vṛddhi* and replacement in  $\acute{a}v$  ( $\acute{a}v\text{-}\acute{a}de\acute{s}a$ ) also apply subsequent to the application of *samprasāraṇa* (*Kāś.*: . . . *kṛte tu samprasāraṇe vṛddhir āvādeśas ca. tataḥ 'oḥ pūyanjy apare (7.4.80)' ity etad vacanam jñāpakam-ṇau kṛtasthānivadbhāvasya itis sthānivadbhāvāt śuśabdo dvirucyate*). Derivates of *CaÑ* have to be handled accordingly. Refer to the appendix for further derivational details.

### 6.1.32 ह्रः सम्प्रसारणम्

*hvaḥ samprasāraṇam*

*/hvaḥ 1/1 samprasāraṇam 1/1/*

*(ṇau ca saṃścaṇoḥ #31)*

*saṃpare caṇpare ca ṇau parato hvaḥ samprasāraṇam bhavati*

Verbal root *hveÑ* goes through *samprasāraṇa* when affix *NiC*, followed by affix *saN* or *CaÑ*, follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*juhāvayīṣati* 'he wishes to challenge'

*juhāvayīṣataḥ* 'those two wish to . . .'

*juhāvayīṣanti* 'those all wish to . . .'

*ajūhavat* 'he challenged'

*ajuhavatām* 'they two challenged . . .'

*ajūhavan* 'they all challenged'

1. What is the purpose of explicitly stating *samprasāraṇam* when we already have the same available through *anuvṛtti*. Pāṇini uses *samprasāraṇa* so that he can drop the *anuvṛtti* of *vibhāṣā* which happens to be associated with the earlier *samprasāraṇa*. This *samprasāraṇa* is used to drop the *anuvṛtti* of *vibhāṣā* and hence is not optional. Look for derivational details in the appendix.

2. Once again, since *samprasāraṇa* and operations related to it enjoy greater strength, *vṛddhi*, etc., are again initially put on hold in favor of

*samprasāraṇa*. This is also the reason why augment *yUK* (7.3.37 *sācchāsāh-vāvyāvepām yuk*) is also blocked in favor of *samprasāraṇa*.

3. Why can we not have a single formulation of this rule as *hvaḥ samprasāraṇam abhyastasya*. This way we do not need a separate 6.1.33 *abhyastasya ca*. A split formulation is made to indicate that *samprasāraṇa* is accomplished only when an affix conditioning *abhyāsa* intervenes. One can not accomplish *samprasāraṇa* when an affix which did not condition *abhyāsa* intervenes (*Kāś.*: '*hvaḥ samprasāraṇam abhyastasya*' ity *ekayogen siddhe prthag yogakaraṇam anabhyastanimittapratyayaena vyavadhāne samprasāraṇābhāvajñāpanārtham*). It is for this reason that *samprasāraṇa* is not accomplished in examples such as *hvāyākīyati* parallel to *hvāyakam icchati* '... wishes for ...'. This same is also true of a corresponding derivate of *saN*, i.e., *jihvāyākīyīṣati*.

### 6.1.33 अभ्यस्तस्य च

*abhyastasya ca*

/ *abhyastasya* 6/1/ *ca*  $\phi$ /

(*hvaḥ samprasāraṇam* #32)

*abhyastasya kāraṇasya hvayateḥ prāg eva dvirvacanāt samprasāraṇam bhavati*

The *hveN* which constitutes the source of an *abhyasta* also goes through *samprasāraṇa*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*juhāva* 'he called out'

*juhūyate* 'he makes repeated challenges'

*juhūṣati* 'wishes to challenge?'

1. The *ca* of this rule is used to attract *hvaḥ* from the preceding rule. If *hvaḥ* is not attracted by *ca* then *samprasāraṇa* will apply to what is termed an *abhyasta*. That means it will apply to both the *abhyāsa* (6.1.4 *prathamō bhyāsaḥ*) and *abhyasta* (6.1.5 *ubhe abhyastam*).

Note that *abhyastasya* and *hvaḥ* both end in the genitive. But this dual genitive cannot establish a coreferential relationship (*sāmānādhikaranyā*) between *abhyastasya* and *hvaḥ*. That is, we cannot interpret the strings *abhyastasya hvaḥ* as 'the *hva* which is (also) termed *abhyasta*'. For, this will then require iteration whereby the term *abhyasta* can be assigned. But *samprasāraṇa* cannot be applied now since 6.1.37 *na samprasāraṇe samprasāraṇam* will not permit it. It is in view of this difficulty that the relationship between *abhyastasya* and *hvaḥ* is accepted as *vyadhikaraṇa*, i.e., that which involves different loci. The phrase is then interpreted as: *abhyastasya tu hveñ* 'the *hveñ* of *abhyasta*'. *Kāśikā* interprets it as that *hveN* which is the *kāraṇa* 'basis, source' for the assignment of the term *abhyasta*. The *Mahābhāṣya* simply calls it the base (*prakṛti; abhyastasya prakṛter iti*) which forms as the source for assignment of the term *abhyasta*. This makes it possible for *samprasāraṇa* to



take place prior to *dvitva*. Thus, in contexts where assignment of the term *abhyasta* is possible after iteration, *samprasāraṇa* is accomplished prior to iteration. Consider *juhāva*, *juhūyate* and *juhūṣati*, derivatives of *LIT*, *yaN* and *saN*, respectively, for illustration. Refer to the appendix for derivational details.

#### 6.1.34 बहुलं छन्दसि

*bahulaṃ chandasi*

/ *bahulaṃ* 1/1 *chandasi* 7/1/

(*hvaḥ samprasāraṇam* #32)

*chandasi viṣaye hvayater dhātor bahulaṃ samprasāraṇam bhavati*

Verbal root *hveN* goes through *samprasāraṇa* in the Vedic, variously.

#### EXAMPLES:

*indrāgnī huve* 'I invoke the presence of Indra and Agni'

*devīm sarasvatīm huve* 'I invoke the presence of Sarasvatī, the divine'

*hvayāmi marutaḥ śivān* 'I invoke the presence of benevolent winds'

1. It is because of this provision of *bāhulaka* 'variously' that we get *samprasāraṇa* and *uvAN* in an example such as *huve* 'first person singular present indicative middle' of *hu* 'to call'. But one can also find an example such as *hvayāmi*, the first person singular present indicative active of *hu*, where *samprasāraṇa* is not accomplished. Refer to the appendix for full derivational details.

#### 6.1.35 चायः की

*cāyaḥ kī*

/ *cāyaḥ* 6/1 *kī* (deleted 1/1)/

(*bahulaṃ chandasi* #33)

*cāyater dhātoś chandasi viṣaye bahulaṃ 'kī'ity ayaṃ ādeśo bhavati*

Verbal root *cāyR* 'to honor' is variously replaced with *kī* in the Vedic.

#### EXAMPLES:

*viyantā nyanyaṃ cikyur na nicikyur anyam*

'they did not worship any other'

*agnir jyotir nicāyam*

1. Here again a replacement in *kī*, or its absence, is accounted for by *nipātana*. Thus, *ni-cikī* + (*LIT* → *jhi* → *us*) = *nicikyus*, but *ni-cāy* + (*Ktvā* → *Lyap*) = *nicāya*.

#### 6.1.36 अपस्पृधेथामानुचुरानुहुश्चिच्युषेतित्याजश्राताः श्रितमाशीराशीर्ताः

*apaspṛdhethām-ānṛcur-ānṛhuś-cicyuṣe-tityāja-śrātāḥ śritam-āśīrāśīrtāḥ*

/ *apasprdhethām* (a form in *tiÑ*); *ānṛcuḥ* (a form in *tiÑ*); *ānṛhuḥ* (a form in *tiÑ*); *cicyuṣe* (a form in *tiÑ*); *tityāja* (a form in *tiÑ*); *śrātāḥ* 1/3 *śritam* 1/1 *āśīḥ* 1/1 *āśīrttaḥ* 1/1/

(*samprasāraṇam* #32 *chandasi* #34)

'*apasprdhethām*'ity *ete śabdāḥ chandasi viṣaye nipātante*

The following are derived, via *nipātana*, in the Vedic:

*apasprdhethām*, *ānṛcuḥ*, *ānṛhuḥ*, *cicyuṣe*, *tityāja*, *śrātāḥ*, *śritam*, *āśīḥ*, and *āśīrttaḥ*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*apasprdhethām* 'second person dual middle *LAN*-derivate of *apa-spardh* 'to compete''

*ānṛcuḥ* 'this person plural active *LIT* of *ān-arc* 'to worship, respect''

*ānṛhuḥ* 'third person . . . of *ān-arh* 'to respect''

*cicyuṣe*

*tityāja* 'third person singular active *LIT* of *tyaj* 'abandon''

*śrātāḥ* '*Kta*-derivate of *śrīÑ* 'to cook''

*śritam* 'ibidem'

*āśīḥ* ' (*āÑ-śrī* + *Kta* + *KviP*) + *Kta*'

*āśīrttaḥ* ' (*āÑ-(śrā→śr)* + *Kta*'

1. Refer to the appendix for derivational details, especially as they relate to *nipātana*.

#### 6.1.37 न सम्प्रसारणे सम्प्रसारणम्

*na samprasāraṇe samprasāraṇam*

/ *na*  $\phi$  *samprasāraṇe* 7/1 *samprasāraṇam* 1/1/

*samprasāraṇe parataḥ pūrvasya yaṇaḥ samprasāraṇam na bhavati*

A sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *yaN* is not replaced with a corresponding sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *iK* when *samprasāraṇa* follows *yaN*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*viddhaḥ* 'pierced'

*vicitaḥ* 'deceived'

*samvītaḥ* 'properly covered; (*sam-vyeÑ*) + *Kta*) + *sU*'

1. This rule negates *samprasāraṇa* when *samprasāraṇa* follows. Why do we need such a rule? So that *samprasāraṇa* can be blocked from applying to instances of sounds denoted by *yaN*. Consider the derivation of *viddhaḥ* from *vyadh* + (*K*) *ta*. Should one apply *samprasāraṇa* to *v* and *y* both? Our present rule makes it clear that *samprasāraṇa* should apply only to *y*. How do we know that *samprasāraṇa* cannot apply to *v*? We know it from this negative provision of *samprasāraṇa* conditioned by the right context of *samprasāraṇa*.

Obviously, a right context of negation of *samprasāraṇa* cannot be gotten if *samprasāraṇa* did not apply to a *yaN* that occurred subsequent to another *yaN*.

One cannot invoke the *alo' ntya-paribhāṣā* (1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*) to restrict application of *samprasāraṇa* to the final *yaN* of a given form. For, that will render the *samprasāraṇa* provision of 6.1.15 *vacisvaṇi* . . . vacuous. One can also not invoke the *paribhāṣā* (PŚ: 104): *anantyaṅvikāre' ntyasadeśasya*, thereby restricting the application of *samprasāraṇa* to a *yaN* which is next to the final sound segment of a given form.

The formation of rule 6.1.28 *pyāyaḥ pī* also indicates that not every *yaN* should be replaced with *samprasāraṇa*. For, if all occurrences of sounds denoted by *yaN* could be replaced with *samprasāraṇa* in a form then specification of *pī* as a replacement for *pyāy* was unnecessary. For, *pīna* of *pīnam mukham* could have then been derived without *pī* as a replacement. Thus, given *pyāy + (K) ta*, *samprasāraṇa*, if applied to both *y*-elements, could yield: *p(y→i) ā(y→i) → p(iā→i) + i + ta* through *pūrvārūpa*. An application of 6.1.108 *samprasāraṇāc ca*, followed by that of 6.4.2 *halah*, could produce: *p(i + i→i) + ta→p(i→i) + ta = pīta*. The *t* could be then replaced with *n* (8.2.45 *oditāś ca*) to yield *pī + (t→n) a = pīna*. Why can *samprasāraṇa*, in this derivation of *pīna*, not apply only to the final *y* of *pyāy*? This, of course, will be in consonance with 1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*. This application of *samprasāraṇa* on the final *y* is possible if the genitive, in *pyāyaḥ* of *pyāyaḥ pī*, is interpreted as denoting 'in place of' (*sthāna-śaṣṭhī*; 1.1.49 *śaṣṭhī sthāneyogā*). But this genitive when interpreted as denoting 'part of a whole' (*avayava-śaṣṭhī*) cannot block *samprasāraṇa* from applying to both *y*-elements of *pyāyaḥ*. For purposes of *samprasāraṇa*, it will yield the interpretation: 'the *y* forming a part of *pyāy*'. This again indicates that *samprasāraṇa* does not apply to all sounds denoted by *yaN*. It applies only to a subsequent *yaN* and not to any preceding. This application of *samprasāraṇa* only applicable to a subsequent *yaN* is not possible to be known from *vidhyaty adhamuṣā*, etc. For, *vidhyati* can be derived also by applying *samprasāraṇa* in turn (*paryāya*). This rule is then needed (PM ad Kāś.: . . . *na sarvasya yaṇaḥ samprasāraṇam bhavati; tatra kuta etat-parasyaiva bhavati na pūrvasyeti; na ca vidhyatītyādinirdeśāt parasyaiveti śakyam avagantum. paryāyeṇa pravṛttāu api tadutpatteḥ. tasmād ārabhyam evaitat*).

Some still argue that there is nothing in the specification of *samprasāraṇa* which can stop it from not applying indiscriminately to both the preceding and following elements of *yaN*. It will then become very difficult to comprehend this negation. How could you stop someone from eating when he is already eating (*yo hi bhuktavantam brūyād mā bhuñkthā iti kiṃ tena kṛtam syāt*). It is to remove this difficulty that the locative in *samprasāraṇe* is interpreted as denoting *nimitta* 'cause'. Note, however, that *samprasāraṇa* itself is not accepted as the *nimitta*. Instead, it is the *iK* which is to be brought about (*tadbhāvi*), via *samprasāraṇa*, that becomes the *nimitta* for this negation.

2. Why is *samprasāraṇa* used here explicitly when the same can be gotten via *anuvṛtti*. Commentators explain that, in the absence of explicitly using *samprasāraṇam*, *paribhāṣā* (PŚ: 62): *anantarasya vidhir bhavati pratiśedho vā* ‘an operation, or its negation, applies only to the most proximate’ will apply. Consider the derivation of *yūnaḥ*, from *yuvan* + (Ś) *ās* = *yuvan* + *as*, where 6.1.133 *śvayuvamaghonām ataddhite* requires *samprasāraṇa* to yield *yu* (*v*→*u*) *an* + *as* = *yu* (*ua*→*u*) *an* + *as* = *yurun* + *as*→*y* (*u* + *u*→*ū*) *na* + *as* = *yūna* + *as* through *samprasāraṇa*, *pūrvārūpa* and *dirgha* (6.4.2 *halaḥ*). The argument that *y* of *yūna* must also go through *samprasāraṇa* because it is most proximate to *v*, via *sthānivadbhāva* (1.1.56 *sthānivad* . . .), is not acceptable. The long *ū* cannot be accepted as the two vowels it replaced, especially since an operation is to be performed on what precedes (*pūrvavidhau kartavye*, 1.1.58 *na padānta-dvirvacana* . . .). The notion of proximity via *sthānivadbhāva* is thus not valid. To still insist that examples such as *yūnaḥ* can be derived via *nipātana* and hence, *samprasāraṇa* in this rule should not be used, is also not acceptable. For, *nipātana* cannot be manipulated to block a general provision.

An explicit mention of *samprasāraṇa*, as against its acceptance via *anuvṛtti*, makes it understood that *samprasāraṇa* on a preceding *yaN* sound is negated even when the following *yaN* sound does not occur contiguously after it.

3. The *Mahābhāṣya* offers two *vārtika*-proposals under this rule:

- (i) An application of *samprasāraṇa*, in addition to deletion of the initial sound of what follows, is recommended for *tri* when followed by *ṛc*. Thus  $t(\tau \rightarrow \dot{r})i + \dot{r}c = t(\dot{r}i \rightarrow \dot{r}) + \dot{r}c = t\dot{r} + (\dot{r} \rightarrow \phi)c = t\dot{r}c$ . A derivate such as *tṛca* of *tṛcam sūktam* is derived by introducing the *samāsānta* affix *a* (5.4.74 *ṛkpūrabdhūḥpathām ānakṣe*). This proposal of *samprasāraṇa* and *lopa* is made only for the Vedic. The classical language will still have  $tr(i \rightarrow y) + \dot{r}ca = try\dot{r}ca$ , derived via *yaN* with no *samprasāraṇa* and *lopa*, parallel to *tisraḥ ṛcaḥ yasmin* ‘that in which there are three hymns’.
- (ii) A *samprasāraṇa* on *rayi* before *matUP* applies variously in the Vedic. Thus,  $ra(y \rightarrow \dot{i})i + mat \rightarrow ra(i + i = \dot{i}) + mat = ra + i + mat = ra + (i \rightarrow e) + mat \rightarrow r(a + e \rightarrow e) + (m \rightarrow v)at = re + vat$ . But we also get *rayimān* which does not involve *samprasāraṇa*.

### 6.1.38 लिटि वयो यः

*liṭi vayo yaḥ*

/ *liṭi* 7/1 *vayaḥ* 1/1/ *yaḥ* 1/1/

(*na samprasāraṇam* #37)

*liṭi parato vayo yakārasya samprasāraṇam na bhavati*

The *y* of *vay* is not replaced with *samprasāraṇa* when *LIT* follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*uvāya* 'third person singular active *LIT*-derivate of *veñ* 'to weave''  
*ūyatuh* 'third person dual . . .'  
*ūyuh* 'third person plural . . .'

1. Note that *uvāya* derives from (*veñ*→*vay*) + *LIT* = (*vay* + *vay*) + *LIT* = *va*(*y*→*ϕ*) + *vay* + *LIT*→(*v*→*u*) *a* + *vay* + *LIT*→(*u* + *a*→*u*) + *vay* + *LIT*→*u* + *v*(*a*→*ā*) *y* + *LIT*→*uvāy* + (*LIT*→*tiP*→*a*) = *uvāya*. There are two rules which offer *samprasāraṇa* relative to *veñ*→*vay*: 6.1.16 *grahijyāvayī* . . . and 6.1.17 *liṭy abhyāsasyobhayeṣām*. The first offers *samprasāraṇa* to the root while the second offers it optionally to the *abhyāsa*. The *samprasāraṇa* of *v* can be blocked in favor of the *samprasāraṇa* of *y* by the preceding rule. Our present rule will block the *samprasāraṇa* of *y*. This, however, does not mean that *samprasāraṇa* will not apply. Once *y* is blocked from going through *samprasāraṇa*, *v* will become available to it. That is, *vay* contains two elements denoted by *yañ*. Rule 6.1.37 *na samprasāraṇe* . . . negates the *samprasāraṇa* of *v*. Our present rule negates the *samprasāraṇa* of *y*. Given this, the *samprasāraṇa* of a verbal root is accomplished by rule 6.1.16 *grahijyāvayī* . . . The *samprasāraṇa* of the *abhyāsa* is accomplished by 6.1.17 *liṭy abhyāsasyobhayeṣām*.

2. Why state *LIT* when a replacement of *veñ*, in *vay*, is possible only in *LIT*? The *anuvṛtti* of *LIT* from 6.1.17 *liṭy abhyāsasyobhayeṣām* can accomplish its function. Commentators claim that *LIT* is used for subsequent rules (*uttarāntham*). Thus, *liṭi*, when read with *veñah* of 6.1.40 *veñah*, will optionally block the *samprasāraṇa* of verbal root *veñ* when *LIT* follows. The negation of *veñah* could still apply when *LIT* follows. This, in turn, seems to be the purpose of using *liṭi* in this rule explicitly.

## 6.1.39 वश्चास्यान्यतरस्यां किति

*vaś cāsyānyatarasyām kiti*

/ *vaḥ* 1/1 *ca* *ϕ* *asya* 6/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1 *kiti* 7/1/

(*liṭi vayo yaḥ* #38)

*asya vayo yakārasya kiti liṭi parato vakārādeṣo bhavaty anyatarasyām*

The *y* of *vay* is optionally replaced with *v* when a *LIT* affix marked with *K* follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*uvatuḥ* 'third person dual active *LIT*-derivate'

*ūvuḥ* 'third person plural . . .'

*ūyatuh* 'third person dual . . .'

*ūyuh* 'third person plural . . .'

1. This optional replacement is applicable only before a *LIT* affix marked with *K*. It can, thus, not be availed by *uvāya* and *uvayitha* which are derivatives of *tiP* and *siP*. Refer to the appendix for derivational details.

2. The word *asya* refers to the *y* (of *va*) whose *samprasāraṇa* is negated. This interpretation also facilitates blocking of *samprasāraṇa* of a *v*. Patañjali thinks that the *sūtra* should have been simply formulated as *anyatarasyām kiti veñah*. That is, without *vaścāsyā*. For, the intended derivatives can all be accounted for without using *vaścāsyā*. Refer to derivational details in the appendix.

#### 6.1.40 वेजः

*veñah*

/ *veñah* 6/1/

(*na samprasāraṇam* #37 *liṭi* #38)

'*veñ tantusantāne*'ity *asya dhātor liṭi parataḥ samprasāraṇam na bhavati*

Verbal root *veñ* 'to weave' does not go through *samprasāraṇa* when affix *LIT* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*vavau* 'third person singular active *LIT*-derivate of *veñ* (to weave)'

*vavatuḥ* 'third person dual ...'

*vavuh* 'third person plural ...'

1. This rule negates the *samprasāraṇa* made available by 6.1.15 *vacisva-piyaj* ... before an affix marked with *K*. It also negates the *samprasāraṇa* made available by 6.1.17 *liṭy abhyāsasyobhayeṣām* in connection with *ṆaL* and *thaL*, replacements of *tiP* and *siP*, marked with *P*, respectively.

#### 6.1.41 ल्यपि च

*lyapi ca*

/ *lyapi* 7/1 *ca*  $\phi$ /

(*na samprasāraṇam* #36 *veñah* #40)

*lyapi ca parato vyeñah samprasāraṇam na bhavati*

Verbal root *veñ* does not go through *samprasāraṇa* also when affix *LyaP* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*pravāya*

*upavāya*

1. This rule negates the provision of *samprasāraṇa* available to *veñ* from 6.1.15 *vacisvapīyajādīnām*. ... A separate formulation of this rule is made so that *lyapi* alone could be carried over subsequently. A joint formulation with the preceding rule would have also required the *anuvṛtti* of *veñ* in the succeeding rule.

## 6.1.42 ज्यश्च

*jyaś ca**/jyaḥ 6/1 ca 1/1/**(na samprasāraṇaṃ #37 lyapi #41)**'jyā vayoḥānau' ity asya dhātor lyapi parataḥ samprasāraṇaṃ na bhavati**Verbal root jyā 'to grow old' also does not go through samprasāraṇa when affix LayP follows.*

## EXAMPLES:

*prajyāya**upajyāya*

1. This negation of *samprasāraṇa* is made against the positive provision of 6.1.16 *grahijyāvayī*. . . Why did Pāṇini not formulate this rule as: *lyapi vyo jyaś ca*. This way he did not have to formulate three rules with additional use of two *ca*. First of all, *lyapi* cannot be brought here because it separately negates the *samprasāraṇa* of *veñ*. Bringing *lyapi* here would also necessitate bringing *veñ* which is not desired. Secondly, an optional *samprasāraṇa* allowed for *vyeñ* is not allowed for *jyā*. Thus, all these separate formulations are intended for subsequent rules.

## 6.1.43 व्यश्च

*vyāś ca**/vyāḥ 6/1 ca φ/**(na samprasāraṇaṃ #37 lyapi #41)**'vyeñ samvarane' ity etasya dhātor lyapi parataḥ samprasāraṇaṃ na bhavati**Verbal root vyeñ 'to cover' also does not go through samprasāraṇa when affix LyaP follows.*

1. A separate formulation of this rule is intended for blocking the *anuvṛtti* of *jyaḥ* in subsequent rules.

*pravvyāya**upavyāya*

## 6.1.44 विभाषा परे:

*vibhāṣā pareḥ**/vibhāṣā 1/1 pareḥ 5/1/**(na samprasāraṇaṃ #37 lyapi #41 vyaḥ #43)**parer uttarasya 'vyeñ' ity etasya dhātor lyapi parato vibhāṣā samprasāraṇaṃ na bhavati**Verbal root vyeñ used with the preverb pari does not go through samprasāraṇa, optionally, when affix LyaP follows.*

## EXAMPLES:

*parivīya yūṣam* ‘having wrapped around’  
*parivyāya* ‘ibidem’

1. Given  $\text{pari} + \text{vye} + (\text{Ktvā} \rightarrow \text{LyaP}) = \text{pari} + \text{vy}(e \rightarrow \bar{a}; \text{ātva}; 6.1.45 \text{ ād eca upadeṣṣ} \dots) + \text{ya} = \text{pari} + \text{v}(\text{y} \rightarrow \bar{i}) \bar{a} + \text{ya} = \text{pari} + \text{v}(\bar{i} + \bar{a} \rightarrow \bar{i}); \text{pūrvārūpa} = \text{pari} + \text{v}(\bar{i} \rightarrow \bar{i} \text{ (dīrgha); } 6.4.2 \text{ halaḥ}), \text{ we get } \text{parivīya} \text{. We will get } \text{parivyāya} \text{ when the option of applying } \text{samprasāraṇa} \text{ is not accepted. Note also that when the option of } \text{samprasāraṇa} \text{ is availed, } tUK \text{ of } 6.1.71 \text{ hrasvasya pīti kṛti tuk becomes applicable after } \text{pūrvārūpa} \text{. But this } tUK \text{ is blocked in favor of application of } 6.4.2 \text{ halaḥ since it is subsequent in order (para; } 1.4.2 \text{ vipratīṣedhe param kāryam).}$

## 6.1.45 आदेच उपदेशेऽशिति

*ād eca upadeṣe' śiti*  
 / āt 1/1 ecaḥ 6/1 upadeṣe' 7/1 aśiti 7/1 = sa cāsau it ca = śit (karmadhāraya);  
 na śit = aśit, tasmin (nañ tat. with int. karm.) /  
 (dhātoḥ #8)  
*ejanto yo dhātur upadeṣe tasyākārādeśo bhavati śiti tu pratyaye na bhavati*  
 A verbal root which, in *upadeśa*, ends in sounds denoted by the abbreviatory term *eC*, is replaced with *ā*, but not when an affix marked with Ś as an *it* follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*glātā* ‘*trC*-derivate of *glai* ‘to be weary’  
*glātum* ‘*tumUN*-derivate . . .’  
*glātavyam* ‘*tavya*-derivate . . .’  
*niśātā* ‘*trC*-derivate of *ni-śo* ‘to cut’  
*niśātum* ‘*tumUN*-derivate . . .’  
*niśātavyam* ‘*tavyaT*-derivate . . .’

1. Note that *dhātoḥ* must be brought close to the context of this rule as a predicate (*vidheya*). If *dhātoḥ* is not brought via *anuvṛtti*, then, in the absence of a predicate, *tadantavidhi* interpretation of *eC*, as a substituentum for *ā*, will not be possible to comprehend. We will then interpret the rule as: ‘*ā* comes in place of an *eC* in *upadeśa*’. Of course, with *dhātoḥ* in place via *maṇḍūkaphluti* ‘frog’s leap’ from 6.1.8 *liṭi dhātor* . . ., we get the interpretation: ‘*ā* comes as a substitute in place of an *eC*-final root in *upadeśa*’. Rule 1.1.51 *alo' ntyasya* will then order *ā* as a replacement in place of *eC*.

2. Why is this substitution applicable to *eC* only. So that it does not apply in deriving *karttā* and *harttā* where the roots end in *r*. A condition of *upadeśa* is imposed so that *ceṭā* and *stotā*, where *e* and *o* are replacements of the original *i* and *u*, could be kept out of the scope of this rule.



What is the purpose of *asīti* 'when an affix not marked with *Ś* follows'? So that *ā* can be blocked, for example in *glai* + *ŚaP* + (*LAṬ*→*tiP*) and *mlai* + *ŚaP* + (*LAṬ*→*tiP*), where *ŚaP* follows. Recall that *glāyati* and *mlāyati* derive by replacing *ai* with *āy*.

3. It is stated that this replacement is not allowed when an affix not marked with *Ś* as an *it* follows (*asīti*). How does this replacement apply in *jagle* and *mamle*. The word *śit* of *asīti* is not interpreted as a *bahuvrīhi*, paraphrased as *skāra id yasya* 'that whose it is a *Ś*'. It is interpreted as a *karmadhāraya* paraphrased as: *śa eva it* '(when) *Ś* itself is an *it*'. A *taṭpuruṣa* interpretation will make this specification refer to the sound *Ś* (*varṇa-grahaṇa*). Once *varṇa-grahaṇa* is accepted, *asīti* will negate an operation with reference to *Ś* as an *it* at the beginning of affixal right context (*paribhāṣā* (PŚ 34): *yasmin vidhis tadādāu algrahaṇe*). Thus, the negation of *asīti* applies only when the affix begins with *Ś* as an *it* (*tadādītva*; *śidādau pratyaye pratiṣedhaḥ*). Deriving *jagle* and *mamle* from *glai* + *LIT* and *mlai* + *LIT* where *LIT* is replaced with *eŚ*, via the *ātmanepada* affix *ta*, now becomes easier. For, the negation of *asīti* cannot apply since *eŚ* does not begin with *Ś*. A *bahuvrīhi* interpretation cannot block this negation from applying since *eŚ* will still be marked with *Ś* as an *it*.

4. What is the nature of negation (*pratiṣedha*) in *asīti*? Is it *pariyudāsa* or *prasajya*? A *pariyudāsa* interpretation will yield the interpretation of *tadbhinna tatsadṛśa* 'that which is not that but is similar to that'. That is, *śitaḥ anyah* = *asit*; *tasmin asīti* 'that which is other than (but similar to) one marked with *Ś* as an *it*; when that follows'. This *pariyudāsa* interpretation will then be limited only to contexts where an affix followed. It will be difficult to derive *suglāḥ* and *sumnāḥ* without the *ā*-replacement of *ai* of these roots since there will be no *Ka* affix to follow. For, affix *Ka* (3.1.136 *ātaś copasarge*) cannot be introduced where the roots ended in *ā*. We will be caught in a situation where one will be dependent upon the other (*itaretarāśrya*). A *prasajya* interpretation will negate *śit* only. The *ā*-replacement will take place even without the introduction of *Ka* (*Kāś*: *asītiṭi prasajyapraṭiṣedho* 'yam tenaitad ātvam anaimittikaṃ prāḡ eva pratyayotpatter bhavatīti'). This is how *suglāṇaḥ* and *sumlāṇaḥ* with *yuC* (3.3.128 *āto yuc*) can also be derived.

To sum up, *asīti* will be interpreted as *itsamjñakaśakārādau pratyaye na bhavati* 'does not apply when an affix with *Ś* as an *it* at its beginning follows'. Recall that this interpretation will also take recourse to *varṇagrahaṇa* and *tadādītva* as explained earlier.

4. The *anuvṛtti* of *āt* is valid up to 6.1.57 *nityaṃ smayateḥ*.

## 6.1.46 न व्यो लिटि

na vyo liṭi

/ na φ vyah 6/1 liṭi 7/1/

(ādeca upadeśe #45)

'*vyēñ*'ity etasya dhātor liṭi parata ākārādeśo na bhavati

Verbal root *veṇ* does not go through a replacement in *ā* when affix *LIT* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*saṁvivṛyāya* 'having securely covered'

*saṁvivṛyayitha* 'you have wrapped it well'

1. Note that rule 6.1.17 *liṭy abhyāsasyobhayeṣām* orders the *saṁprasāraṇa* replacement for *y* of the *abhyāsa* (6.1.14 *pūrvō' bhyāsaḥ*). That is, we get *saṁ + vye + vye + ṆaL* → *saṁ + v(y→i)e + vye + a* → *saṁ + v(i + e→i) + vye + a* after *saṁprasāraṇa* (6.1.17 *liṭy abhyāsasyobhayeṣām*) and *pūrvārūpa* (6.1.108 *saṁprasāraṇāc ca*). The *e* of *vye* is replaced with *ai*, its *ṛddhi* counterpart (7.2.115 *aco' ṇṇiti*), under the condition of *ṆaL*. This *ai* is then replaced with *āy* before *a*. The dual and plural forms corresponding to *saṁvivṛyāya* will be *saṁvivṛyatuh* and *saṁvivṛyuh*, derivatives of *atus* and *us*, respectively. These both will go through reiteration of the form resulting after *saṁprasāraṇa*. A replacement in *yaṇ* will be subsequently required by 7.4.82 *er anekācaḥ*. Augment *iṭ* in *saṁvivṛyayitha* is introduced by 7.2.66 *iḍ atty-artti-vyayatinām*.

2. Can *na* be construed with *liṭi* to give the meaning of *aliṭi* 'when something other than a *LIT* follows'. No, because this will be against desired derivational goals. Besides, such a negation can apply only to a restrictive (*nityama*) provision such as: *liṭi vyaḥ 'ā* comes as a replacement only when *LIT* follows'.

3. *Kāśikā*, for reasons that this rule does not offer anything new to dual and plural forms, offers only singular as examples. That is, given *ve + atus* → *ve + ve + atus*, there would not be any difference in form whether iteration applies with or without *ātva*. This no difference in form will result because both the *dhātu* as well as the *abhyāsa* will go through iteration.

Why not apply *saṁprasāraṇa* before *dvitva*? This still would not make any difference in forms, especially under the condition of *kiti*. Of course, we will get a difference in form with *ṆaL*. *Kāśikā* does not offer additional examples because there will not be any difference of forms in the context of *ajādi* 'vowel-initial' affixes *atus*, *us*, etc.

#### 6.1.47 स्फुरतिस्फुलत्योर्घञि

*sphuratisphulatyor ghañi*

/ *sphurati-sphulatyoh* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*); *ghañi* 7/1/

(*ādecaḥ* #45)

'*sphur-sphul calane*' ity etayor dhātvor ecaḥ sthāne ghañi parata ākārādeśo bhavati

The *eC* of verbal roots *sphur* 'to throb' and *sphul* 'ibidem' is replaced with *ā* when affix *GHañ* follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*biṣphāraḥ* ‘GHaÑ-derivate of *vi-sphur* ‘to tremble’  
*biṣphālaḥ* ‘... of *sphul* ‘to throb’  
*biṣphāraḥ* ‘ibidem’  
*biṣphālaḥ* ‘ibidem’

1. Note that *sphur* and *sphul* do not have any *eC* in *upadeśa*. The word *upadeśa* is thus not carried here. Elsewhere in subsequent rules, *upadeśa* will be carried if cited roots qualify for the condition of *eC*. Commentators state that *ā*, since there is no *eC* in *upadeśa*, comes as a replacement for the *o* (an *eC*) of these roots which, in turn, is gotten after application of *guṇa* (7.3.86 *pugantalaghūpadhasya ca*). An optional *ṣ* (*ṣatva*) results from the application of 8.3.76 *sphuratisphulatyor*. . . . Incidentally, the examples are all derivates of GHaÑ introduced by 3.3.121 *halaś ca* with the denotatum of *bhāva* ‘root-sense’, *karāṇa* ‘instrument’ or *adhikaraṇa* ‘locus’.

## 6.1.48 क्रीड्जीनां णौ

*krīṇjīnām ṇau*  
 / *krīṇjīnām* 6/3 = *krī ca in ca jiś ca* = *krīṇjayaḥ* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām; ṇau* 7/1/  
 (*ādecaḥ* #45)  
 ‘*ḍukrīṇ dravyavinimaye*’, ‘*in adhyāyane*’, ‘*ji jaye*’ *ity eteṣām dhātūnām ecaḥ*  
*sthāne ṇau parata ākārādeśo bhavati*  
 An *ā* comes as a replacement for the *eC* of verbal roots *krī* ‘to barter’,  
*iṇ* ‘to study’ and *ji* ‘to win’ when affix *ṆiC* follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*krāpayati* ‘... has someone barter something’  
*adhyāpayati* ‘... teaches; ... has someone study’  
*jāpayati* ‘... has someone win’

1. This rule offers *ā* as a replacement for the *eC* of verbal roots *ḍUkrīṇ* ‘to buy, barter’, *iṇ* ‘to study’ and *ji* ‘to win’ provided when *ṆiC* follows. This rule begins replacements with no condition of *upadeśa* (PM: *anupadeśārtha ārambhāḥ*). Note that forms such as *krāpayati*, *adhyāpayati* and *jāpayati* can be derived from verbal roots *krap* ‘to find fault, move’, *jap* ‘to speak out’ and *āpL* ‘to pervade’. This rule uses three specific verbal roots to exclude other roots and corresponding forms, in addition to excluding the non-*ṆiC* forms of the three cited roots. Why can we not interpret *ḍUkrīṇ* and *iṇ* as *krīṇ* ‘to do’ and *iṇ* ‘to go’? To interpret *ḍUkrīṇ* as *krīṇ* is not possible because of the requirement of *eC*. *Kāśikā* reads *ecaḥ sthāne* in the *vṛtti*. Verbal root *iṇ* can also be ruled out since, verbal root *ji*, a root ending in a short vowel, is used in association (*sāhacarya*). An *iṇ* with a short *i* is to be preferred. Why can we not interpret *iṇ* as *iṇ* with a long vowel on the basis of its associated use

with *DUkrīN̄*, also ending in a long vowel. An *iN̄* with short *i* can be acceptable on the basis of *vīpratiṣedha*? Besides, it is listed in the same group (*ekagaṇīya*). Or else, interpretation of the learned remains our only recourse (*vyākhyānam eva śaram*). Refer to derivational details in the appendix.

#### 6.1.49 सिध्यतेरपारलौकिके

*sidhyater apāralaukike*

/ *sidhyateḥ* 6/1 *apāralaukike* (*nañ. tatp.*) 7/1/

(*ādecaḥ* #45 *ṇau* #48)

'*śidhu himśāsamarādhyoḥ*' ity asya dhātor *apāralaukike* 'rthe  
*vartamānasyaicaḥ sthāne ṇau parata ākārādeṣo bhavati*

An *ā* comes in place of the *e*C of verbal root *ṢidhU* when it is used in the sense of something *apāralaukika* 'not pertaining to an accomplishment relative to the world beyond', and affix *ṆiC* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*annaṃ sādhayati* 'he has the food cooked'

*grāmaṃ sādhayati* 'he has village built'

1. The condition of *apāralaukike* is imposed to that *śidhU* of examples such as *tapas tāpasam sedhayati* 'penance has the ascetic become established' does not come under the scope of this rule. Verbal root *śidhU* is used here in the sense of 'accomplishing some special knowledge (*jñānaviśeṣa*)'. The *tapas* 'penance' is serving as the instigator for the ascetic. Incidentally, the *paraloka* of *apāralaukike* generally means 'another birth' (*janmāntara*), although it could also mean heaven and hell (*svarga; naraka*).

How come *ātva* is not negated in this example: *annaṃ sādhayati brāhmaṇebhyo dāsyāmi* 'he cooks food (thinking) that he will give it to the brāhmaṇas'. Why 'giving to the brāhmaṇas' which, in turn, would result in some *pāralaukika* gain, could not block *ātva*. Commentators explain that *sidh* is here used in the sense of *niṣpatti* 'bringing about the cooking' where *anna* is its *prayojana* 'purpose, cause'. A gift of *anna* to the brāhmaṇas certainly entails benefits in the world beyond. However, the condition of *apāralaukikatva* must be relatable directly to the action. Since 'cooking' here cannot accomplish anything *pāralaukika*, *ātva* cannot be blocked.

2. Note that *sidhyateḥ* has *śidhU* referenced with *ŚyaN*. This has been done in view of blocking any reference to *śidh* 'to move' of the *bhvādi*.

#### 6.1.50 मीनातिमिनोतिदीनां ल्यपि च

*mīnātiminotidīnām lyapi ca*

/ *mīnāti-minoti-dīnām* (*itar. dv.*) 6/3; *lyapi* 7/1 *ca* φ/

(*ādeca upadeṣe* #45)

‘mīn kṣaye’, ‘ḍumīn prakṣeṇe’, ‘dīn kṣaye’ ity eteṣāṃ dhātūnāṃ lyapi viṣaye cakārād ecaś ca viṣaye upadeśa eva prāk pratyayotpatter alo’ ntyasya sthāne ākārādeśo bhavati

The final sound segment of *mī* ‘to injure’, *miN* ‘to scatter’ and *dīN* ‘to decay, perish’ is replaced with *ā* when *LyāP* and *eC* find their scope.

#### EXAMPLES:

\*The examples are all derivatives of *trC*/*tumUN*/*taṇyaT*/*LyāP*

*pramātā*

*pramātum*

*pramātavyam*

*pramāya*

*nimātā*

*nimātum*

*nimātavyam*

*nimāya*

*upadātā*

*upadātum*

*upadātavyam*

*upadāya*

1. Note that the root-final *i* is replaced with *ā* right at the outset provided affix *LyāP*, or a vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term *eC*, finds its scope subsequently in the derivation. Thus, these roots do not receive affixes marked by their terminal *i*. Instead, they receive affixes marked by *ātva* since *ātva* is applied to them in *upadeśa* (*Kās.*: *upadeśa evātvavidhānād ivarṇāntalakṣaṇaḥ pratyayo na bhavati, ākārāntalakṣaṇaś ca bhavati*). Thus, *upadāyaḥ* ‘giving away’ and *udapānam* ‘drinking of water’ have their *dī* replaced with *dā* in *upadeśa*. Consequently, these derivatives involve affixes *GHaN̄* (3.3.18 *bhāve*; *upa* + *dā* + *GHaN̄*) and *yuC* (3.3.128 *āto yuc*; *upa* + *dā* + *yuC*). That is, the roots are not allowed affixes *aC* (3.3.56 *er ac*) and *KHaL* (3.3.126 *īśadduḥsuṣu* . . .).

The *ā*, in *upadeśa*, comes as a replacement for the final sound segment (1.1.52 *alo’ ntyasya*). This *āT*-replacement is also accomplished in anticipation of a subsequent *eC*, for example one which will appear through *guṇa* before affixes *trC* and *tumUN*. These affixes can thus be viewed as having the scope of *eC*. Recall that *eC* will not find its scope in the context of affixes marked with *K* and *N̄* as an *it*. For, replacement in *vṛddhi* and *guṇa* will be negated.

#### 6.1.51 विभाषा लीयते:

*vibhāṣā lyateḥ*

/ *vibhāṣā* 1/1 *lyateḥ* 6/1/

(*ādeca upadeśe* #45 *lyapi* #50)

*l̥yater dhātor lyapi ca ecaś ca viṣaye upadeśa eva alo' ntyasya sthāne vibhāṣā ākārādeśo bhavati*

The final sound segment of verbal root *l̥* 'to embrace, stick' is optionally replaced with *ā* in *upadeśa* when *LyaP* is to follow or *eC* finds its scope.

#### EXAMPLES:

*vilātā*  
*vilātum*  
*vilāya*  
*vilātavyam*  
*viletā*  
*viletum*  
*viletavyam*  
*vilīya*

\*Derivates of *l̥* with *t̥C/ tumUN/ tavyaT/ LyaP*

1. A reference here with *l̥* is made to both the *divādi* and *kryādi* verbal roots *l̥N* and *l̥*, respectively. The word *eC* and *ādeca upadeśe* are also understood here. The *ātva* will here again take place before *LyaP*, or in anticipation of an *eC*. That is, *l̥* will yield the form *le* through *guṇa*. This *e* will be replaced with *ā* in anticipation. Refer to the appendix for further details.

2. A *vārttika* proposal negates *ātva* of verbal roots *mī*, *mi* and *l̥* before affixes *KHaL* (3.3.126 *īṣadduḥsuṣu* . . .) and *aC* 3.3.56 (*er ac*; 3.1.134 *nandigrahi-pacādy* . . .). Thus we will get *īṣatpramayaḥ*, *īṣannimayaḥ* and *īṣadvilayaḥ*, etc. Note that negation of *ātva* amounts to *guṇa* in *e* and its subsequent replacement with *ay*.

3. Note that the option (*vibhāṣā*) is here interpreted as *vyavasthita-vibhāṣā*. It is thus to be understood as involving specific situations. Verbal root *l̥*, when used with *ṆiC*, goes through *ātva* obligatorily, provided the signification is *pralambhana* 'decieving' and *śālīnikaraṇa* 'showing respect'. That is, *ātva* applies obligatorily only when *pralambhana* and *śālīnikaraṇa* are denoted. Elsewhere, it just does not apply. This is what the fixed option (*vyavasthita-vibhāṣā*) means. Incidentally, the negation of *ātva* in connection with *l̥* can be gotten via *vyavasthita-vibhāṣā*. The *vārttika* proposal should then be understood in connection with other verbs.

#### 6.1.52 खिदेश्छन्दसि

*khideś chandasi*

/ *khideḥ* 6/1 *chandasi* 7/1/

(*ādecaḥ* #45 *vibhāṣā* #51)

'*khid dainye*' ity *asya dhātor ecaḥ sthāne chandasi viṣaye vibhāṣā ākāra ādeśo bhavati*

An *ā* optionally comes in place of the final *e*C of verbal root *khid* 'to be glum' when the usage is Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

*cittam cikhāda* 'made sad'

*cittam cikheda* 'ibidem'

1. In the classical language we find: *cittam khedayati*. The *e* resulting from *guṇa* of *i* (7.3.86 *ṣugantalaghūpadhasya ca*) is replaced with *ā* in deriving *cikhāda*.

It is argued that this *sūtra* should not be formulated. For, *cikhāda* and *cikheda* can be derived from *khād* 'to eat' and *khid* 'to be sad'. Denotational differences in roots should create no difficulty since roots denote various meanings (*anekārtha*) anyway. *Nyāsa* observes that if *khād* and *khid* were to be synonymous, it will be impossible to formulate this rule.

### 6.1.53 अपगुरो णमुलि

*apaguro ṇamuli*

/apagurāḥ 6/1 ṇamuli 7/1/

(ādecaḥ #45 vibhāṣā #51)

'gurī udyamane'ity asya dhātor apapūrvasya ṇamuli parata ecaḥ sthāne vibhāṣā ākāra ādeśo bhavati

An *ā* optionally comes in place of the final *e*C of *gurī* 'to strive, exert' used with the preverb *apa*, when affix *ṆamUL* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*apagāramapagāram* 'brandishing their swords they fight'

*apagoramapagoram* 'ibidem'

1. This rule offers optional *ātva* when *ṆamUL* follows verbal root *gurī* used with the preverb *apa*. We will get *apa* + *gur* + (*N*→*φ*) *am* (*UL*→*φ*) = *apa* + *gur* + *am*→*apa* + *g(u→o)r* + *am*→*apa* + *g(o→ā)r* + *am* = *apagāram* through *guṇa* and *ātva*. This same can be doubled up to produce *apagāramapagāram* with the signification of *ābhikṣṇya* 'repetition, over and over again' (3.4.22 *ābhikṣṇye ṇamul*; also *vt.*: *ābhikṣṇye dve bhavataḥ* (ad 8.1.12 *prakāre guṇavacanasya*). A non-application of *ātva* will produce *apagoramapagoram*, through *guṇa* and repeat occurrence of the derivate in *ābhikṣṇya*. Yet another set of *ṆamUL* derivatives can be gotten without *ābhikṣṇya* by introducing the affix by 3.4.53 *dviṭyāyām ca*. We can thus get *apagāram* and *apagoram* as in *asyapagāram yudhyante* 'they are fighting with raised swords' and *asyapagoram yudhyante*. These derivatives require *ṆamUL* to be introduced after verbal root *gur*, used with the preverb *apa*, under the cooccurrence condition of a *pada* ending in *dviṭyā* (accusative).

## 6.1.54 चिस्फुरोर्णौ

*cisphuror nau*

/cisphuroḥ 6/2 = ciś ca sphur ca (itar. dv.); nau 7/1/

(ādecaḥ #45 vibhāṣā #51)

‘ciñ, sphur’ity etayor dhātvor nau parata ecaḥ sthāne vibhāṣā ākārādeśo bhavati

An ā optionally comes in place of the eC of verbal roots ciñ ‘to heap’ and sphur ‘to quiver, throb’ when affix NiC follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*cāpayati* ‘he has someone heap something’

*cāyayati* ‘ibidem’

*sphārayati* ‘makes someone quiver’

*sphorayati* ‘ibidem’

1. Note that these roots could not be covered under the provision of rule 6.1.48 *krñjñāṇ nau*, because that provision is obligatory. Of course, this *ātva* is optional.

2. An option of *ātva* will produce *cāpayati* where augment *pUK* will be introduced by 7.3.36 *artihñvānī*. . . . Thus, *ci* + *NiC* → *c(i→ai)* → *cai* + *pUK* + *i→c(ai→ā)* + *p* + *i*, where 7.2.115 *aco’ nñiti* replaces the *i* of *ci* with its *vrddhi* counterpart. An introduction of *LAṬ* → *tiP* and *ŚaP*, with *guṇa* of the *i* of *cāpi* subsequently replaced with *ay* will produce *cāpayati*. Note that *pUK* will be introduced prior to *ātva* on the basis of being subsequent, as well as internally conditioned (*paratvādantarāṅgatvāc ca*).

A non-option of *ātva* will produce *c(i→ai→āy)* + *i* + *ŚaP* + (*LAṬ* → *tiP*) → *cayayati*, with no *pUK* and *ātva*. Why can we not replace the *i* of *ci* with *guṇa* (7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdhac’hātukayoḥ*), as against *vrddhi*. The application of *vrddhi* will be treated as ‘internally conditioned (*antaraṅga*), based upon *pūrvopasthiti* ‘prior placement’, of *ci* + *NiC*. One can similarly derive *sphārayati*, with *ātva*, and *sphorayati* with a *guṇa* replacement for the short penultimate vowel denoted by *iK* (*laghūpadha-guṇa*; 7.3.86 *pugantalaghūpadhasya ca*).

## 6.1.55 प्रजने वीयते:

*prajane vīyateḥ*

/prajane 7/1 vīyateḥ 6/1/

(ādecaḥ #45 vibhāṣā #44 nau #54)

‘vi gatiprajanakāntīyasanakhādaneṣu’ ity asya dhātōḥ prajane vartamānasya nau parato vibhāṣā ākārādeśo bhavati

An ā optionally comes in place of the final eC of verbal root *vī* ‘to conceive, be pregnant’ when affix *NiC* follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*purovāto gāḥ pravāpayati* ‘easterly winds have cow’s become pregnant’

*purovāto gāḥ pravāyayati* ‘ibidem’



1. Note that *vī*, an *adādi* root, is used with meanings such as ‘to go’, ‘to conceive’, ‘to eat’ and ‘to desire’. The provisions of this rule are limited to *vī* when meaning ‘to conceive’. Here again *ātva* is followed by augment *pUK*. A non-option of *ātva* will require *vṛddhi* as explained earlier in connection with *cāyayati*. Thus, we get *pravāpayati* and *pravāyayati*. The word *prajana* is explained as *janmana upakramo garbhagrahaṇam* ‘onset of the process of bringing someone into existence; conceiving’.

#### 6.1.56 बिभेतेहेतुभये

*bibheter hetubhaye*

/ *bibheteḥ* 6/1 *hetubhaye* 7/1 = *hetor bhayam* = *hetubhayam* (*pañc. tat.*), *tasmin/*

(*ādecaḥ* #45 *vibhāṣā* #51 *ṇau* 54)

*hetubhaye vartamānasya ‘ñibhī bhaye’ ity asya dhātor ṇau parato nityam ākārādeśo bhavati*

An *ā* optionally comes in place of the *eC* of verbal root *ñibhī* ‘to be afraid’, when action denoted by the root has *hetu* as source of fear, and when *ñiC* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*muṇḍo bhāpayate* ‘he, the one with shaven head, causes fear’

*muṇḍo bhīṣayate* ‘ibidem’

1. The word *hetu* is here used in the sense of *prayojaka* ‘instigator’ of the *svatantrakartṛ* ‘independent agent’ (1.4.56 *tatprayojako hetuś ca*). The word *hetubhaye* is thus used to specify that an *ātva* is accomplished when the source of fear (*bhaya-hetu*) is *hetu*, i.e., the instigator of the independent agent, itself. That is, the boy of our example, i.e., *svatantra-kartṛ* ‘independent agent’, must have *muṇḍa* ‘the man with shaven head’, i.e., *hetu* ‘instigator’, as source of fear (*bhaya*). This optional *ātva* is not allowed elsewhere. Here again *ātva* will involve *pUK*. Thus, we get *bhāpayate* and *bhīṣayate* with *ātmanepada* ‘middle’ (1.3.68 *bhīṣmyor hetubhaye*). Verbal root *bhī* receives augment *ṣUK* (7.3.40 *bhīyo hetubhaye ṣuk*). This augment is not available with the option of *ātva* since 7.3.40 *bhīyo hetubhaye ṣuk* specifies the root as *bhī*. That is, one can get *ṣUK* only when *ī* is heard in *bhī*.

Why *bhayahetuḥ*? Observe, *kuñcikayā enaṃ bhāyayati devadattaḥ* ‘Devadatta frightens him with the broom’. The source of fear here is the broom, a *karaṇa* ‘instrument’. That is, it is not Devadatta.

#### 6.1.57 नित्यं स्मयते:

*nityam smayateḥ*

/ *nityam* 1/1 *smayateḥ* 6/1/

(*ādecaḥ* #45 *hetubhaye* #56)

'*smiñ iṣadd hasane*' *ity asya dhātor hetubhayē* *rthe nau parato nityam ākārādeśo bhavati*

An *ā* comes obligatorily in place of *eC* of verbal root *smiÑ* 'to smile', when action denoted by the root entails *hetu* as source of fear, and when affix *NiC* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*muṇḍo vismāpayate* 'he whose head is shaven makes (him) frightened'  
*jaṭilo vismāpayate* 'he whose hair is matted makes (him) frightened'

1. Here again we find the same meaning of *hetu*. The word *nityam* cancels the *anuvṛtti* of *vibhāṣā*. That is, *ātva* is now obligatory. Verbal root *ṢmiÑ* is used in the sense of *iṣaddhasana* 'smile'. The association of *smi* with *bhī* enables us to also infer *hetusmaye* 'when source of fear is a smiling instigator of an independent agent' as a condition, parallel to *hetubhaye*.

Deriving *vismāpayate* with *ātva*, *pUK* and *ātmanepada* offers nothing new.

#### 6.1.58 सृजिदृशोर्ज्ञल्यमकिति

*sṛjīdṛśor jhaly am akiti*

/sṛjī-dṛśoḥ 6/2 (itar. dv.); jhaly 7/1 am 1/1 akiti 7/1 (nañ. tat.)/

'*sṛja visarge*', '*dṛśir prekṣaṇē*' *ity etayor dhātvor jhalādāv akit pratyaye parato am āgamo bhavati*

Augment *aM* is introduced to verbal roots *sṛj* 'to release, project' and *dṛśIR* 'to look' when an affix which begins with a *jhaL* (Śs 7-14), but is not marked with *K* as an *it*, follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*sraṣṭā* 'trC-derivate of *sraj*'

*sraṣṭum* 'tumUN-derivate . . .'

*sraṣṭavyam* 'tavyaT-derivate . . .'

*draṣṭā* 'trC-derivate of *dṛś*'

*draṣṭum* 'tumUN-derivate . . .'

*draṣṭavyam* 'tavyaT-derivate . . .'

*asrākṣīt* 'third singular active LUN-derivate of *sṛj*'

*adrākṣīt* 'third singular . . . of *dṛś*'

1. Augment *aM* is here introduced as an exception to the *guṇa* substitute of 7.3.86 *pugantalaḥpādhasya ca*. This specific provision (*viśeṣa*) blocks the general provision (*sāmānyavidhāna*) of *guṇa* in a manner similar to the specific provision (*viśeṣavidhāna*) of *takra* 'buttermilk' to *Kauṇḍinya*, a particular *brāhmaṇa*, blocking the general provision of yogurt (*dadhi*) given to all *brāhmaṇas* (*dadhi brāhmaṇebhyo dīyatām takraṃ kauṇḍinyāya*).

2. *Kāśikā* states that *vṛddhi*, in aorist examples such as *asrākṣīt* and *adrākṣīt*, is accomplished by rule 7.2.1 *sici vṛddhiḥ parasmaipadeṣu* after augment *aM* is

introduced. That is, it is blocked initially (*pūrvam tu bādhyate*). This blocking is similar to the blocking of *laghūpadhaguna* by *aM*. Note, however, that once *aM* is introduced, the condition for applying *laghūpadhaguna* is removed (*nimittasya vihatatvāt*). Consequently, *laghūpadhaguna* is blocked forever. This, however, does not happen in case of *vṛddhi*. It applies after *aM* is introduced since condition for its application still remains (*punah prasaṅgavijñānāt*). It is also stated that *aM* blocks *vṛddhi* because of its obligatory (*nitya*) nature. Additional derivational details can be found in the appendix.

### 6.1.59 अनुदात्तस्य चर्दुपधस्यान्यतरस्याम्

*anudāttasya ca ṛdupadhasyānyatarasyām*

/ *anudāttasya* 6/1 *ca*  $\phi$  *ṛdupadhasya* 6/1 = *ṛkāra upadhā yasya sa* (bv.),  
*tasmin; anyatarasyām* 7/1/

(*upadeśe* #45 *jhaly am akiti* #58)

*upadeśe anudāttasya dhātor ṛkāropadhasya jhalādāv akiti pratyaye parato*  
*nyatarasyām am āgamo bhavati*

Augment *aM* is optionally introduced to a verbal root which, in *upadeśa*, is *anudātta*, and which also contains *ṛT* in its *upadhā*, provided an affix beginning with *jhL*, but not marked with *K* as an *it*, follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*traptā* ‘third person singular *LUT*-derivate of *trp* with no *aM* and no *iT*’

*tarpitā* ‘... with *iT* and *aM*’

*tarptā* ‘... with *aM* but no *iT*’

*draptā* ‘third person singular active *LUT*-derivate of *drp* with no *aM* and no *iT*’

*darptā* ‘... with *aM* and *iT*’

*darptā* ‘... with *aM* but no *iT*’

1. Note that verbal roots *trp* ‘to be satisfied, pleased’ and *drp* ‘to glow, kindle, release’ are both marked with *anudātta* and also have *ṛ* in their *upadhā* ‘penultimate position’. Recall that *aM* is more like an exception to *laghūpadhaguna* ‘a short penultimate replacement in *guna*’. But since this rule makes *aM* optional, roots covered by this rule will go through *laghūpadhaguna* if the option of *aM* is not availed. Verbal roots *trp* and *drp* will also receive augment *iT* optionally (7.2.45 *radhādibhyaś ca*). Thus, we will get *traptā* and *draptā* (with *aM*, but no *guna* and no *iT*); *tarptā* and *darptā* (with *guna*); *tarpitā* and *darpitā* (with *guna* and *iT*).

2. A condition of *anudāttasya* is necessary so that a root such as *brhŪ* ‘to strive, raise’, because of its *udātta* in *upadeśa*, can be kept out of the scope of this rule. That is why 7.2.44 *svaratisūti* ... applies on the basis of *U* as an *it* (*udit*). Note that there are only eight roots (*dah-dih-duh-ṇah-nih-ruh-lih-vah*) which end in *h* and are marked with *anudātta*. Verbal root *brh* is not one of

them. Consequently, it receives augment *iT* optionally (7.2.44 *svaratisūti* . . .).

### 6.1.60 शीर्षच्छन्दसि

*śīrṣaṁś chandasi*

/ *śīrṣan* 1/1 *chandasi* 7/1/

'*śīrṣan*' *iti śabdāntaram śiraḥśabdena samānārthaṁ chandasi viśaye nīpātyate*

The word *śīrṣan* 'head' is derived in the Vedic via *nīpātana*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*śīrṣṇā hi tatra somaṁ kṛtāṁ haranti* 'they carry the soma bought there on their head'

1. Note that *śīrṣan* is derived separately, via *nīpātana*. It is not a replacement of *śiras*, via *nīpātana*. For, *śiras* is also used in the Vedic. Our examples *śīrṣṇā* and *śīrṣṇaḥ* are instrumental and genitive forms, respectively. The *a* of *śīrṣan* gets deleted by 6.4.134 *allopo' naḥ*.

### 6.1.61 ये च तद्धिते

*ye ca taddhite*

/ *ye* 1/3 *ca*  $\phi$  *taddhite* 7/1/

(*śīrṣan* #60)

*yakārādaṁ taddhite parataḥ 'śiraḥ' śabdasya 'śīrṣan' ādeśo bhavati*

The word *śīrṣan* comes in place of *śiras* when a *taddhita* affix beginning with *y* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*śīrṣanyaḥ* 'principal'

1. Note that this rule accepts *śīrṣan* as a replacement for *śiras*. Rule 4.3.55 *śarīrāvayavāc ca* introduces affix *yaT* within the general provision of 4.3.53 *tatra bhavaḥ*, parallel to *śirasi bhavaḥ* 'principal; . . . born, or found, on head'.

A *vārttika* recommends *śīrṣan* as an optional replacement in the context of *keśa* 'hair' (*vt. vā keśeṣu*). Thus we get: *śīrṣanyāḥ keśāḥ* and *śirasyāḥ keśāḥ* 'hair on head'.

### 6.1.62 अचि शीर्षः

*aci śīrṣaḥ*

/ *aci* 7/1 *śīrṣaḥ* 1/1/

(*śīrṣan* #6 *taddhite* #61)

*ajādaṁ taddhite śirasāḥ śīrṣaśabda ādeśo bhavati*

The word *śīrṣa* comes in place of *śiras* when a *taddhita* affix beginning with a vowel follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*sthaulaśīrṣam* 'pertaining to one whose head is big'

*hāstīśīrṣyā* 'a female descendant of Hāstīśīrṣa'

1. Deriving *hāstīśīrṣi* 'male descendant of Hāstīśīrṣa' from *hastiśīrṣa* + *Ṇas* + *iṆ* (4.1.96 *bāhvādibhyaś ca*) does not offer any difficulty. A replacement in *śīrṣa* followed by initial *ṽddhi*, assignment of the term *bha* (1.4.18 *yaci bham*; 6.4.129 *bhasya*) and deletion of *a* will yield *hasti(śīras→śīrṣa) + Ṇas + iṆ→hastiśīrṣa + i→h(a→ā) stīśīrṣa + i→hāstīśīrṣ(a→ϕ) + i = hāstīśīrṣi*. Our next derivate *sthaulaśīrṣa* is similarly derived from *sthūlaśīras* + *Ṇas* + *aṆ*, where *aṆ* is introduced under the meaning condition of 4.3.120 *tasyedam = sthūlaśīrasaḥ idam = sthaulaśīrṣam* 'this belongs to one who has a big head'.

Deriving *hāstīśīrṣyā* to denote a female descendant of *hāstīśīrṣi* would require *ṢyaṆ* to replace *iṆ* (4.1.78 *aniṇor anārṣayoh*). But we run into problem here. Our replacement *śīrṣa* may be accepted as *śīras*, the form it replaced, through *sthānivadbhāva*. This may occasion an application of 6.1.61 *ye ca taddhite*, whereby *śīrṣan* may come as a replacement for *śīrṣa*. The condition of a following *taddhita* affix beginning with *y* can be met by way of *sthānivadbhāva*. Of course, with the understanding that *ṢyaṆ* is a replacement for the *taddhita* affix *iṆ*. This will produce a wrong derivate *hāsti(śīrṣa→śīrṣan) + (Ṣ)ya(Ṇ) = hāstīśīrṣan + ya + (C) ā(P) = hāstīśīrṣan + ya + ā = hāstīśīrṣan + y(a→ϕ) + ā = hāstīśīrṣa(n→ṇ) + y + ā = \*hāstīśīrṣanyā*. Incidentally, *CāP* will be introduced by 4.1.74 *yaṇāś cāp*. How could one block this undesired result. One ought to make some special effort. The *Mahābhāṣya* suggests that *ṢyaṆ* should not be accepted as a replacement (*ādeśa*) of *iṆ*. It should instead be accepted as a *taddhita* affix (*pratyaya*) introduced after the base ending in *iṆ* (*iṇanta*). One can then delete the *i* of *iṆ* by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*. Accepting the affixal status (*pratyayapakṣa*) of *ṢyaṆ*, as against one of replacement (*ādeśapakṣa*), blocks undesired results. That is, this deletion (*lopa*) will be treated as *i*, via *sthānivadbhāva*, when one has to perform an operation on what precedes (*pūrvavidhau kartavye*; 1.1.57 *acah parasmīn pūrvavidhau*). Thus, *śīrṣan* cannot replace *śīrṣa* because the condition of an immediately following *taddhita* affix beginning with *y* cannot be met. The *i* of *iṆ*, brought via *sthānivadbhāva*, will intervene (*Kāś*: . . . *kartavyo' tra yatnaḥ. aniṇantād vā paraḥ pratyayaḥ ṣyaṇāśrayitavyaḥ, tatra yasyetilopasya sthānivadbhāvād vyavadhānam*).

2. A question is also raised in connection with the derivation of *sthaulaśīrṣam*. Why do we have to accept *śīrṣa* as a replacement when *śīrṣan* of the preceding rule could already account for the derivate. A replacement ending in *a*, as against *an*, is desired since the derivate will be ending in *a*. A replacement ending in *an* (*śīrṣan*) will cause the derivate to end in *an*. For, *an* must then be retained under the dictates of rule 6.4.168 *ye cābhāva-karmaṇoh*.

## 6.1.63 पद्मनोमासहृन्निशसन्यूषन्दोषन्यकञ्चकनुदन्नासञ्चस्पृतिषु

*paddannomāshṛnniśasanyūṣandoṣanyakāñchakannudannāsañ chaspra-*  
*bhṛtiṣu*

/pad-dan-nas-mās-hṛt-niś-asan-yūṣan-doṣan-yakan-śakan-udan-āsan (each  
with deleted 1/1) śasprabhṛtiṣu 7/3 = śas prabhṛtiḥ yeṣāṃ te (bv.), teṣu/  
(chandasī #60)

‘pāda, danta, nāsikā, māsā, hṛdaya, niśā, asṛj, yūṣa, doṣa, yakṛt, śakṛt, udak,  
āsana’ ity eteṣāṃ śabdānāṃ sthāne śasprabhṛtipratyayeṣu parataḥ ‘pad, dat,  
nas, mās, hṛt, niś, asan, yūṣan, doṣan, yakan, śakan, udan, āsan-ity ete ādeśā  
yathāsamkhyam bhavanti

Forms such as *pad*, *dat*, *nas*, *mās*, *hṛt*, *niś*, *asan*, *yūṣan*, *doṣan*, *yakan*,  
*śakan*, *udan*, and *āsan* come as replacements, in the Vedic, for *pāda*,  
*danta*, *nāsikā*, *māsā*, *hṛdaya*, *niśā*, *asṛj*, *yūṣa*, *doṣa*, *yakṛt*, *śakṛt*, *udaka*, and  
*āsana*, respectively, when affixes Śas, and the like, follow.

## EXAMPLES:

*nīpadaś caturo jahi*  
*padā varttaya goduham*  
*yā dato dhāvāte tasyai śyāvadān*  
*sūkṛastvākhanannṣā*  
*māsi tvā paśyāmi cakṣuṣā*  
*hṛdā pūtaṃ manāsā jātavedo*  
*amāvāsyāyāṃ niśi yajeta*  
*āsikto’ snā’ varohati*  
*yā pātrāṇi yūṣṇa āsecānāni*  
*yatte doṣnō daurbhāgyam*  
*yakno’ vadyati*  
*śakno’ vadyati*  
*udno divyasyā nō dehi*  
*āsani kiṃ labhe madhūni*

1. Some here carry the *anuvṛtti* of *chandasī*. Others do not wish to qualify these replacements. Consequently, these become valid for both the Vedic as well as classical (*bhāṣa*) usages. Yet others carry the *anuvṛtti* of *anyatarasyām* from 6.1.59 and consider these replacements optional. After all, we do get *pad*, etc., in classical usages:

*vyāyāmakṣuṇṇagātrasya padbhyām udvartitasya ca*  
*vyādhayo nopasarṇanti vainateyam ivoragāḥ*

‘he who has become strong-limbed with exercise, and also one who receives foot-massage, diseases do not approach him as snakes do not approach Garuḍa.’

2. This rule offers thirteen replacements for an equal number of corre-

sponding substituenda when a nominal ending enumerated beginning after Śas, and the like (*śasprabhṛtiṣu*), follow. That is, a replacement enumerated here will not apply in examples such as *pādau te pratipīdyau* ‘... your feet are to be massaged one by the other’ and *nāsike te kṛṣe* ‘your nostrils are smaller’. An interpretation of *prabhṛti*, of *śasprabhṛtiṣu*, as *prakāra* ‘kind’ allows such replacements to also occur before other affixes. Thus, we get *doṣa* replaced with *dūṣan* before *au*, as in *kakuddoṣaṇī yācate mahādevaḥ* and *śalādoṣaṇī yācate mahādevaḥ*. Some say that *kakud doṣaṇī* and *śalā* contain forms where *doṣa* is replaced with *doṣan* before *au*. The *au*, after the replacement, is replaced with *Ṣi* (7.1.19 *napuṃsakāc ca*). Others say no. These contain *doṣaṇī*, a form ending in *ÑiP* (4.1.5 *ṛnnebhyo ṇīp*).

*Kāśikā* accepts *āsan* as the replacement for *āsana*. Bhaṭṭoji accepts *āsyā* as the correct substituendum and declares *Kāśikā*’s reading as carelessness (*prāmāṇika*; SK 228: *paddanomās* . . . (6.1.63): *yat tu āsanaśabdasya āsannādeśa iti kāśikāyām uktam tat prāmāṇikam*). The *Tattvabodhinī* glosses *āsyā* as *mukha* ‘mouth’.

3. The following *vārttika* proposals must also be noted in connection with these replacements:

- (i) *māṃsa*, *ṛtanā* and *sānu* should also be replaced with *māṃs*, *ṛt* and *snu* (*vt. māṃsapṛtanāsānūnām* . . .). We thus get *māṃsapacanyāḥ*, *ṛtsu* and *adhisnuṣu* for *māṃsapacanyāḥ*, *ṛtanāsu* and *adhisānuṣu*, respectively.
- (ii) *nas* should replace *nāsikā*, when occurring followed by *yaT* (5.1.6 *śarīrāvayavād yat*), *tasIL* (5.4.45 *apādāne cāhīyaruhoḥi*) and *kṣudra*, to account for *nasyam*, *nastah* and *naḥkṣudrah*, respectively.
- (iii) A replacement in *nas* is not allowed when *nāsikā* occurs before *yaT* used with the signification of *varṇa* ‘sound’ and *nagara* ‘city’. Thus, *nāsikyo varṇaḥ* ‘a nasal sound’ and *nāsikyam nagaram* ‘a city named Nāsikya’.

Refer to derivational details in the appendix.

#### 6.1.64 धात्वादेः षः सः

*dhātuvādeḥ śaḥ śaḥ*

/ *dhātuvādeḥ* 6/1 = *dhātor ādiḥ* = *dhātuvādiḥ* (*śaṣ. tat.*), *tasya*; *śaḥ* 6/1  
*śaḥ* 1/1/

(*upadeśe* #45)

*dhātor ādeḥ śakārasya sthāne sakārādeśo bhavati*

The initial *ṣ* of a verbal root in *upadeśa* is replaced with *s*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*saḥate* ‘third singular present indicative middle of *śaḥ* ‘to endure’

*siñcati* ‘third singular present indicative active of *ṣic* ‘to water’

1. A rule to replace root-initial  $\varsigma$  with  $s$  will no longer be needed if such roots were listed with initial  $s$  to start with. But not formulating this rule would create problems elsewhere. Consider rule 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayaḥ* which, additionally to requiring an affixal replacement, also requires a root-initial  $s$  to be replaced with  $\varsigma$ , provided this  $s$  happened to be a replacement of  $\varsigma$  in *upadeśa*. Rule 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayaḥ* must specify exactly what root-initial  $s$  should be replaced with  $\varsigma$ . That is, if rule 6.1.64 *dhātuvādeḥ saḥ saḥ* is not formulated to do so with brevity (*lāghava*). For, to specify such roots in the context of rule 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayaḥ* will certainly be prolix (*gaurava*). A specification such as the following must be read with the provision of 8.3.59:

A root-initial  $s$  when it occurs before a vowel ( $aC$ ), or a dental sound, is replaced with  $\varsigma$ , provided this  $s$  was an original  $\varsigma$  in *upadeśa*, of course, occurring before an  $aC$  or a dental sound.

Verbal roots *smiN* 'to smile', *svidI* 'to perspire', *svadI* 'to taste, relish', *svaṅjI* 'to embrace' and *svapI* 'to recline, sleep', where there is no following  $aC$  or dental sound, are also viewed as covered by the  $\varsigma$ -replacement of the original  $\varsigma$ , and further replacement with  $s$ . This  $\varsigma \rightarrow s \rightarrow \varsigma$ -replacement, however, should not be allowed in connection with roots such as *sr̥pI* 'to crawl', *sr̥jI* 'to create', *str̥N* 'to cover', *st̥yai* 'to gather in a heap', *sek* 'to move' and *sr̥* 'to go' which are followed by an  $aC$ , or a dental sound.

Obviously, formulating 6.1.64 *dhātuvādeḥ saḥ saḥ* is more economical than adding a lengthy specification to rule 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayaḥ* with regard to what  $s$  of a root can be replaced with  $\varsigma$ .

2. The condition that  $\varsigma$  must occur initially as part of a root is needed so that nominals such as *ṣoḍaśa*, *ṣaḍika* and *ṣaṇḍa* could be blocked from availing the replacement in  $s$ . Roots which may have medial  $\varsigma$  can similarly be blocked from receiving this replacement because of the requirement of initial  $\varsigma$ . Thus, *karṣati*, *kṛṣati* cannot avail it.

3. A *vārttika* proposal is made to disallow  $\varsigma \rightarrow s$ -replacement in contexts where a denominative in general, or verbal roots *sthivU* and *svaṣka* in particular, are involved. We can get two forms of *sthivU*, i.e., *teṣṭhiṣyate* and *teṣṭhiṣyate*, derived via doubling. The  $s$  of a root with *ṭh* (*sthivU*) is replaced with  $\varsigma$ . The  $\varsigma$  of a root with *th* (*sthivU*) will cause retroflexion (*ṣtutva*). For denominative exceptions, consider *ṣoḍīyate* and *ṣaṇḍīyate*.

#### 6.1.65 णो नः

*no naḥ*

*/ṇaḥ 6/1 naḥ 1/1/*

(*upadeśe* #45 *dhātuvādeḥ* #64)

*dhātor āder ṇakārasya nakāra ādeśo bhavati*

The initial  $\eta$  of a verbal root in *upadeśa* is replaced with  $n$ .



## EXAMPLES:

*ṇayati* 'third person singular present indicative active of *ṇā* 'to lead''  
*namati* 'third singular present indicative active of *ṇam* 'to bow down, bend''

1. Note that provisions of this rule are very similar to those offered by the preceding rule. Roots covered by this rule are marked with *Ṇ* in *upadeśa* for reasons similar to those marked with *Ṣ* in *upadeśa*. The condition of *dhātuvādeḥ* is still valid so that a root such as *aṇ* could be kept outside the scope of this rule. Here again the denominatives are treated as exceptions. Rule 8.4.14 *upasargād asamāse* *pi* . . ., though with some qualifications, allows *n*→*ṇ*-replacement for roots covered by this rule. This citation of roots with *ṇ* in *upadeśa* applies to all roots beginning with *n*, except for *nṛṭI* 'to dance', *nandI* 'to be joyous, prosperous', *nardI* 'to sound', *nakkA* 'to destruct', *nāṭI* 'to drip, ooze' and *nāthṛ*/*nādhṛ* 'to beg, bless, prosper'.

## 6.1.66 लोपो व्योर्वलि

*lopo vyor vali*

/ *lopaḥ* 1/1 *vyoḥ* 6/2 *valiḥ* 1/1/

*dhātor adhātoś ca vakāra-yakārayor vali parato lopo bhavati*

A *y* and *v* is replaced with *LOPA* when an affix beginning with a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *vaL* (Śś. 5–14) follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*didivān* 'form of *div* + *LIT*→*KvasU*; 'he has sported''

*didivāmsau* 'they (two) have sported'

*didivāmsaḥ* 'they (all) have sported'

*ūtām* 'Kta-derivate of *ūyI* 'to weave''

*knūtam* 'Kta-derivate of *knūyI* 'to be wet, noisy''

*gaudheraḥ* 'lizard'

*paceran* 'third person plural benedictive *LIN*-derivate of *pac* 'to cook''

*yajeran* ' . . . of *yaj* 'to perform sacrifice''

*jīradānuḥ* 'jīv + *radānuK*; he who lives'

*āśremāṇam* 'derivate of *manIN*; he who moves; that which becomes dry'

1. Note that the deletion provision of this rule is applicable to both root (*dhātu*) and non-root (*adhātu*) forms. The *anuvṛtti* of *dhātoḥ*, carried from 6.1.8 *liṭi dhātor* . . ., got suspended in view of specification by *dhātu* of 6.1.8 *dhātuvādeḥ saḥ saḥ* (*Kās.*: *dhātor iti prakṛtaṃ yat tad dhātuvāder iti punar dhātugrahaṇān nivṛttam. tena dhātor adhātoś ca vakārayakārayor vali parato lopo bhavati*). Refer to the appendix (II:418-20) under 1.1.60 *adarśanam lopaḥ* for derivational details of some examples:

2. It is stated that *kāryin* 'operand, object of operation' should be speci-

fied in a rule prior to its related *kārya* 'operation'. Our present rule states operation (*lopaḥ*) first followed by the operand (*vyor vali*). Why did Pāṇini not formulate the rule as *vyor vali lopaḥ*. This way one would also make half a mora less articulatory effort in reading this rule. The *o* of *lopa* equals two moras as opposed to the *aḥ* of *lopaḥ* which equals only one and one-half. Why did he use *lopaḥ* first? Did he have any special purpose in mind? Perhaps he used *lopaḥ* to indicate that this deletion takes precedence over other operations is conflict (*PM ad Kāś.*: *vidhyantarāt pūrvam evāyaṃ lopo bhavati*).

Consider, for example, the derivation of *kaṇḍūḥ* and *lolūḥ* from (*kaṇḍūya* + (*(K)v(IP)*) + *sU*))) and (*lolūya* + (*(K)v(IP)* + *sU*))), where subsequent to deletion of final *a* of *kaṇḍūya* and *lolūya*, rules 6.1.65 *lopo vyor vali* and 6.1.67 *ver aprktasya* both become applicable. The first rule requires deletion of *y*, of *kaṇḍūy* and *lolūy*, as against the second which demands deletion of *v* of (*(K)v(IP)*). The deletion of *y*, as indicated by means of prior placement of *lopaḥ* in this rule, takes precedence over the deletion of *v*. This deletion of *y* is internally conditioned (*antarāṅga*) as against deletion of *v* which comes externally conditioned (*bahiraṅga*).

What if one finds a conflict in the application of rule 6.1.67 *ver aprktasya* and 6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ*? Here again the internally conditioned deletion of *v* (*kviblopa*) will take precedence over the deletion of *y*. What if one applies 6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ* prior to the deletion of *v*, based upon interpretation of *saptamī* 'locative' of *ārdhadhātuke* (carried in 6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ*) as *viśayasaptamī* 'locative of domain'? But this will still not remove conflict of application between deletion of *v* (*kviblopa*) and *y* (*valilopa*). For deletion of *v*, because of being *para* 'subsequent' and *nitya* 'obligatory', will apply first. But this deletion of *v* will remove the condition under which the deletion of *y* could apply. That is, there will not be any *v* to follow. This deleted *v* cannot be brought back, via *sthānivadbhāva*, since deletion of *y* is an operation with *aL* 'sound segment' as its focus (*alāśrayavidhi*; 1.1.58 *na padāntadvirvacana* . . .). The deletion of *y* thus will become impossible to accomplish. It is in view of this, as the preplacement of *lopaḥ* in this rule suggests, that *valilopa*, i.e., deletion of *y*, takes precedence over deletion of *v*, i.e., *aprktalopa*.

3. Why can the *v* of *vraścakah* and *vraścanaḥ* not be deleted before *r*, a sound included within the signification of *vali*. Commentators state that this *v* cannot be deleted since it is part of initial citation of the root in the *DP* (*aupadesika*). For, a deletion, if accomplished, will render the initial citation as vacuous (*vyartha*). The argument that since this *v* can still be heard elsewhere, i.e., in *vṛścati* and *vavraśca*, and hence, the initial citation of *v* will not become vacuous, is not acceptable. For, *samprasāraṇa* in *vṛścati* is externally conditioned (*bahiraṅga*), based upon its dependency on an affix (*Śa*) marked with *Ñ* (*ñit*; 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit*). Similarly, *halādiśeṣa* (7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*) in *vavraśca* is externally conditioned because of its dependency on *abhyāsa* (6.1.4 *pūrvō' bhyāsaḥ*). The deletion of *v*, because of its dependency on a

sound segment (*varṇāśrayatvāt*), is internally conditioned (*antarāṅga*). The *v* thus should be considered *aupadeśika* and hence not be deleted.

4. Jinendrabuddhi believes that preplacement of *lopaḥ* in this rule is simply done in view of *lāghava* 'economy'. He strongly objects to accepting the reversal of order of operand (*kāryin*) and operation (*kārya*) as an indicator for preplacement of *lopaḥ* (*Nyāsa ad Kās.*: *anyas tu pūrvam kāryinirdeśo yuktaḥ paścāt kāryanirdeśa iti pūrvam vyor grahaṇe kartavye kimartham lopagrahaṇam kriyata iti pūrvapakṣam varṇayati sa cāyuktaḥ*).

Refer to the appendix for derivational details.

#### 6.1.67 वेरपुक्तस्य

*ver aprktasya*

*/veḥ 6/1 aprktasya 6/1/*

(*lopaḥ* #66)

*aprktasya veḥ loṇo bhavati*

*LOPA comes in place of a vi termed aprkta.*

EXAMPLES:

*brahmahā* 'killer of a brāhmaṇa'

*bhrūṇahā* 'killer of a fetus'

*ghṛtasprk* 'one who sips ghee'

*tailasprk* 'one who sips oil'

*arddhabhāk* 'one whose share is one-half'

*pādabhāk* 'one whose share is one-fourth'

*turīyabhāk* 'ibidem'

1. Rule 1.2.41 *aprkta ekāl pratyayaḥ* assigns the term *aprkta* to an affix constituted by a single *aL*. The *vi* of *veḥ* is used to make a general reference to all affixes which share a *vi* and which, after deletion of their *it* elements, are reduced to the form of a single *aL*. Thus, we get affixes *KuIP* (3.2.87 *brahma-bhrūṇavṛtreṣu kviṇ*), *KuIN* (3.2.58 *sprśo' nudake kvin*), *ṆuI* (3.2.62 *bhajo ṇviḥ*), *vIT* (3.2.67 *janasanakhanakrama...*) and *vIC* (3.2.73 *vijuṣe chandasi*), all with a common *vi*. Refer to the appendix (II:446–48) under 1.2.41 *aprkta...* for derivational details of most examples.

Note that these affixes are introduced after verbal roots (*dhātoḥ*) and, when termed *aprkta*, are deleted in toto. Their derivatives are then termed nominal stems (*prātipadika*) by rule 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhitasamāsās ca*, under the provision of 1.1.52 *pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam*.

#### 6.1.68 हल्ङ्याभ्यो दीर्घात्सुतिस्यपुक्तं हल्

*halṇyābbhyo dīrghāt sutisyaprktam hal*

*/halṇyābbhyaḥ 5/3 = hal ca ṇi ca āp ca = halṇyāp (itar. dv.), tebhyaḥ;*

*dirghāt* 5/1 *sutisi* 1/1 = *suś ca tiś ca siś ca* = *sutisi* (*sam. dv.*) *apṛktaṃ* 1/1  
*hal* 1/1/

(*lopaḥ* #66)

*halantād nīyantād ābantāc ca dirghāt param* 'su, ti, si' *ity etad apṛktaṃ hal*  
*luṇyate*

A *sU*, *ti* and *si*, termed *apṛkta*, when occurring after an item which ends in a *hal*, or in a long *ī* and *ā* of the feminine affixes *Ñī* and *āP*, is deleted by *LOPA*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*rājā* 'nominative singular of *rājan* 'king'

*takṣā* '... of *takṣan* 'carpenter''

*ukhāsrāt* 'nominative singular of *ūkhāsrans*'

*parṇadhvat* 'nominative singular of *parṇadhvans*'

*kumārī* 'girl'

*gauṇī* 'fair'

*śārṅgaravī* 'Śiva's consort'

*khaṭvā* 'cot'

*bahurājā* 'a city with many kings'

*kāriśagandhyā* 'a name; she who smells like a dried cow-dung'

*abibhar bhavān* 'you supported, sir'

*ajāgar bhavān* 'you remained awake'

*abhīno* 'tra' 'derivate of *bhid* (*LAN*→*siP*)'

*acchino* 'tra' 'derivate of *chid* (*LAN*→*siP*)'

1. The word *lopaḥ* here is explained as *luṇyate asau lopaḥ* 'that which is deleted', a passive interpretation made via object serving as means (*karma-sādhana*) of accomplishing deletion. This, of course, following the popular interpretation of *lopaḥ*. A technical interpretation will require *lopa* to refer to *adarśana* 'non-appearance', the process as a means (*bhāvasādhana*). If the word *lopa* is interpreted in its technical meaning of *adarśana* then its syntactic coordination (*sāmānādhikaraṇya*) and, consequently, its coreferentiality with *hal* will be impaired. The technical term *LOPA* means *adarśana* 'non-appearance'. How could a consonant (*hal*) be called *adarśana* 'non-appearance'. One cannot, looking at the nominative of *hal*, interpret the *pañcamī* 'ablative' of *halñyābbhyaḥ* (1.1.67 *tasmād ity uttarasya*) as *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive' (1.1.49) *ṣaṣṭhī sthāneyogā*. One cannot even subject the nominative of *hal* to be transformed into genitive to thereby establish a connection with *lopaḥ*. Such a transposition of inflectional endings (*vibhaktivipariṇāma*) is improper.

A qualifier-qualified relationship (*viśeṣana-viśeṣyabhāva*) between *lopaḥ* and *hal* can be established when *lopaḥ* is interpreted as denoting *karmaṇ* 'object'. The word *sutisy apṛktaṃ* also becomes a qualifier to the same *hal*. The word *dirghāt* is also interpreted as a qualifier to *ñyābbhyaḥ*. How do we know that

*dirghāt* is a qualifier to *nyābbhyaḥ*? By interpreting it as a qualifier based upon two requirements of *sambhava* 'possibility' and *vyabhicāra* 'deviation'. A form which ends in *Ñi* and *āP* may meet the *sambhava* 'possibility' requirement of ending in a *dirgha* 'long vowel'. A deviation from this 'possible' termination in a long vowel is also witnessed when the long vowel of these affixes is shortened via, for example, *puṃvadbhāva* 'masculine transformation'. The word *dirgha* cannot be treated as a qualifier to *hal* for the obvious reason of impossibility (*asambhava*).

2. Note that *ti* and *si*, for lack of their introduction after items ending in *Ñi* and *āP*, are not related to *nyābbhyaḥ*. The question of deleting *ti* and *si* will thus arise when they occur after a base ending in a consonant (*hal*). The nominative singular *sU* will be construed with nominal stems ending in a consonant. It will also be construed with bases ending in feminine affixes *Ñi* and *āP*. Thus, we get *rājan* + *sU*, (*ukhāsrans* + *KvIP*) + *sU*), (*paṇadhvas* + *KvIP*) + *sU*) and *kumārī* + *sU*, (*khaṭvā* + *ṬāP*) + *sU*), (*kāriṣagandhya* + *āP*) + *sU*), etc.

3. Why do we need this rule to delete *sU* after a base which ends in a consonant? Why can we not delete it by 8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopah*? That is, with the understanding that *a* of *rājan* will be replaced with long *ā* of 6.4.8 *sarvanāmasthāne cāsambuddhau* and the *n* will be deleted by 8.2.7 *nalopah* *prātipadikāntasya*. But this derivation of *rājā* will run into problems in connection with deletion of *n*. Rule 8.2.23 is subsequent (*para*) in the *tripādī* 'the last three quarter chapters' and hence, as per 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham*, deletion of *s* will be suspended in view of deletion of *n*. We will still end up with a wrong form *\*rājān*. The question of deleting *n* will not arise here since *n* will then not be occurring at the end of a nominal stem termed *pada*. Similar problems will be encountered in deriving *ukhāsrat* and *paṇadhvat* from (*ukhāsrans* + *KvIP*) + *sU*) and (*paṇadhvas* + *KvIP*) + *sU*) where *n* of *srans* and *dhvas* will be deleted by 6.4.27 *aniditām hal* . . . to yield *ukhāsras* and *paṇadhvas*. Given the strings *ukhāsras* + *sU* and *paṇadhvas* + *sU*, rule 8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopah* will delete the *s* of *sU*, thereby producing *ukhāsras* and *paṇadhvas*. Now consider 8.2.72 *ksusransudhaṃsvanaḍuhām dah* which will replace the final *s* of *ukhāsras* and *paṇadhvas* with *d*. But since this replacement must take place at the end of a *pada*, and also since 8.2.72 *ksusransu* . . . is subsequent to 8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopah*, rule 8.2.72 will be treated as suspended (*asiddha*) in view of deletion of *s*. The strings will still be considered as *ukhāsras* and *paṇadhvas*. That is, the final *s* cannot be replaced with *d*.

Let us now consider *abhinaḥ* 'second person singular past imperfect active' of *bhid* 'to split' as in *abhino* 'tra, where *utva* of 6.1.113 *ato ror aplutād aplute* will be blocked. That is, given *bhid* + (*LUN*→*siP*)→*bhid* + *ŚnaM* + *si*→*bhinad* + *si*→*a(Ṭ)* + *bhinad* + *s(i*→*ϕ)* = *abhinad* + *s*→*abhina* (*d*→*r*; 8.2.75 *daś ca*) + *s* = *abhinar* + *s*, 8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopah* cannot apply to delete the

final *s*. For, *r* could then not be changed to *u* to finally derive *abhino' tra*. The deletion of *s* will be accepted as suspended (*asiddha*). An example such as *abibharbhavān* would not even involve *s*-deletion after *r* since 8.2.24 *rāt sasya* will restrict the deletion to apply only to *s* used after *r*. The following verse summarizes the preceding:

*samyogāntasya lope hi nalopādir na siddhyati/  
rāttu te naiva lopah syād halas tasmād vidhīyate//*

Refer to further derivational details in the appendix.

#### 6.1.69 एङ् ह्रस्वात्सम्बुद्धेः

*eñ hrasvāt sambuddheḥ*  
/*eñ hrasvāt* 5/1 = *eñ ca hrasvaś ca = eñ hrasvam* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt;*  
*sambuddheḥ* 6/1/  
(*lopaḥ* #66 *hal* #68)  
*eñantāt prātipadikād hrasvāntāc ca paro hal lupyate sa cet sambuddher bhavati*  
A consonant (*haL*) which occurs after a nominal stem ending in a vowel, either denoted by the abbreviatory term *eñ*, or else, termed *hrasva* 'short', is replaced with *LOPA*, provided the consonant happens to be that of *sambuddhi*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*he agne* 'O Agni'  
*he vāyo* 'O Vāyu'  
*he devadatta* 'O Devadatta'  
*he nadi* 'O nadi'  
*he vadhu* 'O vadhū'

1. Note that *sambuddhi* refers to the nominative singular ending *sU* when used with the denotatum of *sambodhana* 'address' (2.3.49 *ekavacanam sambuddhiḥ*, read with 2.3.47 *sambodhane ca*).

This rule carries the *anuvṛtti* of both *lopaḥ* and *hal*. The word *apṛkta* is explicitly used in the preceding *sūtra* to indicate that the *anuvṛtti* of *apṛkta* is canceled. For, there is no point in explicitly stating *apṛkta* when 6.1.67 *ver apṛktasya* already has it.

The word *hal* must be carried. For, in its absence, *eñ hrasvāt* will then qualify *sambuddhi* to yield the following interpretation:

*eñantād hrasvāntāc ca parasyāḥ sambuddher lopah* 'a *sambuddhi* which occurs after a nominal stem ending in a vowel denoted by *eñ*, or ending in a *hrasva*, is deleted by means of *LOPA*.'

This interpretation, however, will make deriving *he kuṇḍa* impossible. For, given *kuṇḍa* + *s(U)*, deletion by this rule and replacement of *sU* by *am* (*ambhāva*; 7.1.24 *ato' m*) both become applicable. If 7.1.24 blocks deletion

at the strength of being subsequent (*paratva*) then the *a* of *am*, in view of 1.1.54 *ādeḥ parasya*, also qualifies for deletion. The deletion of *a* of *am*, in the absence of *hal* in this rule, will obtain on account of its occurrence after the short *a* of *kuṇḍa*. An undesired form, i.e.,  $*kuṇḍa + (a \rightarrow \phi)m = kuṇḍa + m \rightarrow kuṇḍ(a \rightarrow \bar{a}) + m = *kuṇḍām$  will then result with the application of 7.3.102 *supi ca*. To sum up: *hal* must be carried to this rule.

If one carries *hal*, and still qualifies *sambuddhi* with *enhrasvāt*, then *sambudhi* will qualify *hal* to yield the following interpretation:

*eṇantād hrasvāntāc ca parā yā sambuddhiḥ tasyāḥ hal lupyate* ‘the *haL* of a *sambuddhi* which follows a nominal stem ending in *eṇ*, or one ending in a short vowel, is deleted by means of *LOPA*.’

This interpretation will create difficulties similar to *kuṇḍa + s(U)* where, after the deletion of *a* in *kuṇḍa + s*, *s* cannot be deleted due mainly to the preceding base not ending in a vowel. It is for this reason that *hal* alone is to be qualified by *eṇantād hrasvāntāt* and *sambuddheḥ*. The nominal inferred via *sambuddhi* will then be interpreted as ‘ending in a vowel either denoted by *eṇ*, or termed short’, in consonance with *tadantavidhi* ‘treating a specification made with *x* as also ending in *x*’. The *hal* qualified by *sambuddheḥ* will be interpreted as part of *sambuddhi* because of its genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) denoting *avayava* ‘part of a whole’.

2. *Kāśikā* offers *he agne* ‘O! Agni’ and *he vāyo* ‘O! Vāyu’ as examples for bases ending in *eṇ*. Thus, we get  $agn(i \rightarrow e) + s(U \rightarrow \phi) = agne + s$  and  $vāy(u \rightarrow o) + s(U \rightarrow \phi) = vāyo + s$  after *it*-deletion and *guṇa* by 7.3.108 *hrasvasya guṇaḥ*. This rule then deletes *s*. The deletion of *s* prior to *guṇa* is not accomplished since *guṇa* is considered stronger than deletion (*LOPA*). *Kāśikā* thus states: *eṅgrahaṇam kriyate sambuddhiguṇabalīyastvāt* ‘*eṇ* is used to indicate that *guṇa* before *sambuddhi* is stronger (than deletion)’. Examples for deletion after bases ending in a short vowel are: *he devadatta* and *he nadi*, *he vadhu* and *he kuṇḍa*. The deletion after *nadi* and *vadhu* of *he nadi* and *he vadhu* is accomplished after shortening of *ī* and *ū* of *nadī* and *vadhū* by 7.3.107 *ambārthanadyor hrasvaḥ*. *Kāśikā* also states that deletion in *he kuṇḍa* applies only to the *m* of *am* gotten by first replacing *sU* with *am* by 7.1.24 *ato’ m* and then replacing the sequence *a + a* with *a* via *pūrvārūpa* ‘a form similar to the preceding’ of 6.1.107 *ami pūrvāḥ* (*Kāś.*: *kuṇḍaśabdād ‘ato’ m’ ity am*, ‘*ami pūrvāḥ*’ *iti pūrvāive krte halmātrasya makārasya lopah*). Why this dual application of 7.1.24 *ato’ m* and 6.1.107 *ami pūrvāḥ* when we can easily delete *s* occurring after *kuṇḍa*, a base ending in *hrasva*. The newly derived *kuṇḍa* where its final *a* is a *pūrvārūpa* of *a + a* may not even be viewed as ending in *a*. For, this rule requires the base to end in a short vowel. What ends in a short vowel in this newly derived *kuṇḍa* is *kuṇḍ* and not *kuṇḍa*, the base ending in a short *a*. For, the single *a*-replacement becomes final to what precedes (*pūrvam praty antavadbhāvāt*), and not to the base. I omit further details of this argument because of its

complexity. Suffice it to say that getting *pūrvarūpa* and then deleting *m* is an exercise in vain. One should accomplish deletion without replacement in *am*. Our last example, *he katarat*, involves *at*, i.e., *adD*, as a replacement for *sU*. The final *a* of *katara* is deleted by 6.4.143 *teḥ* because the affixal replacement is marked with *D*. The *t* of *at* in *katar* + *at* cannot be deleted since the base does not end in a short vowel. That is, it ends in a consonant. The deletion of *sambuddhi* is thus blocked.

3. Note that this rule offers deletion of the *sU* of *sambuddhi*. But 8.2.84 *dūrādd hūte ca* also replaces the *ṭi* of the sentence with a *PLUTA*. That is, when the *ṭi* of *he rāma!* is replaced with *pluta*, we will not find *rāma* terminating in a *hrasva* 'short'. This will block the deletion of *sU*. Recall that this situation will arise only when one relies upon the doctrine of *vākyasaṃskāra-pakṣa*. For, it is here alone that the required 'termination in short' (*hrasvāntatā*) is impaired. Commentators offer examples which, in turn, show their acceptance of the *padasaṃskārapakṣa*.

#### 6.1.70 शे: छन्दसि बहुलम्

*śeś chandasi bahulam*

/śeḥ 6/1 chandasi 7/1 bahulam 1/1/

(*lopaḥ* #66)

'*śi*'ity *etasya bahulam chandasi viṣaye lopo bhavati*

*LOPA*, in the Vedic, comes variously in place of *Śi*.

*yā kṣetrā* 'the fields which . . .'

*ya vanā* 'the forests which . . .'

*yāni kṣetrāṇi* ' . . .'

*yāni vanāni* ' . . .'

1. Note that *śeḥ* refers to the *Śi*-replacement of *Jas* ordered by rule 7.1.20 *jaśśasoḥ śiḥ*, under the condition of a neuter base (*napuṃsaka*). A deletion of *Śi* by this rule will still facilitate introduction of *nUM* (7.1.72 *napuṃsakasya jhal acaḥ*). Thus, *yad* + (*Jas*→*Śi*) = *yad* + *i*→*yad* + (*i*→ $\emptyset$ )→*yad* + *n*(*UM*→ $\emptyset$ ) = *yad* + *n* = *ya*(*d*→*a*) + *n*, where *d* is replaced with *a* (7.2.102 *tyadādīnāmaḥ*). Rule 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* reduces the sequence *a* + *a* to *a* to yield *y*(*a* + *a*→*a*) + *n* = *yan*. The short *a* is then lengthened (6.4.8 *sarvanāmasthāne cāsambuddhau*) and the *n* gets deleted (8.2.7 *nalopaḥ prātipadikāntasya*). A non-deletion of *Śi*, under the provision of *bahulam*, will yield *yāni* where deletion of *n* will be blocked. Similar derivational consequences are involved in deriving *kṣetrā*/*kṣetrāṇi* and *vanā*/*vanāni*.

2. Haradatta (*PM*) claims that *yā* can be derived as follows, particularly by replacing *i* of *ya* + *i* with *Dā*:

*yad* + (*Jas*→(*Ś*) *i*; 7.1.20 *jaś śasoḥ śi*; *yad* + *i*→

*yad* + *y*(*a*→*a*); 7.2.102 *tyadādīnāmaḥ*; *ya* + *a* + *i*→



$y(a + i \rightarrow i)$  6.1.97 *ato guṇe*;  $ya + i \rightarrow ya + (i \rightarrow (D) \bar{a})$ ;  
 7.1.39 *supām suluk . . .*;  $= ya + \bar{a} \rightarrow y(a + \bar{a} \rightarrow \bar{a}) = y\bar{a}$ ;  
 6.1.102 *prathamayoḥ pūrvasavarṇaḥ*

Haradatta indicates how other derivatives can be also accounted for. This rule thus should not be formulated for Vedic (*PM ad Kās.*: *ayaṃ yogo śakyo' vaktum*).

### 6.1.71 ह्रस्वस्य पितिकृति तुक्

*hrasvasya piti kṛti tuk*

*/hrasvasya 6/1 piti 7/1 kṛti 7/1 tuk 1/1/*

*piti kṛti parato hrasvāntasya dhātoḥ tug āgamo bhavati*

Augment *tUK* is introduced to a verbal root ending in a short vowel (*hrasva*) when an affix, either marked with *P* as an *it* or termed a *kṛt*, follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*agnicit* 'he who heaped the ritual fire'

*somasut* 'he who pressed out soma'

*prakṛtya* 'after having made'

*prahr̥tya* 'after having taken away'

*upastutya* 'after having praised'

1. Note that *dhātoḥ* is inferred here at the strength of the *kṛt* affix marked with *P*. Read with *hrasva*, it yields the interpretation: *hrasvāntasya dhātoḥ* '... a verbal root ending in a short vowel'. This, of course, is accomplished via *tadantavidhi*. Augment *tUK*, because it is marked with *K* as an *it*, is introduced at the end of the verbal root (1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitaṭu*).

*Kāśikā* offers counter-examples *ālūya* and *grāmaṇiḥ* where *tUK* cannot be introduced because verbal roots *lū* and *nī* end in a long vowel. Examples such as *kṛtam* and *hṛtam* are offered to show that *tUK* cannot be introduced where a *kṛt* affix, namely *Kta*, marked with *K* follows. Similarly, *paṭutaraḥ* and *paṭutamaḥ* are given to show that *tUK* cannot be introduced when affixes *taraP* and *tamaP* follow. For, they are marked with *P* but are not *kṛt*. They are *taddhita* affixes.

Note that *tUK* cannot be introduced in *grāmaṇi brāhmaṇakulam* where the long *ī* of *grāmaṇi* is replaced with a short (1.2.47 *hrasvo naṇṇumsake . . .*). For, this shortening is externally conditioned (*bahiraṅga*) due mainly to its dependency on sound segments (*varṇāśrayatvāt*) and hence it is suspended (*asiddha*). Consequently, *tUK* cannot be introduced because *i* of *grāmaṇi* will still be viewed as its long counterpart. This is how the *paribhāṣā* (PŚ 51) *asiddham bahiraṅgam antaraṅge* intervenes to block *tUK*.

## 6.1.72 संहितायाम्

*saṃhitāyām*

/ *saṃhitāyām* 7/1/

*adhikāro* 'yam' *anudāttaṃ padam ekavarjam* 'iti yāvat. *prāg etasmāt sūtrād ita uttaram yad vakṣyāmaḥ saṃhitāyām ity evaṃ tad veditavyam*

When *saṃhitā* 'close proximity between sounds' obtains . . .

## EXAMPLES:

Refer to subsequent rules.

1. This domain of *saṃhitā* is valid up to 6.1.158 *anudāttaṃ padam ekavarjam*.
2. The locative (*saptamī*) in *saṃhitāyām* denotes *viśaya* 'domain'. Consequently, an operation (*kārya*) cannot be performed unless the operand (*kāryin*) and attendant conditions (*nimitta*) both fall within the scope of *saṃhitā* (PM: *kāryi-nimittayoḥ saṃhitāyām viśayabhūtāyām vakṣyamāṇam kāryam bhavati*). Consider *dadhy atra* 'there is yoghurt here' and *madhu atra* 'there is honey here' where 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* applies to yield *dadh(i→y) + atra = dadhy atra* and *madh(u→v) + atra = madhu atra*. Rule 1.4.109 *paraḥ sannikarṣaḥ saṃhitā* defines *saṃhitā* as 'closest proximity between sounds'. The *i* and *u* of *dadhi* and *madhu* must share close proximity with *a* of *atra*. For, in its absence, we will end up with *dadhi atra* and *madhu atra* with no application of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*. A pause between two sounds which exceeds the duration (*kāla*) of half of mora (*ardha-mātrā*) impairs *saṃhitā*.

## 6.1.73 छे च

*che ca*

/ *che* 7/1 *ca*  $\phi$ /

(*hrasvasya tuk* #71 *saṃhitāyām* #72)

*chakāre parataḥ saṃhitāyām viśaye hrasvasya tuḡ āgamo bhavati*

Augment *tuk* is also introduced to a short vowel when *ch* follows in *saṃhitā*.

## EXAMPLES:

*icchati* ' . . . desires'

*gacchati* ' . . . goes'

1. Note that *che* specifies the condition (*nimitta*) in consonance with which *tUK* is introduced. The locative singular form *che* has *cha* as its base. It is logical then to assume that *cha*, a form ending in *a*, forms the condition of introducing augment *tUK*. Commentators state that only *ch*, a form constituted by a single consonant, forms the condition. Why did Pāṇini specify it with *a*. For ease of articulation (*chakāre akāra uccāraṇārthaḥ*). This is in consonance with specifications found in 3.2.162 *vidibhidicchideḥ* and 7.4.41 *śacchor anyatarasyām*.

If Pāṇini intended a specification with *ch* he should have used *ch* in the locative, i.e., *chādau*. This being the case, (PŚ 34): *yasmin vidhau tadā-dāv . . .* would have yielded the interpretation, *chādau* 'that which has *ch* at its beginning'. That is, many words with *ch* at their beginning could then have been included. This would have been prolix (*gaurava*), especially with reference to cognition (*jñāna*).

Haradatta (PM ad Kās.) explains two kinds of *adhikāras*: (i) *arthādhikāra* 'domain relative to meaning' and (ii) *śabdādhikāra* 'domain relative to form'. The first focuses on the meaning of a specifying form, as opposed to the second which focuses on form. The word *hrasva*, for operational purposes specific to 6.1.71 *hrasvasya piti . . .*, was interpreted as 'that which ended in a short vowel'. This was a meaning interpretation made possible via *tadanta-vidhi*. This rule resorts to a formal interpretation of *hrasva*. That is, for purposes of introducing augment (*āgama*) *tUK*, a short vowel (*hrasva*) will be treated as the *āgamī* 'that which receives an augment' (*hrasva evātrāgamī na tv adantaḥ*). Incidentally, this *Kāśikā* statement should end with *na tadantaḥ* 'not ending in that' as opposed to *na tv adantaḥ* 'and not ending in *aT*'. The question of a base ending in *a* does not arise here.

If *tUK* were to be introduced to a form ending in a short vowel then *tUK*, on account of being introduced to an *abhyāsa*, will become part of the *abhyāsa*. It will then be dropped by 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*. If a single short vowel is treated as the items receiving *tUK*, then *tUK* does not become part of the *abhyāsa* (*abhyāsāvayava*). How come a short vowel receiving *tUK* is not considered as part of the *abhyāsa*? *Kāśikā* states that part of a part does not become part of a whole (*nāvayavāvayaḥ samudāyāvayavo bhavati*). This is why *tUK* in *cicchidatuḥ* ( $\leftarrow$  *chi* + *tUK* + *chid* + *atus*) and *cicchiduḥ* ( $\leftarrow$  *chi* + *tUK* + *chid* + *us*) is not treated as part of *abhyāsa*. *Kāśikā* rightly remarks that *nāvayavāvayaḥ samudāyāvayavo bhavati* 'part of a part cannot be accepted as part of a (larger) whole'.

But part of a part may, elsewhere, also be treated as part of a whole. Consider *sāṅgulir devadattaḥ* 'Devadatta has fingers' where 'finger', a part of Devadatta's hand, is treated as part of Devadatta. I omit further details of this argumentation for fear of expatiation.

### 6.1.74 आङ्माडोरच

*ānmānoś ca*

/ *ānmānoḥ* 6/1 (*itar. dv.*) *ca*  $\phi$ /

(*tuk* #71 *saṃhitāyām* #72 *che* #73)

*āno nīta iṣadādiṣu caturṣv artheṣu vartamānasya mānaś ca pratiṣedha-vacanasya chakāre paratas tug āgamo bhavati*

Augment *tUK* is also introduced to *āÑ* and *māÑ* when *ch* follows in *saṃhitā*.

## EXAMPLES:

*ācchāyā* 'slight shade'

*ācchādayati* 'covers . . .'

*ācchāyāyāḥ* ' . . . slight shade'

*ācchāyam* 'up to the shade'

*mācchatsīt* 'third singular *LUN*-derivate of *chid* used with *mā* 'not'

*mācchidat* 'third singular *LAN*-derivate of *chid* used with *mā*'

1. Note that *āN* and *māN* with *N* as an *it* are specified for availing particular meanings. The first *āN*, a particle (*nipāta*), is used with four meanings of *īṣat* 'slight, a little', *kriyāyoga* 'in construction with that which denotes action', *maryādā* 'exclusive limit' and *abhivīdhi* 'inclusive limit'. An *āN* which denotes *maryādā* and *abhivīdhi* is assigned the term *karmapravacanīya* (1.4.89 *ān maryādāvacanē*). This leads to selection of *pañcamī* 'ablative' after the nominal in construction with *āN* (2.3.10 *apñcamy apāṇparibhiḥ*). The result with *tUK* is *ācchāyāyāḥ*. The *mā* of *māN* is, of course, a negative particle (*nipāta*). An optional indeclinable compound (*avyayībhāva*; 2.1.13 *ān maryādābhivīdhyoḥ*) *ācchāyā*, paraphrased as *īṣac chāyā* 'slight shade' and interpretable as both *maryādā* 'exclusive limit' and *abhivīdhi* 'inclusive limit', derives from *āN* + *sU chāyā* + *NasI*. The *t* of *tUK* introduced to *ā* is replaced with *c* (8.4.40 *stoś cunā ścuḥ*).

2. What is the purpose of qualifying *ā* and *mā* with *N*? Consider *ācchāyā*/*ācchāyā*; and *pramāchandaḥ*/*pramācchandaḥ*, where this rule cannot apply because *ā* is not a *karmapravacanīya*. Similarly, *pramā* has verbal root *mā* 'measure' used with the preverb *pra*. That is, *pramā* is used with *chandas*. The optional *tUK* in these examples is accomplished by 6.1.76 *padāntād vā*.

3. Refer to the appendix for derivational details.

## 6.1.75 दीर्घात्

*dirghāt*

/ *dirghāt* 5/1/

(*tuk* #71 *saṃhitāyām* #72 *che* #73)

*dirghāt paro yaś chakāras tasmin pūrvasya tasyaiva dirghasya tug āgamo bhavati*

Augment *tUK* is introduced to that long vowel (*dirgha*) which occurs before *ch*, provided when *ch* follows it in *saṃhitā*.

## EXAMPLES:

*hrīcchati* 'third singular *LAṬ*-derivate of *hrīcch* 'to be bashful, ashamed'

*mlecchati* 'third singular *LAṬ*-derivate of *mlecch* 'to mutter, speak indistinctly'

*apacācchāyate* 'continually breaks; derivate of *yaN* in third singular middle *LAṬ* of *apa-chā*'

*vicācchāyate* ' . . . of *vi-chā*'

1. *Kāśikā* offers a long paraphrase of this *sūtra* as follows:

- (i) *dirghāt paro yaś chakāras* ‘the *ch* which occurs after a long vowel’
- (ii) *tasmin pūrvasya tasyaiva dirghasya* ‘that long vowel which occurs before that (*ch*)’
- (iii) *tug āgamo bhavati* ‘*tUK* is introduced as an augment’

The locative (*saptamī*) of *che*, in association with the *pañcamī* ‘ablative’ of *dirghāt*, and an anticipated *ṣaṣṭhī* ‘genitive’ for the specification of an *āgamī* ‘that to which an augment is introduced’, may be interpreted as genitive. It is a general practice in the tradition to transform a locative (*saptamī*) into genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) if the locative occurs after an ablative (*pañcamī*; cf. (PŚ: 71) *ubhayanirdeśe pañcamīnirdeśo balīyān*). Consequently, *tUK*, in view of 1.1.54 *ādeḥ parasya*, may be introduced to *ch*. This of course will be wrong. *Kāśikā*’s rather long paraphrase is intended to clear up any possible confusion. It is also intended to make clear that an augment becomes part of what it is introduced to. If it is introduced to a long vowel, it becomes part of the long vowel. That is, it does not become part of what the long vowel is part of (cf. *avayavāvayavaḥ samudāyāvayavo na bhavati*). Refer to the appendix for derivational details.

#### 6.1.76 पदान्ताद्वा

*padāntād vā*

/ *padāntāt* 5/1 = *padasya antaḥ* (ṣaṣ. tat.), *tasmāt*; *vā* φ/

(*tuk* #71 *saṃhitāyām* #72 *che* #73 *dirghāt* #75)

*padāntād dirghāt paro yaś chakāras tasmin pūrvasya tasyaiva dirghasya pūrveṇa nityaṃ prāpto vā tug āgamo bhavati*

Augment *tUK* is optionally introduced to a *pada*-final long vowel when *ch* follows it in *saṃhitā*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*kuñicchāyā* ‘shade of a hut’

*kuñicchāyā*

*kuvalicchāyā* ‘shade of a particular tree’

*kuvalicchāyā*

1. An optional *tUK* is offered against the obligatory provision of the preceding rule. This provision of *tUK* is not made relative to *padavidhi* ‘process of integrating fully inflected words’ (2.1.1 *samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ*). It can be best described as *padāntavidhi* ‘a process relative to the end of a *pada*’. The preceding rule introduces *tUK* before *ch*, obligatorily, to a non-*pada*-final long vowel. Our present rule makes that provision optional in case of a *pada*-final long vowel followed by *ch*. Thus observe: *tiṣṭhatu kumārīc chatraṃ hara*

*devadattasya* 'let the girl wait; carry the umbrella of Devadatta'. We can also get *kumārī chatram*, optionally.

Note that *tUK*, if introduced, will go through *ścutva* ( $t \rightarrow c$ ; 8.4.40 *stoś cunā ścuḥ*). Observe *kuṭicchāya* and *kuṭichāyā*, where the second example lacks *tUK*.

2. A *vārttika* proposal is made for *viśvajana*, etc., to also receive an optional *tUK* in the Vedic (*vt.*: *viśvajanaḍīnām chandasi vā . . .*). Thus, *viśvajana* *chatram*/*viśvajana* *chatram*. *Nyāsa* remarks that 6.1.73 *che ca* would have offered obligatory *tUK* in the absence of this statement. But since all operations are optional in the Vedic (*sarve vidhayaḥ chandasi vikalpyante*), we can still get this optional *tUK*. This statement is then intended for clarity.

### 6.1.77 इको यणचि

*iko yaṇ aci*

/ikaḥ 6/1 yaṇ 1/1 aci 7/1/

(*saṃhitāyām* #72)

*aci parata iko yaṇ ādeśo bhavati*

A sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *iK* is replaced by corresponding sounds denoted by the abbreviatory term *yaṇ* when a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *aC* follows in *saṃhitā*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*dadhyatra* 'there is yoghurt here'

*madhvatra* 'there is honey here'

*kartrartham* 'for he who is doing'

*hartrartham* 'for one who carries'

*lākṛtiḥ* 'one who (which) has the shape of *ḷ*; Kṛṣṇa while playing his flute'

1. Note that *iK* and *yaṇ* denote four sounds each: *i*, *u*, *r*, *ḷ* and *y*, *v*, *r*, *ḷ*, respectively. Since the number of elements in these sets is equal (*saṃāna*), their equivalency must be assigned in consonance with order of their enumeration (1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam . . .*).

2. The locative (*saptamī*) in *aci* is interpreted as *parasaptamī* 'that which specifies what follows'. When interpreted in accord with the specification of 1.1.65 *tasminn iti nirdiṣṭe pūrvasya*, we conclude that sounds denoted by *iK* are replaced with corresponding sounds denoted by *yaṇ* when sounds denoted by *aC* immediately (*avyavahita*) follow. That is, an operation specified by that which ends in the locative obtains on that which immediately precedes.

Pāṇini also formulates 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ* whereby a single homogeneous long vowel is ordered as a replacement for a sequence of two contiguous homogeneous vowels denoted by the abbreviatory term *aK*, i.e.,

*a, i, u, ṛ, ḷ* Rule 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* has a wider right context denoted by *aC* which includes the denotata of *aK*. The *aK* of 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ* also includes the denotata of *iK*. Now the question: what if an *iK* is followed by another homogeneous *iK* in *saṃhitā*? Rules 6.1.77 and 6.1.101 will both find their scope of application. Can one replace the prior *iK* with a corresponding *yaṇ*? Can one replace the sequence of two homogeneous vowels denoted by *iK* with a single long homogeneous vowel? The provision of a single long homogeneous vowel replacement for a sequence of preceding and succeeding homogeneous vowels will become vacuous (*vyartha*) if 6.1.101 is not applied against 6.1.77. Thus, the use of *ekaḥ pūrvaparaḥ dīrghaḥ* 'a single long vowel in place of the sequence of a preceding and following vowel' and *savarṇe* 'when a homogeneous vowel follows in extreme proximity . . .' makes it possible for 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* to carve out its domain of application without interfering with the scope of 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*.

This notion of extreme proximity is read in view of 1.1.66 *tasminn iti nirdiṣṭe pūrvasya*. A question may be raised here: why bring 1.1.66 *tasminn iti* . . . when *saṃhitāyām* itself can account for proximity. After all, two sounds in *saṃhitā* are not supposed to be separated (*vyavahita*) by a duration exceeding half a mora (*ardhamātrā*). It is argued that 1.1.66 *tasminn iti* . . . is brought into play to ensure contiguity (*avyavadhāna*). Consider *sudhi + upāsyah* where the duration of *dh* before *i* equals half a mora. If contiguity was not considered, the *i* of *dhi* may cause the *u* of *su* to be replaced with its counterpart in *yaṇ*. Thus, the notion of contiguity brought into play on the basis of 1.1.66 *tasminn iti* . . . alone can block this *yaṇ* of *u*.

2. The word *aci* carries through 6.1.108 *saṃprasāraṇāc ca*.

3. A *vārttika* proposal is made to allow *yaṇ* against *savarṇadīrgha* 'homogeneous long vowel', in contexts where a vowel denoted by *iK* and occurring after a *pluta* is followed by a homogeneous vowel denoted by *iK*. Thus, *bho3 i indram = bho3 (i → y) indram = bho3 yindram*.

### 6.1.78 एचोऽयवायावः

*eco' yavāyāvaḥ*

/ *ecaḥ* 6/1 *ayavāyāvaḥ* 1/3 = *ay ca av ca āy ca āv ca = ayavāyāvaḥ* (*itar. dv.*) /

(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *aci* #77)

*ecaḥ sthāne' ci parataḥ 'ay, av, āy, āv' ity ete ādeśā yathāsaṃkhyam bhavanti*  
A sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *eC* is replaced by *ay, av, āy, āv*, respectively, when a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *aC* follows in *saṃhitā*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*cayanam* 'heaping'

*lavanam* 'cutting'

*kayete* 'who are these'

*yayete* 'these people who . . .'

*vāyāv avaruṇaddhi* 'blocked the two winds'

1. Here again, order of enumeration will determine the equivalency of equal number of items specified in two sets (1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam* . . .). The other conditions of *saṃhitāyām* and *aci* remain the same. Can one apply 1.3.3 *halantyam* and 1.3.9 *tasya lopah* to delete the final consonants of *cay*, etc.? No. This *sandhi* provision will then become vacuous (*vyartha*).

#### 6.1.79 वान्तो यि प्रत्यये

*vānto yi pratyaye*

/ *vāntaḥ* 1/1 = *vakāro' nte yasya* (*bu.*); *yi* 7/1 *pratyaye* 7/1/

(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *aci* #77 *ecaḥ* #78)

*yo' yam ecaḥ sthāne vāntādeśaḥ, okārasya av, aukārasya av, sa yakārādaḥ pratyaye parato bhavati*

A *v*-final replacement comes (in place of an *o* and *au*) when a *y*-initial affix follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*bābhavyaḥ* 'descendant of Bābhru'

*māṇḍavyaḥ* 'descendant of Maṇḍu'

*śaṅkavyaṃ dāru* ' . . . wood beneficial for spike'

*ṇicavyaḥ kārṇpāsaḥ* 'beneficial for cotton tree'

*nāvyo hradaḥ* 'a lake which can be crossed over by boat'

1. This rule covers two replacements ending in *v*, i.e., *av* and *āv*. Their corresponding substituenta will then be *o* and *au* (*vt.*: *odaś ceti ca vaktavyam*).

2. The locative in *yi*, when read in view of 1.1.72 *yena vidhis tadantasya*, will yield the interpretation: 'when that, an affix, which ends in *y* follows'. But this *tadantavidhi* 'an operation relative to that which may end in what specifies it' interpretation will be blocked in favor of a *tadādividhi* 'an operation relative to that which begins with what specifies it'. How do we know that *tadādividhi* should block *tadantavidhi*? We know it from the *vārttika* (cf. 1.1.72 *yena vidhis tadantasya*): *yasmin vidhis tadādāv algrahaṇe*. It specifies that *tadādividhi* is favored where a single *aL* 'sound segment' specifies the right context of an operation. Our *y* in *yi* is a single sound.

3. The rule is formulated so that a replacement in *av* and *āv* could be accomplished where a condition different from the *aci* of 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ* may be involved.

4. Note that the three conditions of *vānta*, *yi* and *pratyaye* must be met. Consider *rai + am* which will involve a replacement in *āy*, as against *āv*. Thus, we get *rāyam* as in *rāyam icchati* 'wishes for wealth'. A replacement for *o* and



*au* in *av* and *āv* cannot be allowed in *go* + *bhyām* and *nau* + *bhyām* either. For, the affixes here do not begin with *y*. Such replacements are also not allowed for *o* and *au* in *go* + *yānam* and *nau* + *yānam* because what follows with an initial *y* is not an affix.

5. Note that a *vārttika* proposal allowing *av* as a replacement for *o* of *go* in the Vedic is allowed before *yūti*. Thus, we get *gavyūtiḥ* 'a herd of cows and bulls', as against *goyūtiḥ* in the classical language. A proposal for replacing *o* with *av* before *yūti* is made for classical usage, only when what is signified is a measure of road (*adhvaparimāṇe ca*). Thus, we get *g(o→av) + yūti = gavyūti* 'a distance of nearly four miles (*krośayugam*)'.

### 6.1.80 धातोस्तन्निमित्तस्यैव

*dhātos tannimittasyaiva*

/ *dhātoḥ* 6/1 *tannimittasya* 6/1 = *tad nimittam yasya* (*bv.*), *tasya; eva*  $\phi$  / (*saṃhitāyām* #72 *ecaḥ* #78 *vānto yi pratyaye* #79)

*dhātor ya ec tannimitto yakārādiḥ pratyayanimittas tasya yakārādau pratyaye parato vāntādeśo bhavati*

A sound denoted by *eC* which is part of a verbal root (*dhātu*) conditioning an affix beginning with *y* is replaced with a substitute terminating in *v*, provided the affix beginning with *y* follows in *saṃhitā*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*lavyam* 'ready to be cut'

*pavyam* 'ready to be cleansed'

*avaśyalāvyam* 'should indeed be cut'

*avaśyapāvyam* 'should indeed be cleansed'

1. The word *tannimitta* is explained as *sa* (*yādiḥ pratyayaḥ*) *nimittam yasya* (*ecaḥ*) 'that (the *y*-initial affix) which constitutes the condition of that, i.e., *o* and *au* of *eC*'. The elements whose *nimitta* is specified by the *bahuvrīhi* compound *tannimitta* are thus recognized as *o* and *au* of a *dhātu* 'verbal root'. We know it from the genitive of *dhātoḥ* which, in turn, is used with the signification of *avayava* 'part of a whole'. An affix beginning with *y* is thus recognized as a condition. This helps us understand the rule as follows: 'a replacement ending in *v* comes in place of the *o* and *au* of a *dhātu*, provided these both are conditioned by an affix which begins with *y* (*yādi*) and follows in *saṃhitā*'. Consider *lū + yaT → l(ū→o) + yaT → l(o→av) + yaT = lavya + sU → lavyam*, a derivate of *yaT* (3.1.97 *aco yat*). We can similarly get *pavyam*. Our next two examples, i.e., *avaśyalāvyam* and *avaśyapāvyam*, are compounds termed *upapada*. They derive by introducing affix *ṆyaT* (3.1.125 *or āvaśyake*) after verbal roots *lū* and *pū* under the condition of *avaśyam*, a conjoined *pada*. Thus, *avaśya + am + lū + ṆyaT → avaśya + l(ū→o→av) + ṆyaT → avaśya + l(av→āv) + (Ṇ)yaT = (avaśya + lavya) + sU = avaśyalāvyam*. We similarly get

*avaśyapāvyam*. Note that the compound is formed in consonance with 2.1.72 *mayūraṃśakādayaś ca*. The *m* of *avaśyam* gets deleted in accord with the statement *lumped avaśyamaḥ kṛtye(?)*. Rule 7.2.115 *aco' nṛiti* accomplishes the *vrddhi* of *ū* which is subsequently replaced with *āv*. Recall here that *NyaT* conditions *vrddhi* and under its condition we further get the *au* replaced with *āv*. The *au* for which we get *āv* is thus *tannimittaka*.

2. The condition of *tannimitta* is important so that a replacement ending in *v* is blocked when an affix beginning with *y* follows, but does not condition *o* and *au*. Consider for example the controlled derivation of *upoyate* from *upa + veṅ + (LAT→ta)* where affix *yaK* is further introduced under the condition of the following *ta*, a *sārvadhātuka*. Our string *upa + ve + ya + ta* yields *upa + vo + ya + ta* through *samprasāraṇa* and *ātva* and a replacement for *a + u* in *o*. The *o* of *upo* cannot be replaced with *av* to finally derive, for example a wrong form *\*upavyate*, under the condition of the following *y*-initial affix *yaK*. For *yaK* did not constitute the condition for bringing about *o* as a replacement for *a + u*. A form such as *\*āvuyata*, with a replacement in *āv* parallel to *āvuyata* from *āT + veṅ + (LAT→ta)*, can also not be accomplished before *yaK* for similar reasons. The *taddhita* derivatives *lauyamāniḥ* 'descendant of *Lūyamāna*' and *pauyamāniḥ* 'descendant of *Pūyamāna*' can also not have their *au* replaced with *āv* since affix *yaṅ* occurring after *lū* and *pū* of *lūyamāna* and *pūyamāna* does not condition the *vrddhi*-replacement *au* for *ū*. This *vrddhi* is conditioned by affix *iṅ* (4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*; 4.1.95 *ata iṅ*), introduced after *lūyamāna + Nas* and *pūyamāna + Nas* by 7.2.117 *taddhiteṣv acām ādeḥ*. Refer to the appendix for further derivational details.

2. The word *eva* is used here to serve a restrictive purpose (*niyamārtha*). That is, it is used to restrict *av* and *āv* as replacements for *o* and *au* of a verbal root only when a *y*-initial affix conditions *o* and *au*. Thus, these replacements will apply in the context of a *dhātu* only when a *y*-initial affix conditions *o* and *au*.

Recall that the tradition generally believes in *yato evakāraḥ tato' nyatra niyamaḥ* 'a restrictive provision focuses on something other than the item after which *eva* is used'. This rule uses *eva* after *tannimittasya*. Consequently, the restrictive provision will focus on *dhātoḥ*. Notice that *dhātoḥ* and *tannimittasya* are both in the genitive. These are both qualifiers (*viśeṣaṇa*). The *eva* after *tannimittasya* will focus on *dhātu*, and hence, the restriction will apply to the *eC* of a *dhātu*. The notion of *tannimittakatva* will be brought as a qualifier. Thus, consider *oyate* which derives from *ā + veṅ + yaK + ta*. Recall that *yaK* is introduced with the denotatum of *karman*. Verbal root *veṅ* goes through *samprasāraṇa* and subsequent *pūrvārūpa* of (*v→u*) *e→v* (*u + e→u*). The initial *ā* of the string alongwith resultant *u* then gets replaced with a single *guṇa*, i.e., *o* (6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ*). Note that *o* qualifies for *dhātoḥ* 'of a verbal root' but does not qualify for *tannimittakatva*. This restrictive provision will thus not apply. This restrictive provision will also not be available to

*bābhravya* where *eC* (*babhr(u)→o*) is conditioned by a *y*-initial affix but it belongs to a nominal stem. That is, it does not satisfy the condition of *dhātoḥ*.

### 6.1.81 क्षय्यजय्यौ शक्यार्थे

*kṣayyajayyau śakyārthe*

/ *kṣayya-jayyau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*); *śakyārthe* 7/1 = *śakyaś cāsau arthaḥ* (*karm.*), *tasmin*/

(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *yi pratyaye* #79 *dhātoḥ* #80)

'*kṣi*, *jī*' *ity etayor dhātuvor yati pratyaye parataḥ śakyārthe gamyamāne ekārasyāyādeśo nipātyate*

The *e* of verbal roots *kṣi* 'to decay' and *jī* 'to win' is replaced with *āy*, via *nipātana*, when the root is followed by affix *yaT* and derivatives denote the sense of *śakya* 'possible'.

#### EXAMPLES:

*śakyaḥ kṣettum* = *kṣayyaḥ* 'that which is possible to decay'

*śakyo jetum* = *jayyaḥ* 'that which is possible to win'

1. Note that *kṣayya* and *jayya* are derivatives of *yaT* (3.1.97 *aco yat*), used with the signification of *śakyārtha* 'possibility'. This rule offers *ay* as a replacement for *e*, via *nipātana*. The *e*, in turn, is a *guṇa* replacement for *i* of *kṣi* and *jī*. *Kāśikā* offers *kṣeyam pāpam* 'sin to be destroyed' and *jeyo vṛśalaḥ* 'a lowly Śūdra who is to be tamed' as counter-examples where, because the denotata of derivatives is 'necessity' as opposed to 'possibility', *e* cannot be replaced with *ay*.

### 6.1.82 क्रय्यस्तदर्थे

*krayyas tadarthe*

/ *krayyaḥ* 1/1 *tadarthe* 7/1 = *tasya arthaḥ* (*śaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin*

(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *yi pratyaye* #79 *dhātoḥ* #80)

*kṛiṇāter dhātos tadarthe krayārtham yat tasminn abhidheye yati pratyaye parato yādeśo nipātyate*

Verbal root *kṛi* 'to barter' receives a substitute in *ay* when an affix beginning with *y*, particularly *yaT*, follows and the derivate denotes something on sale.

#### EXAMPLES:

*krayyo gauḥ* 'an ox on sale'

*krayyaḥ kambalaḥ* 'a blanket on sale'

1. Note that *krayya* is a derivate of *yaT* introduced after verbal root *DUkṛiñ* 'purchase, barter'. The derivate meaning here is: *tadarthe* 'in the sense of that, i.e., verbal root'. Commentators explain that the meaning of the base

(*prakṛti*) is principal (*pradhāna*) here. The word *krayya* is explained as *krayārthaṃ yaḥ prasāritaḥ* ‘that which is put out for sale’. Consider now a counter-example: *kreṇo no dhānyam na cāsti krayyam* ‘this grain we wish to purchase is not for sale’. Here again, the *e* resulting out of *guṇa* is replaced with *ay*.

### 6.1.83 भय्यप्रवय्ये च च्छन्दसि

*bhayyaprayayye ca cchandasi*

/bayya-pravayye 7/1 (itar. dv.) ca φ chandasi 7/1/

(saṃhitāyām #72 yi pratyaye #79 dhātoḥ #80)

*bibheteṛ dhātor prapūrvasya ca ‘vi’ ity etasya yati pratyaye parataś chandasi viśaye’ yādeśo bhavati*

Forms such as *bhayya* and *prayayya* are derived, via *nipātana*, in the Vedic.

#### EXAMPLES:

*bhayyam kila āsīt* ‘that was indeed frightening’

*vatsatārī prayayā* ‘a young cow ready for impregnation’

1. Note that *bhayyaḥ* is derived with *yaT* signifying *apādāna* (3.3.113 *kṛtyahyuto* . . .). The word *prayayā* is derived, via *nipātana*, only in the feminine. One can derive it from: *pra* + (*aj*→*vī*) + *yaT* or *pra* + *vī* + *yaT*, where, in the first string, *aj* gets replaced with *vī* (2.4.56 *ajer vy aghañapoh*). Verbal root *vī* in the second string is used with the signification of *gati* ‘movement’ and *prajanana* ‘giving birth’, etc. The *yaT* is, of course, introduced by 3.1.97 *aco yat*.

### 6.1.84 एकः पूर्वपरयोः

*ekah pūrvaparayoh*

/ekah 1/1 pūrvaparayoh 6/2 (itar. dv.)/

(saṃhitāyām #72)

*adhikāro’yam ‘khyāt parasya’ iti prāg etasmāt*

*sūtrād ita uttaram yad vaksyāmas tatra pūrvasya parasya dvayor api sthāne ekādeśo bhavātīty etad veditavyam*

One comes in place of both the preceding as well as the following when *saṃhitā* obtains.

#### EXAMPLES:

*khatvendraḥ* ‘best among cots’

*mālendraḥ* ‘best among garlands’

1. This is an *adhikāra* valid through rules enumerated prior to 6.1.112 *khyāt parasya*.

The word *pūrvaparayoh* specifies a sequence of two contiguous elements as *sthānī* 'items to be replaced', simultaneously (*yugapat*). There may be confusion as to what should be replaced, for example, under the provision of 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ*. That is, if *pūrvaparayoh* is not specified. It is stated that the locative (*saptamī*) of *aci*, occurring after the ablative (*pañcamī*) of *āt*, will be transformed into *śaṣṭhī* 'genitive' similar to 8.3.29 *ḍaḥ si dhuṭ* where locative *si* is transformed into genitive and receives augment *dhUT*. This way, 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* will have *aci* transformed into *acaḥ*, a genitive, and there will not be any confusion as to what should be replaced. But this will only make clear that an *aC* occurring after *āT* will be replaced with *guṇa*. It will not make clear that the *guṇa* vowel will come in place of the preceding *ā* and the vowel which follows. The word *pūrvaparayoh* must then be stated to facilitate a replacement in place of two contiguous vowels.

This single replacement must also come in place of two contiguous vowels simultaneously (*yugapat*). Some argue that *ekaḥ*, especially in view of 6.1.85 *antādivac ca*, should account for a single replacement for two contiguous vowels simultaneously. Hence, we do not need *pūrvaparayoh*. If this is acceptable then *pūrvaparayoh* must be viewed as used for ease of comprehension (*sukhapratīpatyartham*). But since proper understanding of this rule without *pūrvaparayoh*, though with the help of 6.1.85 *antādivac ca*, is possible only via a locative occurring after an ablative transformed into genitive, use of *pūrvaparayoh* is still economical. Doing without *pūrvaparayoh* is prolix (*gaurava*).

2. This rule includes *ekaḥ* so that two separate replacements for the preceding and following contiguous sound segments can be blocked. For one may expect two replacements corresponding to two items to be replaced. Such an expectation can be justified in view of rule 8.2.42 *radābhyām niṣṭhātonaḥ* . . . , whereby the *t* of a *niṣṭhā* suffix, when occurring after *r* and *d*, is replaced with *n*. Additionally, the preceding *d* is also replaced with *n*. The *Mahābhāṣya* finds the use of *ekaḥ* as unnecessary.

### 6.1.85 अन्तादिवच्च

*antādivac ca*

/ *antādivat* φ = *antaś ca ādiś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tābhyām tulyam*; *ca* φ/

(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoh* #84)

'*ekaḥ pūrvaparayoh*' *iti yo* 'yam *ekādeśo vidhīyate sa pūrvasyāntavad bhavati parasyādivad bhavati*

A replacement in place of the preceding and following sound segments in *saṃhitā* is treated as final (*anta*) of what precedes and initial (*ādi*) of what follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*brahmabandhūḥ* 'a contemptible brāhmaṇa'

*vr̥kṣau* ‘nominative/accusative dual of *vr̥kṣa* ‘tree’

1. A replacement coming in place of two contiguous sound segments is treated as final of what precedes and the initial of what follows. The words *anta* and *ādi* denote *avayava* ‘part’. It is only natural that we understand them in view of their *avayavin*, the whole (*samudāya*) with reference to which they are parts. What is this *avayavin*, especially in this context of a single replacement in place of a preceding and a following sound? There are three possibilities.

- (i) This extension applies to the preceding (*pūrva*) and following (*para*) sound segments for which *ekah* specifies a single replacement.
- (ii) This extension applies to entities which, prior to a single replacement, preceded the prior sound segment and followed the subsequent sound segment, with the understanding that prior and subsequent segments will be simultaneously replaced with a single sound segment.
- (iii) This extension applies to a form which contained the prior sound segment as its final, and to another form which contained the subsequent sound segment as its initial.

The first interpretation is not acceptable because prior and subsequent sound segments would be removed by a single replacement. How could one talk about *antādi* when prior and subsequent segments themselves are missing. The second interpretation is also problematic. Consider *vr̥kṣa* + *au*, where *a* + *au* are replaced by a single replacement in *a*. This *a* is a single replacement in place of a non-*sUP* (*asup*) and a *sUP*. It cannot, because of there being nothing to follow the *sUP*, become the initial of what follows. It is in view of this that the third interpretation is accepted. This interpretation is also not trouble free. Consider, for example, *brahmabandhūh*, derived from *brahmabandhu* + *ū* → *brahmabandhū* + *sU*, where a single long replacement comes in place of the final *u* of a nominal stem and the *ū* of the feminine affix *ūN̄*. For, the prior *u* is removed. The final *dh* of *brahmabandh* cannot be treated as the substituenda (*sthānī*) of the replaced *u* since it was not the *sthānī* to start with (*anārambhāt*). This same is also applicable to the following items to be replaced. This extension will therefore apply to forms which preceded and followed the two sounds as their final and initial. A single replacement will be treated as final of the form which precedes it, the same way the sound it replaced was its final. This single replacement will also be considered as initial of what follows it, the way the item it replaced was its initial. Consider *brahmabandhūh* which derives from (*brahmabandhū* + *sU*). The final *ū* of *brahmabandhū* is a single replacement in *ū* for the final *u* of *brahmabandhu* and the initial *ū* of affix *ūN̄*. Now, a *sU* is introduced after a

nominal stem, or a form that ends in the feminine affixes characterized with *Ñi* and *āP*. Since *brahmabandhū* is not a nominal stem, and also since *ūÑ* is not one of the feminine affixes covered by *Ñi* and *āP*, *sū* cannot be introduced by 4.1.2 *svaujasmauṭ*. . . . How can one then derive *brahmanabandhūḥ* from *brahmabandhu* + *sU*? This rule makes it possible for *ū*, a replacement of *u* + *ū*, as final of *brahmabandhu*, the nominal stem. A *sU* can now be introduced to derive *brahmabandhūḥ*.

2. Note that this *antavadbhāva* 'treatment as final of the preceding and initial of the following' is not desired where an operation is to be performed relative to a sound segment. Consider *khaṭvābhīḥ* ← *khaṭvā* + *bhis*, where *bhis* cannot be replaced with *ais* (7.1.9 *ato bhis ais*). For, the *ā* of *khaṭvā*, gotten from homogeneous long replacement (*savarṇadīrgha*) of *a* + *ā* of *kohaṭva* + *ā*, cannot be treated as final of *khaṭva*, a form ending in *aT*. The instrumental plural of *khaṭvā* will thus be *khaṭvābhīḥ*. Now consider third singular perfect of *hveñ* → *hvā* (4.1.45 *ādeśa upadeśa* . . .), i.e., *juhāva*, where given *juhu* + *NaL*, 7.1.34 *āt au ṇalaḥ* cannot be applied. For, *hvā* goes through *samprasāraṇa* (6.1.33 *abhyastasya ca*) and produces *hu* with *pūrvavāṇa*. This *u* happens to be a single replacement for the vocalic sequence *u* + *ā* ← *h(v → u)* *ā*. Note that *NaL* cannot be replaced with *au*, understanding that *hu* ended in *ā* based on *u* being a single replacement for *u* + *ā*. A *vṛddhi* replacement gotten from 6.1.88 *vṛddhir eci* is not considered as initial of what followed, in applying 6.1.109 *eṇaḥ padāntād ati*. Consider *asyai* + *aśvaḥ* where *asyai* derives from *idam* + (*Ñ*) *e* = *idam* + *e* with augment *syāT* (7.3.114 *sarvanāmnaḥ syāḍ* . . .) and deletion of *id* (7.2.113 *hali lopah*). This gives us *am* + *syā* + *e* which yields *a* + *syā* + *e*, where *m* of (*id* → *∅*) *am* + *syā* + *e* gets replaced with *a* (7.2.102 *tyadādīnāmah*). The *a* + (*m* → *a*) = *a* + *a* is then replaced with a single *a* (6.1.97 *ato guṇe*) to offer *a* + *syā* + *e* = *asyā* + *e*. Rule 6.1.88 *vṛddhir eci* will now apply to produce *asy(ā + e → ai)* = *asyai*. We cannot now apply 6.1.109 *eṇaḥ padāntād ati* on *asyai* + *aśvaḥ* to produce a single replacement similar to the preceding *e* for *ai* + *a* of *asyai* and *aśvaḥ*, respectively. For, *ai* cannot be viewed as *e*.

Some argue that 1.1.56 *sthānivad ādeśo* 'nalvidhau' itself can account for what this rule provides. Hence this rule is unnecessary. Others argue back that extensional provision of this rule is *ānumānika* 'presumed', because it is based upon part of a replacement (*avayatva*). It is not a direct (*pratyakṣa*) replacement as may be required by the word *ādeśa* of 1.1.56 *sthānivad*. . . . It is for this 'presumed' status of the replacement that we need this extension rule. I omit details of these two positions for fear of expatiation.

### 6.1.86 षत्वतुकोरसिद्धः

*ṣatvatukor asiddhaḥ*

/ *ṣatva-tukoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*); *asiddhaḥ* 1/1 (*nañ. tat.*) /

(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ* #84)

*ṣatve tuki ca kartavye ekādeśo* 'siddho bhavati

A single replacement in place of the preceding and the following sound segments in *saṃhitā* is treated as if suspended (*asiddha*) when operations relative to a replacement in *ṣ* (*ṣatva*) and augment *tUK* are to be performed.

EXAMPLES:

*ko' sīcat* 'who watered . . .'  
*ko'sya* 'who is this person's . . .'  
*yo'sya* 'he who is of this person's . . .'  
*ko'smai* 'who is this person to whom . . .'  
*yo'smai* 'he to whom . . .'  
*adhītya* 'having studied . . .'  
*pretya* 'having returned . . .'

1. This rule suspends a single replacement (*ekādeśa*) of two contiguous sound segments when a replacement in *ṣ*, or introduction of augment *tUK*, is to be accomplished. That is, a replacement is treated as not having taken effect (*asiddha*) when these two operations (*ṣatva* and *tUK*) are to be performed. To sum up: this suspension negates operations characteristically conditioned by a single replacement (*kṛtaikādeśa-nimittaka-pratiṣedha*). It favors application of a characteristic operation conditioned by a substituentum (*sthāni-lakṣaṇa-kārya*).

What is the purpose of this provision of *asiddhatva*? Is it needed for creating 'absence' (*abhāva*) of a single replacement? Or else, it is needed for indicating inability of replacement to perform what it is supposed to perform. For, what is *siddha* can be treated as *asiddha* if it does not do what it is supposed to do. That is, it is similar to ~ son (*putra*) who can be treated as a non-son (*aputra*) if he does not perform the duties of a son (*putrakāryakaraṇe' sāmāthyāt*). A replacement can similarly be treated as a non-replacement. If this 'statement of suspension' (*asiddhavacana*) tries to realize the absence of a single replacement, then *adhītya* cannot be derived with augment *tUK*. Why? Because the short *i* will already be removed by the replacement? A short vowel cannot be brought about if it has been removed by a single replacement. Killing the killer of Devadatta cannot bring Devadatta back to life' (*na hi devadattasya hantari hate punar devadattasya prādurbhāvo bhavātīty . . .*). The 'absence' interpretation of *asiddhatva* thus has to be abandoned.

This *asiddhatva* must then be interpreted as 'incapability of affecting an operation (*kāryāsāmāthyā*)'. One considers a *sthānī* as not having been displaced when its corresponding *ādeśa* is treated as *asiddha* 'not having taken affect'. Let us consider *kaḥ asīcat*, where *kim* of *kim + s(U)* is replaced with *r(U)* of 8.2.66 *sasajuṣo ruḥ*. The *r* is then changed to *u* (6.1.113 *ato ror . . .*). Rule 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* will then apply on *kau + asīcat* to offer a single *guṇa* replacement for *au + a*. Rule 6.1.109 *eṇaḥ padāntād ati* will then require a single replacement for the *pada*-final *eṇ*, i.e., *e*, *o*, and the *a*, of *asīcat*, thereby



yielding  $k(o + a \rightarrow o)$  *sicat* = *ko' sicut*. Rule 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayaḥ* cannot apply to replace the *s* of *asicut* with *ṣ* (*ṣatva*), because our present rule will make *o* suspended. That is, *s* of *sicut* will be occurring after *a* of *asicut*, a sound not covered by the abbreviatory term *iṆ*. One can also cite *ko' sya*, *yo' sya*, *ko' smai* and *yo' smai* as additional examples, where *ṣatva* is negated based upon *asiddhatva* of a single replacement.

*Kāśikā* offers *adhitya* and *pretya* as examples where *tUK* is allowed based upon *asiddhatva*. Given (*adhi* + *i* + (*Ktvā* → *LyaP*)) and (*pra* + *i* + (*Ktvā* → *LyaP*)), the two *i* vowels are replaced with a single long *ī* (6.1.100 *akaḥ savarṇe dīṅghaḥ*). The *a* + *i* sequence of *pr(a + i) + ya* is replaced with a single *guṇa* vowel *e*. Rule 6.1.71 *hrasvasya pīti kṛti tuk* cannot introduce *tUK* if single replacements are not treated as *asiddha* 'suspended'. For, replacement vowels are not short (*hrasva*). If replacement vowels both are treated as *asiddha*, augment *tUK* can be introduced to verbal root *i* 'to go'.

2. A question against the formulation of this rule is also raised with reference to *paribhāṣā* (PŚ: 51) *asiddham bahiraṅgam antaraṅge*. That is, a single replacement will be treated as *bahiraṅga* 'externally conditioned' since it applies with reference to two words. The application of *ṣatva* and *tUK* will be considered as *antaraṅga* 'internally conditioned' because they apply relative to a single word. What is the need for this rule when the *bahiraṅga* provision of a single replacement will automatically become suspended (*asiddha*). Commentators inform that this rule serves a restrictive purpose with regard to this interpretive rule (*paribhāṣā*). It indicates that the *bahiraṅga-paribhāṣā* does not apply where contiguous vocalic sequences of a *bahiraṅga* or *antaraṅga* operation are involved. Consequently, in *akṣadyūh*, a replacement in *yaṆ* is treated as *siddha* 'accomplished' on account of the *asiddhatva* of externally conditioned *ūṬH* (6.4.132 *vāha ūṭh*). This same also becomes a *jñāpaka* 'indicator' for existence of another *paribhāṣā* (PŚ: 52) *nājanantaryam bahis* . . .

3. A *vārttika* recommends that *asiddhatva* in connection with *samprasāraṇa*, locative singular ending *Ṇi*, and the first singular *ātmanepada* ending *iṬ*, should be disallowed. Given *śaka* + *Śas* + *hu* + *KvIP*, we get *śakahū*, through *samprasāraṇa* (6.1.15 *vacisvapi* . . .; *h(v → u)e*), *ātva* (6.1.45 *ādeca upadeśe* . . .; (*hu(e → ā)*), *pūrvarūpa* (6.1.108 *samprasāraṇāc ca*; *h(u + ā → u = hu)* and *dirgha* (6.4.2 *halah*; *h(u → ū = hū)*). The application of 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayaḥ* . . . for replacing the locative plural affixal *s* in *śakahū* + *su* to produce *śakahūsu* is facilitated by this *vārttika* proposal. That is, the single replacement is treated as *asiddha* because the ending is not locative singular. But consider *vrkṣe chatram* where the *e* is considered as *siddha* because *Ne* is locative singular. This can then allow optional *tUK* of 6.1.76 *padāntād vā*. We thus get *vrkṣec chatram* and *vrkṣe chatram*. The first singular *ātmanepada* form *apace* illustrates how *e* of *aṬ* + *pac* + (*ŚaP* + (*LUN* → *iṬ*)) = *apac* + (*a + i → e*) = *apace* can also be treated as *siddha*. Consequently, given *apace chatram*, we will get optional *tUK*. Thus, *apace chatram* and *apace chatram*.

## 6.1.87 आद्गुणः

*ād guṇaḥ*

/āt 5/1 guṇaḥ 1/1/

(saṃhitāyām #72 aci #77 ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ #84)

*avarṇāt paro yo'c, aci ca pūrvō yo' varṇaḥ, tayoḥ pūrvaparayor avarṇācoḥ sthāne eko guṇādeśo bhavati*

A single replacement in *guṇa* comes in place of both, a vowel (*aC*) which follows *a* and the *a* which precedes that vowel, in *saṃhitā*.

## EXAMPLES:

*khaṭvendraḥ = khaṭvā + indraḥ*

*mālendrarḥ = mālā + indraḥ*

*tavehate = tava + ihate*

*khaṭvehate = khaṭvā + ihate*

*tavodakam = tava + udakam*

*khatvodakam = khaṭvā + udakam*

*tavarśyaḥ = tava + ṛśyaḥ*

*khaṭvarśyaḥ = khaṭvā + ṛśyaḥ*

*tavalkāraḥ = tava + lkāraḥ*

*khaṭvalkāraḥ = khaṭvā + lkāraḥ*

1. Of course, the *a* here also refers to its homogeneous (*savarṇa*; 1.1.69 *anudit savarṇasya . . .*) counterparts. Note that a sequence of *a* followed by *a* gets a single *ā* replacement of 6.1.100 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*. A sequence of *a* followed by *e*, *o*, *ai* or *au* is similarly subject to a single replacement in *vṛddhi* (6.1.88 *vṛddhir eci*). This rule allows a single replacement for a sequence of *a* followed by *i*, *u*, *ṛ* or *ḷ*. Rule 1.1.2 *adeṇ guṇaḥ* defines *guṇa* as *aT*, *e* and *o*. Given *tava + idam* and *khaṭvā + indraḥ*, we get *tav (a + i → e) dam = tavedam* and *khaṭv (ā + i) ndram = khaṭvendram*. A single replacement in *e* is chosen, based upon its similarity of place of articulation (*sthāna*) with *a + i*, throat (*kanṭha*) and palate (*tālu*). A *guṇa*-replacement in *a*, of *ḷ*, is required to be followed by *ḷ*, similar to a replacement of *ṛ* which is required to be followed by *r* (1.1.51 *ur aṇ raparaḥ; Kāśikā: lkārasya sthāne yo' ṇ tasya laparatvam iṣyate*). For, a specification of *ḷ* is considered as included within the specification of *ṛ*.

## 6.1.88 वृद्धिरेचि

*vṛddhir eci*

/vṛddhiḥ 1/1 eci 7/1/

(saṃhitāyām #72 ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ #84 āt 87)

*avarṇāt paro ya ec eci ca pūrvō yo' varṇaḥ tayoḥ pūrvaparayor avarṇaicoḥ sthāne vṛddhir ekādeśo bhavati*

A single replacement in *vṛddhi* comes in place of both, a sound de-

noted by the abbreviatory term *eC* (*e*, *o*, *ai*, *au*) which follows *a* and the *a* which precedes *eC*, in *saṃhitā*.

EXAMPLES:

*brahmaidākā* = *brahma* + *ēdakā*  
*khaṭvaidākā* = *khaṭvā* + *ēdakā*  
*brahmaitikāyanaḥ* = *brahma* + *aitikāyanaḥ*  
*khaṭvaitikāyanaḥ* = *khaṭvā* + *aitikāyanaḥ*  
*brahmaudanaḥ* = *brahma* = *odanaḥ*  
*khaṭvaudanaḥ* = *khaṭvā* + *odanaḥ*  
*brahmaupagavaḥ* + *brahma* + *aupagavaḥ*  
*khaṭvaupagavaḥ* = *khaṭvā* + *aupagavaḥ*

1. This rule is an exception to the preceding (*ādguṇasyāpavādaḥ*). A sequence of sounds with *a*, followed by *e*, *o*, *ai* or *au*, is replaced with a corresponding single *vrddhi* vowel. Here again, similarity of place of articulation helps select corresponding replacements. Recall that *taparakaraṇa* in 1.1.1 *vrddhir ādaic* is not intended for blocking *ā* from also denoting its homogeneous counterparts. For, *ā* is not included within *aṆ* (1.1.69 *aṇudit savarṇasya cāpratyayaḥ*). Instead, it is used for constraining *aiC*. Consequently, a replacement is limited in duration. That is, we always get replacements in *dirgha* (*ā/ai/au*) and not in *phata*. Incidentally, a replacement in *ā* may also be followed with *r* (6.1.91 *upasargād ṛti dhātau*).

6.1.89 एत्येधत्युत्सु

*etyedhatyūṭhsu*  
*/etyedhatyūṭhsu 7/3 = etiś ca edhatiś ca ūṭh ca = etyedhatyūṭhaḥ (itar. dv.), teṣu/*  
*(saṃhitāyām #72 aci #77 ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ #84 āt 87 vrddhir eci #88)*  
*avarṇāt paro ya iṇ gatau ity etasya ec, edha vrddhau ūṭh ity etayoś ca yo'c,*  
*eteṣu ca pūrvō yo' varṇas tayōḥ pūrvaparayor varṇācoḥ sthāne vrddhir ekādeśo bhavati*

A single replacement in *vrddhi* comes in place of both, the *a* which precedes a sound denoted by *eC* and the *eC* which follows this *a*, provided *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

*upaiti* = *upa* + *eti*  
*upaiśi* = *upa* + *eśi*  
*upaimi* = *upa* + *emi*  
*upaidhate* = *upa* + *edhate*  
*praidhate* = *pra* + *edhate*  
*praṣṭhauhaḥ* = *praṣṭha* + *ūhaḥ*

*praṣṭhauhā* = *praṣṭha* + *ūhā*  
*praṣṭhauhe* = *praṣṭha* + *ūhā* + *Ne*

1. Note that *vṛddhih*, *eci* and *āt* are all carried over. The word *eci* can only qualify *eti*. A qualifier must be capable of being removed, or else, be deviating (*vyabhicāra*). Such a deviation is not possible (*sambhava*) in connection with *edhA* since it is always found as beginning with *eC*. There is no sense in saving an *edhA* which begins with *eC*. This qualification of *eC*, in case of *ūṬH*, is impossible (*asambhava*). The *i* of *iN* may, or may not, yield an *e*. This *e* can then be specified by *eci*. A *tadādividhi* interpretation (*paribhāṣā* (34): *yasmin vidhau tadādāv algrahane*) will yield the following meaning: ... when *a* occurs followed either by the *eC* of *iN*, or by the *aC* of *edh* or *ūṭh*.

Thus, consider *upa* + *eti* → *upaiti*, *upa* + *edhate* → *upaidhate* and *praṣṭha* + *ūhā* → *praṣṭhauhā*. This rule is an exception to 6.1.94 *eni pararūpam*, whereby a sequence of prefixal *a*, or *ā*, followed by the root-initial *e*, or *o*, is replaced with a single form similar to the following. It can, however, not be accepted as an exception to 6.1.95 *omānoś ca* which also orders *pararūpa*, under fairly similar conditions. For, this rule is a prior exception (*purastāpavāda*) and hence, *purastāpavādā anantarān vidhīn bādhanṭe nottarān* (PŚ: 60) 'prior exceptions block most immediate provisions and not any subsequent'.

Now consider *praṣṭhauhaḥ*, where affix *ṆvI* is introduced after *vah*, used in conjunction with *praṣṭha*. We thus get *praṣṭha* + *vah* + (*ṆvI* →  $\phi$ ), where affix *ṆvI* gets deleted after *vṛddhi*, yielding *praṣṭha* + (*v(a* → *āh*) + (*ṆvI* →  $\phi$ )) = *praṣṭhavāh*. Rule 6.4.132 *vāh ūṭh* orders *samprasāraṇa* and related operations on a string, for example, *prauṣṭhavāh* + (*Ṇ*) *as*, yielding *praṣṭha* (*v* → *ū* (*ṬH*) *āh*)) + *as* → *praṣṭha* (*ū* + *ā* → *ū*) *h* + *as* = *praṣṭha* + *ūh* + *as*. Of course, we get a single long *ū* to replace the sequence *ū* + *ā*, through application of 6.1.107 *samprasāraṇāc ca*. Our present rule can now order the sequence *a* + *ū* to be replaced with a single *vṛddhi* substitute. We will thus get *praṣṭh* (*a* + *ū* → *au*) *h* + *as* = *praṣṭhauhas*. Deriving *praṣṭhauhaḥ* with *rutvavisarga* of *s* at the end of *praṣṭhauhas* is easy. We will similarly get *praṣṭhauhā* and *praṣṭhauhe* with nominal endings *Ṭā* and *Ne*, respectively.

2. This rule is an exception to *guṇa*, in the context of *ūṭh*, and of *pararūpa*, a replacement similar to the following (6.1.94 *eni pararūpam*), in the context of *e* of *eti* and *edhati*.

Why do we have to qualify *iNas ej(āḍi)* 'eC-initial' for accomplishing *vṛddhi*? Consider *upetaḥ*, derived with a single *e*-replacement for *a* + *i*, of *upa* + *itaḥ*, where *itaḥ* could be a derivate of *i* ending in *Kta* or *tas* (*LAT* → *tas*), third dual active. Our present rule could have ordered a single *vṛddhi*-replacement, instead. The result would have been a wrong form: *up(a* + *i* → *ai*) *ta* = \**upaita*. This is why a qualified *iN* is required.

This same is also true of a qualified *edhA* in *pr(a* + *i* → *e*) *dhidhat* → *predidhat*, a *LUN*-derivate of causal *edhA*, used, for example in *mā bhavān predidhat* 'please

‘sir do not cause it to grow’. Our present rule cannot order *vrddhi* to yield a wrong form \**praididhat*, because *edhA* does not begin here with *e*. The negation of *mā* is used to indicate that augment *āṭ* is blocked here (6.4.74 *na mānyoge*).

3. The following are some *vārttika* proposals:

- (i) A single *vrddhi* vowel comes as a substitute when *akṣa* follows *ūhinī*. Thus, *akṣauhinī*.
- (ii) Also when *sva* is followed by *īra*, *īriṇa* and *īriṇī*. Thus, *svairam/svairinī*, etc.
- (iii) A *vrddhi* is also a single substitute when *pra* is followed by *ūdha*, *ūdhi*, *eṣa* and *eṣya*. Thus, *prauhaḥ*, *praudhaḥ*, *praudhiḥ*, *praiṣaḥ*, *praiṣyaḥ*.
- (iv) A *vrddhi* is also a single substitute when an *a*-final word is followed by *ṛta*. Thus, *sukhena* + *ṛtaḥ* = *sukhenārtaḥ*, as against *sukhena* + *itaḥ* + *sukhenetaḥ*.
- (v) A single *vrddhi* substitute is also desired when *ṛṇa* follows *pra*, *vatsatara*, *kambala* and *vasana*. Thus, *pra* + *ṛṇam* → *prārṇam*, *vatsatara* + *ṛṇam* = *vatsatarārṇam*, etc.
- (vi) Also when *ṛṇa* and *daśa* are followed by *ṛṇa*. Thus, *ṛṇārṇam* and *daśārṇam*.

### 6.1.90 आटश्च

*āṭaś ca*

/āṭaḥ 5/1/ ca φ/

(*samhitāyām* #72 *aci* #77 *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoh* #84 *vrddhiḥ* #88)

*āṭaḥ paro yo' c aci ca pūrvō ya āṭ, tayoh pūrvaparayor āḍacoḥ sthāne vrddhir ekādeśo bhavati*

A single *vrddhi* vowel comes in place of both, a vowel which follows *āṭ* and the *āṭ* which precedes that vowel, when *samhitā* finds its scope.

#### EXAMPLES:

*aikṣiṣṭa* ‘third person singular active *LUN*-derivate of *ikṣ* ‘to see’

*aikṣata* ‘third person singular active *LAN*-derivate of *ikṣ* ‘to see’

*aikṣisyata* ‘third person singular middle *LRN*-derivate of *ikṣ*’

*aubhūt* ‘third singular active *LUN* derivate of *ubh* ‘to fill’

*ārdhnot* ‘third singular active *LAN*-derivate of *ṛdh* ‘to grow’

*aubhūt* ‘third singular active *LUN*-derivate of *ubj* ‘to press down, subdue’

1. Note that *eci* is no longer cared. The *āṭ* of *āṭaḥ* refers here to augment *āṭ*, introduced by 6.4.72 *āḍ ajādīnām*. A single *vrddhi* substitute replaces the *ā*, of *āṭ*, and a vowel which may follow *āṭ*. Consider *aikṣiṣṭa*, *aikṣata* and *aikṣisyata*, forms of verbal root *ikṣ* ‘to see’ in *LUN*, *LAN* and *LRN*, respec-

tively, where augment  $\bar{a}T$  is introduced by 6.4.72  $\bar{a}ḍ$  *ajādīnām*. We get the initial *ai* of these forms as a single replacement of  $\bar{a}$  of  $\bar{a}T$  and the  $\bar{i}$  of  $ikṣ$ . Refer to many derivatives of  $LUN$ ,  $LAN$  and  $LRN$  under the appendix of volumes II-III for additional details. A similar *vrddhi* replacement of  $\bar{a} + u$  is found in *aubhūt* and *aubūt*. A *vrddhi* replacement in  $\bar{ar}$  is found in *ārdhnōt*, a  $LUN$  derivate of  $ṛdhU$  'to go'. All these examples would have gotten a replacement in *guṇa* if we did not have this rule.

2. The *ca* is not intended for attracting *vrddhi* to this rule. It is for something additional (*adhikavidhānārtham*). It is used for blocking a single replacement similar to what follows (cf. 6.1.95 *omāñoś ca* and 6.1.96 *usy apadāntāt*). We get *ausrīyat*, *aukāriyat* and *auḍhīyat*.

### 6.1.91 उपसर्गादिति धातौ

*upasargād ṛti dhātau*

*/upasargāt 5/1 ṛti 7/1 dhātau 7/1/*

(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *aci* #77 *ekah pūrvaparayoh* #84 *āt* #87 *vrddhiḥ* #88)

*avarṇāntād upasargād ṛkāṛādau parataḥ pūrvaparayoh sthāne vrddhir ekādeśo bhavati*

A single *vrddhi* replacement comes in place of both, an *a* at the end of a preverb and a *ṛ* at the beginning of a verbal root, when *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

#### EXAMPLES:

*upārcchati* = *upa* + *rcchati*

*prārcchati* = *pra* + *rcchati*

*upārdhnōti* = *upa* + *ṛdhnoti*

1. This rule allows a single *vrddhi*-replacement for the final *a* of a preverb and initial *ṛ* of a verbal root. This is an exception to 6.1.87  $\bar{a}ḍ$  *guṇaḥ*.

2. What is the purpose of stating *upasargāt* 'after a preverb'? Consider *khaṭvā* + *rcchati* → *khaṭvarcchati* and *mālā* + *rcchati* → *mālarcchati*, where we find *guṇa* with a following *ṛ* (*rapara*) since there is no preverb. Now consider *prārcchakaḥ* of *prārcchako deśaḥ*, paraphrased as *pragatā ṛcchakā asmād deśāt* 'a place from where bears have departed'. There is no *vrddhi* here. For, an *upasarga* is viewed as an *upasarga* in relation to a verb with which it is used. The *pra* of *prārcchakaḥ* is related to *gam* of *gata* and not to *ṛch*. The *ṛ* of *rcchaka* cannot facilitate *vrddhi*.

The condition of a root beginning with *ṛ* is also necessary. Consider *upa* + *itaḥ* → *upetaḥ* where, because of a lack of *ṛ*, we do not get *vrddhi*. The *taparakaraṇa* in *ṛti* is used to block *vrddhi* in examples such as *upa* + *ṛkāriyati* → *uparkāriyati*. A *ṛ* qualified with *taparakaraṇa* in short (*hrasva*). The *ṛ* or *ṛkāriyati* is long (*dirgha*).

3. Why is the word *dhātau* stated explicitly when it can be easily under-

stood in view of *upasargāt*. It is argued that *dhātau* is explicitly used so that an optional *prakṛtibhāva* 'the state of originally was; non-sandhi' of 6.1.128 *ṛtyakaḥ* could be blocked. That is, the *prakṛtibhāva* of *Śākalya* will be blocked in the context of *ṛ* of a *dhātu*.

### 6.1.92 वा सुप्यापिशलेः

*vā supya āpiśaleḥ*

/vā φ *supi* 7/1 *āpiśaleḥ* 6/1/

(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *aci* #77 *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ* #84 *āt* #87 *vṛddhiḥ* #88 *upasargād ṛti dhātau* #91)

*subantāvayave dhātāv ṛkārādau parato' varṇāntād upasargāt pūrvaparayor āpiśaler ācāryasya matena vā vṛddhir ekādeśo bhavati*

A single *vṛddhi* replacement, in the opinion of Āpiśali, optionally comes in place of both, the final *a* of a preverb and the initial *ṛ* of a verbal root, when *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

#### EXAMPLES:

*uparṣabhīyati* = *upa* + *ṛṣabhīyati*

*upārṣabhīyati* = *upa* + *ṛṣabhīyati*

*upalkāriyati* = *upa* + *!kāriyati*

*upālkāriyati* = *upa* + *!kāriyati*

1. The word *āpiśali*, especially in view of *vā*, is used to denote respect (*pūjārtham*). For, it cannot denote option which *vā* already does.

2. Since a *dhātu* cannot be *subanta* 'that which ends in a *sUP*', the word *subanta* is interpreted as *dhātuvāyava* 'part of a verbal root'. Thus, we get the meaning *subantāvayave dhātau* '... when a *subanta* contained within a *dhātu* follows ...'. We get *ṛṣabha iva ācarati* = *ṛṣabhīyati* and *upa* + *ṛṣabhīyati* → *uparṣabhīyati* (*guṇa*) and *upārṣabhīyati* (*vṛddhi*). Similar interpretations apply to other examples.

3. A homogeneous relationship (*sāvarṇya*) between *ṛ* and *!* is again invoked here. That is, a reference with *ṛ* also includes a reference to *!*. A replacement of *!*, similar to one of *ṛ* followed by *r* (*rapara*), is also followed by *l* (*lapara*) in accord with the *Mahābhāṣya* (ad 1.1.50 *sthāne' taratamaḥ*).

### 6.1.93 औतोऽमसोः

*auto' m śasoḥ*

/ā (deleted 1/1) *otaḥ* 5/1 *aśasoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*)/

(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *aci* #77 *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ* #84)

*oto' mi śasi ca parataḥ pūrvaparayor ākāra ādeśo bhavati*

A single *ā* comes in place of both, the *o* which *am* and *Śas* follow and the *a* of *am* and *Śas* which follow *o*, when *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

## EXAMPLES:

*gām paśya* 'see the cow'

*gāḥ paśya* 'see cows'

*dyām paśya* 'look towards heaven'

*dyāḥ paśya* '... heavens'

1. This rule allows a sequence of *o*, plus the *a* of *am* and *Śas*, to be replaced with *ā*. The *am*, because of its associated usage (*sāhacaryāt*) with *Śas* 'accusative plural', and also because of the *anuvṛtti* of *supi*, is interpreted as accusative singular. Consider *acino + am* and *asuno + am*, where, in deriving *acinavam* and *asunavam* 'first person singular past imperfect active' (*LAN*) forms of *ciN̄* 'heap' and *suN̄* 'to press out juice', we get *am* as a replacement of *miP* 'first person singular active' (3.4.101 *tasthasthamipām* . . .). We do not get a single replacement in *ā* because *am* is not the accusative singular nominal ending. Our proper examples will be *gām paśya* and *gāḥ paśya*, from *go + am* and *go + Śas*, respectively.

Now consider the pronominal *dyo* which also ends in *o*. An affix termed *sarvanāmasthāna* (1.1.43 *suḍ anapūṃsakasya*) which may occur after it is desired to be marked with *N* as an *it* (7.1.90 *goto nit*). This *Nit* status would cause *vṛddhi*. Our present rule blocks this anticipated *vṛddhi* in favor of a replacement in *ā*. How come the *vṛddhi* of 7.1.90 *goto nit* does not block this *ātva* on the basis of *paratva* (1.4.2 *vipratishedhe param kāryam*)? This rule will be left without any scope (*niravakāśa*) of application if *ātva* is blocked by *vṛddhi*.

## 6.1.94 एङि पररूपम्

*eṇi pararūpam*

/eṇi 7/1 pararūpam 1/1/

(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *ekah pūrvaparayoh* #84 *āt* #87 *upasargād dhātau* #91)

*avarṇāntād upasargād eṇātau dhātau pūrvaparayoh pararūpam ekādeśo bhavati*

A single replacement, similar to the second of a vocalic sequence, comes in place of both the final *a* of a preverb and the initial *eN̄* (*e*, *o*) of a verb root, when *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

## EXAMPLES:

*upelayati* = *upa + elayati*

*prelayati* = *pra + elayati*

*upoṣati* = *upa + oṣati*

*prokhati* = *pra + okhati*

1. Note that *āt* and *upasargād ṛti dhātau* are carried over. This rule orders a replacement similar to the following of a vocalic sequence. It thus consti-



tutes an exception to 6.1.88 *vṛddhir eci*. Consider *elayati*, of *upelayati* and *prelayati*, where *il* 'to inspire' of the *curādi* group is used with causal *ṆiC* in the present (*LAT*). Thus, *il* + *ṆiC* → *eli*; *eli* + (*LAT* → *tiP*) → *eli* + *ŚaP* + *tiP* → *el(i → e → ay)* + *a* + *ti* = *elayati*. A single replacement in *o* can be seen in *up(a + o → o)* *ṣati* = *upoṣati* and *up(a + o → o)* *khati* = *upokhati*.

2. Some also carry *vā supy āpiśaleḥ*, via *anuvṛtti*. A single sentence interpretation (*ekavākyatā*), with *vā supy āpiśaleḥ* brought via *anuvṛtti*, will block a single substitute outside the context of *supi*. This, of course, is not desired (*iṣṭa*). A split interpretation (*yogavibhāga*) is therefore recommended. The first split rule will offer a single substitute obligatorily where the root is not a denominative. The second will make a single substitute optional where a denominative is involved. The first split rule will obviously not include the *subdhātau* interpretation facilitated by the *anuvṛtti*. One must remember here that getting these two interpretations via *yogavibhāga* is not easy. Interpretation of the learned alone is our recourse (*vyākhyānam eva śraṇam*).

3. Haradatta states that *pararūpa* in this rule is used for subsequent rule (*uttarārtha*). For this rule, *eṇi* itself is enough. The use of the word *rūpa* does not make sense (*cintya*). Consider 6.1.107 *ami pūrvah* where *pūrvaparayoh pūrvah* itself accounts for a single substitute similar to what precedes in a sequence. That is, with no use of *rūpa* (*PM* ad *Kās.*: *sūtre pararūpagrahaṇam uttarārtham. iha tv eṇīty eva siddham-eṇi parata ekādeśo bhavātīti. rūpagrahaṇam cintyaprayojanam, tathā ca 'ami pūrvah' ity atra rūpagrahaṇam na kṛtam*).

4. Following *vārttika* proposals are made in the *Mahābhāṣya* in connection with *pararūpa*:

- (i) A *pararūpa*, as against *savarnadīrgha*, is desired in *śaka* + *andhuḥ* = *skandhuḥ*, etc.
- (ii) A similar application is to be followed in deriving *śimantaḥ* from (*śima* (*n* → *ḥ*) + *anta*) = *śimanta* + *sU*, when the signification is 'hair'.
- (iii) A following *eva* also goes through *pararūpa* when the sense is not *niyama* 'restrictive provision'. Thus, *iha* + *eva* → *iheva* 'here', as against *ihaiva bhava* 'be here (and not any place else)'.
- (iv) An optional *pararūpa* is ordered in compounds when *otu* and *oṣṭha* follow. Thus, *sthūlotuḥ/sthūlautuḥ* 'a fat cat' and *bimboṣṭhi/ bimbauṣṭhi* 'a female with her lips as red as Bimba fruits'.
- (v) A *pararūpa* should also be stated when *eman*, etc., follow in the Vedic. Thus, *apām tvā* + *eman* → *apām tveman* and *apām* + *tvā* + *odman* → *apām tvodman*.

### 6.1.95 ओमाङोश्च

*omānoś ca*

/omānoḥ 7/2 = *om ca ān ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *ca ḥ*/

(*saṃhitāyām* # 72 *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoh* #84 *āt* #87 *pararūpam* #94)

*avarṇāntād omi āni ca parataḥ pūrvaparayoḥ sthāne pararūpam ekādeśo bhavati*

A single replacement similar to the second of a vocalic sequence comes in place of both, the *a* which precedes and the *o* of *om* or the *ā* of *āñ* which follow, when *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

#### EXAMPLES:

*kom ity avocat* 'said, 'kā + om = kom'

*yom ity avocat* 'said, 'yā + om = yom'

*oḍhā* = *ā* + *ūḍhā*

*adyoḍhā* = *adya* + *oḍhā*

*kadoḍhā* = *kadā* + *oḍhā*

*tadoḍhā* = *tadā* + *oḍhā*

1. This rule carries the *anuvṛtti* of *āt*. Thus, a sequence of *a* followed by *o* of *om* and *ā* of the preverb *āñ* is replaced with a single vowel similar to what follows (*pararūpa*). Consider *k(ā→o→o)m*) = *kom ity avocat* 'who said Om' and *(ā + ū→o)ḍhā*) = *oḍhā*; *ady(a + o→o)ḍhā*) = *adyoḍhā*, etc., which are exceptions to 6.1.88 *vṛddhir eci*. Now consider *adya* + *arśyāt* = *adyarśyāt*, an exception to 6.1.100 *akāḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*. A specification with *āñ* is needed so that *pararūpa* is not blocked by *savarṇadīrgha*.

#### 6.1.96 उस्वपदान्तात्

*usy apadāntāt*

/usi 7/1 *apadāntāt* 5/1 = *padasya antaḥ*; *na padāntaḥ* (*nañ*. with int. *ṣaṣtat.*), *tasmāt*/

(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ* #84 *āt* #87 *pararūpam* #94)

*avarṇād apadāntād usi pūrvaparayor ādguṇāpavādaḥ pararūpam ekādeśo bhavati*

A single replacement similar to the second of a vocalic sequence comes in place of both, a non-*pada* final *a* which precedes and the following *u* of *us* which follows, when *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

#### EXAMPLES:

*bhindyuh* = *bhindyā* + *us*

*chindyuh* = *chindyā* + *us*

*aduh* = *adā* + *us*

*ayuh* = *ayā* + *us*

1. Note that *us* refers here to the *Jus*-replacement of *jhi* 'third plural active ending' (3.4.108 *jher jus*; 3.4.110 *ātaḥ*, etc.). This *pararūpa* is an exception to *guṇa* (6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ*).

2. The word *apadāntāt* qualifies *āt*. Thus, this replacement will be avail-

able when *a* will not be the final sound of a *pada*. Consider, *kā + usrā* and *kā + usitā* where *us* occurs after an *ā* which is occurring at the end of a *pada*. We thus get *guṇa*, in *kosrā* and *koṣitā*, instead. The use of *apadāntāt* does not make much sense, especially when one considers *us*. What is this *us*? If it is an affixal replacement of *jhi* (3.4.108 *jher jus*), then it must be occurring at the end of a non-*pada*. Thus, the negation of *apadāntāt* does not make much sense. If *us* is something else, for example the syllable *us*, then a counter-example such as *koṣitā* makes sense. May be *apadāntāt* is used for subsequent rules.

### 6.1.97 अतो गुणे

*ato guṇe*

/ataḥ 5/1 guṇe 7/1/

(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *ekaḥ pūrvapaṇayoḥ* #84 *pararūpam* #94 *apadāntāt* #96)  
*akārād apadāntād guṇe parataḥ pūrvapaṇayoḥ sthāne pararūpam ekādeśo bhavati*

A single replacement similar to the second of a vocalic sequence comes in place of both, a non-*pada* final *a* which precedes and a *guṇa* vowel which follows the *a*, when *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

#### EXAMPLES:

*pacanti* 'third person plural LAT-derivate of *pac* 'to cook''

*yajanti* '... *yaj* 'to sacrifice''

*pace* 'first singular middle LAT-derivate of *pac*'

*yaje* '... of *yaj*'

1. The first two examples, i.e., *pac + a + anti* → *pacanti* and *yaj + a + anti* = *yajanti*, illustrate that this rule is an exception to *savarṇadīrgha* (6.1.100 *akāḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*). The next two, i.e., *pac + a + e* = *pace* and *yaj + a + e* → *yaje*, illustrate that it is also an exception to *ṛddhi* (6.1.88 *ṛddhir eci*).

2. A question is raised against treating this rule as an exception to *savarṇadīrgha*. For, this exception rule (*apavāda*) falls in between (*madhye*) 6.1.88 *ṛddhir eci* and 6.1.101 *akāḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*. That is, an exception placed in between must block a prior provision and not any subsequent ((PŚ 61): *madhye' pavādāḥ pūrvān vidhīn bādhanā nottarān*). This rule should be treated as an exception to *ṛddhi* alone. Commentators explain that an explicit mention of *guṇe* in this rule enables it to also become an exception to 6.1.100 *akāḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*. For, if *guṇa* was not mentioned for blocking 6.1.100 *akāḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*, this rule should then have been formulated simply as *ato' padāntāt*. A single substitute in *e* for the vocalic sequence of *a + e* could then have been accomplished by bringing *eṇi*, via *anuvṛtti*. The next rule could have been then formed as *jusi ca* to account for instances of *jus* with the *anuvṛtti* of *apadāntāt*. This then would have covered everything. Note

that formulations such as these would also be economical. But Pāṇini, with explicit use of *guṇe*, chose otherwise.

Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita invokes *purastāpavādanyāya* in connection with this rule. He thinks that a prior exception (*purastāpavāda*), for example this rule, should block only an immediately following (*anantara*) provision, i.e., 6.1.100 *akāḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*. It can then, in view of *purastāpavāda*, not be an exception to 6.1.101 *prathamayoḥ . . .* (SK: *purastāpavādā anantarān vidhīn bādhante nottarān iti nyāyena 'akāḥ savarṇa' ity asyaivāpavādo na tu 'prathamayoḥ . . . ' ity asyāpi*).

3. Why do we require a non-*pada*-final (*apadānta*) short *a*? So that *pararūpa* does not apply in *yānti*, etc., where *ā* of *yā* + *anti*, is long. The condition of a following *guṇa* is necessary so that *pararūpa* can be blocked in examples such as *apaca* + *i* → *apace*. The word *apace* derives via a single *guṇa* replacement of 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ*.

Why is a *guṇa* vowel required to occur after a non-*pada*-final *a*? So that this *pararūpa* could be blocked in favor of *savarṇadīrgha*. Consider *daṇḍa* + *agram* → *daṇḍāgram*, where the *a* of *daṇḍa* is treated as occurring at the end of a *pada*, via *pratyayalakṣaṇa* (1.1.62 *pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam*).

#### 6.1.98 अव्यक्तानुकरणस्यात इतौ

*avyaktānukaraṇasyāta itau*  
 / *avyaktānukaraṇasya* 6/1 = *na vyaktaḥ* = *avyaktaḥ*; *avyaktasya anukaraṇam*  
 (*śaṣ. tat.*), *tasya/*  
 (*saṃhitāyām* #72 *ekāḥ pūrvaparayoh* #84 *pararūpam* #94)  
*avyaktānukaraṇasya yo' c chabdas tasmād itau pūrvaparayoh sthāne pararūpam ekādeśo bhavati*

A single replacement similar to the second of a sequence comes in place of both, the *at* of an inaudible imitation (echo; *avyaktānukaraṇa*) which precedes and the *i* of *iti* which follows, provided *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

#### EXAMPLES:

*paṭat iti* = *paṭiti*  
*ghaṭat iti* = *ghaṭiti*  
*jhaṭat iti* = *jhaṭiti*

1. The word *avyakta* of *avyaktānukaraṇa* is explained as *aparispṛṇṇa* 'not clearly articulated'. Of course, that barely articulated form will become articulated when imitated. For example, *paṭat* was articulated as an imitation of a barely audible *paṭat*. This *at* when followed by *iti* will, with the following *i*, be replaced with *i* to yield *paṭ(at + i → i)ti* = *paṭiti*. We similarly get *jhaṭ(at + i)ti* = *jhaṭiti*.

Why do we have the condition of *avyaktānukaraṇā*? Consider *jagat* + *iti* =

*jagad iti*, where *at* + *i* cannot be replaced with *i* because *jagat* is not an inarticulate expression. Why after *at*? Consider *marat* + *iti* → *marad iti* where *i* occurs after *at*. Similar purpose is served by the following *iti*. Consider *paṭat* + *atra* where the absence of *iti* disallows this replacement.

A *vārttika* proposes that an *avyaktānukaraṇa* which consists of more than one vowel alone should be allowed for purposes of this rule. Thus, *srat* + *iti* should not be allowed to yield *sriti*. Why do we not allow *pararūpa* in *ghaṭad iti* of *ghaṭad iti gambhīram ambudair naditam* 'ghaṭad was thus a deep sound made by clouds?' Because this *anukaraṇa* does not have *at*. It has *ad*, instead.

### 6.1.99 नाप्रेडितस्यान्त्यस्य तु वा

*nāmreḍitasyaṅtasya tu vā*

/ na φ āmreḍitasya 6/1 antyasya 6/1 tu φ vā φ /

(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *ekah pūrvaparayoh* #84 *pararūpam* #94 *avyaktānukaraṇasyāta itau* #98)

*avyaktānukaraṇasyāmreḍitasya yo' c chabda itau tasya pararūpam na bhavati*

A single replacement similar to the second of a sequence does not come in place of both, the preceding *at* of an inaudible imitation termed *āmreḍita* and the *i* of *iti* which follows, provided *saṃhitā* finds its scope. The final *t* of the *āmreḍita*, instead, goes through optional single replacement similar to what follows in the sequence.

#### EXAMPLES:

*paṭatpaṭad iti* = *paṭatpaṭa (a + i → i) ti* =  
*paṭatpaṭ (a + i → e) ti* = *paṭatpaṭeti karoti*  
*paṭatpaṭad iti karoti*

1. This rule first negates the provision of the preceding rule in the context of an *āmreḍita*, the following *pada* of a repeated sequence (8.1.2 *tasya paramāmreḍitam*; 8.1.1 *sarvasya dve*). It then allows an optional single replacement for the final *t* with *iti*. Thus, we get *paṭat iti* → *paṭat + paṭa(t + i → i) ti* = *paṭatpaṭa + ti* → *paṭatpaṭ (a + i → e) ti* = *paṭatpaṭeti paṭatpaṭa (t → d) + iti + paṭatpaṭaditi*. Note that iteration is allowed by 8.1.4 *nityavīpsayoh*. We will get the first derivative through the application of *pararūpa* and 6.1.87 *ādguṇah*. We will get *paṭatpaṭad iti*, through *jaṣṭva (t → d; 8.2.39 jhalām jas' nte)*, if the option of *pararūpa* is not availed.

2. Note, however, that an imitation of a combination of words, for example *paṭatpaṭat*, cannot be allowed this option. Such combinations will be covered by the preceding rule to yield *paṭatpaṭa iti* → *paṭatpaṭeti*.

3. Note that what the *Kāśikāvṛtti* lists as rule 6.1.100 *nityam āmreḍite dāci* is a *vārttika* (PM ad *Kāś.*: *vārttikam evedam. vṛttikṛtā sūtrarūpeṇa paṭhitam*). This *vārttika* offers obligatory (*nitya*) *pararūpa* for the *t* of an echo such as *paṭat*, when an *āmreḍita* followed by *ḌāC* follows. Thus, given *paṭat + paṭat + (Ḍ) ā(C)*

= *paṭat* + *paṭat* + *ā* we get *paṭa(t + p → p) aṭat + ā*. This, through the application of *ṭi*-deletion (6.4.143 *ṭeḥ*) of the final *at*, produces *paṭapaṭ* (*at* →  $\emptyset$ ) + *ā* = *paṭapaṭā* as in *paṭapaṭā karoti*. '... sounds *paṭatpaṭat*'. An additional example is: *damadamā karoti*. It is important to remember that deletion of *ṭi* should follow iteration. That is, iteration is accomplished in anticipation of *ḌāC*, and *ṭi*-deletion follows after *pararūpa*. The locative of *ḍāci*, in the *vārttika* proposal, is consequently interpreted as denoting *viśaya* 'domain'. Incidentally, *ḌāC* cannot be allowed if the echo word is followed by *iti*.

Recall that 5.4.57 *avyaktānukaraṇād dvyajavarārdhād anitau ḍāc* introduces *ḌāC* where, in consonance with *ḍāci vivakṣite dve bahulam*, we also get doubling.

### 6.1.100 अकः सवर्णे दीर्घः

*akāḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*

/ *akāḥ* 6/1 *savarṇe* 7/1 *dīrghaḥ* 1/1/

(*samhitāyām* #72 *aci* #77 *ekāḥ pūrvaparayoh* #84)

*akāḥ savarṇe' ci parataḥ pūrvaparayoh sthāne dīrgha ekādeśo bhavati*

A single vowel comes as a replacement in place of both, a vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term *aK* and a vowel homogeneous (*savarṇa*) with it that follows, when *samhitā* finds its scope.

#### EXAMPLES:

*daṇḍāgram* = *daṇḍa* + *agram*

*dadhīndraḥ* = *dadhi* + *indraḥ*

*madhūdake* = *madhu* + *udake*

*hotṛśyaḥ* = *hotṛ* + *ṛśyaḥ*

1. This rule provides for a single long replacement for both, a preceding vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term *aK* (*a/i/u/ṛ/ḷ*) and the homogeneous (*savarṇa*) vowel which follows. The condition of *akāḥ* is required so that, given *agni* + (*Ṇ*) *e* → *agn(i → e)* + *e* = *agne* + *e*, through *it*-deletion and application of 7.3.111 *gher nīti* (read with 1.4.7 *śeṣo ghy asakhī*), we get *agn(e → ay)* + *e* = *agnaye*, through the application of 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvah*. That is, a single long replacement cannot take place here because *e* falls outside the denotata of *aK*. A sequence of two words, for example *dadhi* + *atra*, will yield *dadh(i → y)* + *atra* = *dadhyatra* through application of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* since *i* of *dadhi* is not homogeneous with the *a* of *atra*. This shows why we need the condition of *savarṇe*. The condition of *aci* is imposed so that the application of this rule could be blocked in examples such as *kumārī* + *śete* where 1.1.10 *nājjhalau* is brought to block homogeneous relationship between a vowel and a consonant.

2. Some claim that 1.1.10 *nājjhalau* can still not be able to block homogeneous relationship between *ī* and *ś*. For, rule 1.1.69 *aṇuditsavarṇasya*

*cāpratyayaḥ*, read with 1.1.9 *tulyāsyaprayatnaṁ savarṇam*, allows a sound denoted by *aN*, i.e., *a/i/u/ṛ/ḷ/e/o/ai/au/h/y/v/ṛ/l* to denote sounds homogeneous with them. The homogeneity (*sāvarṇya*) between *ī* and *ś* thus cannot be impaired. It is argued that a *vākya*, here a rule, cannot apply within its specified scope unless the scope is fully cognized. The scope of application of 1.1.69 *aṇuditsavarṇasya* . . . still remains to be cognized at the time when 1.1.9 *tulyāsyaprayatnaṁ savarṇam* is cognized. Consequently, 1.1.69 *aṇuditsavarṇasya cāpratyayaḥ* cannot block the provision of 1.1.9 *nājjhalau*. Besides, the *ac* of 1.1.9 *nājjhalau*, for reason of its cognitive association with the inventory of sounds (*varṇasamāmānāya*; *Śivasūtras* 1–14), will denote only nine vowels, *a/i/u/ṛ/ḷ/e/o/ai/au*, as listed. Rule 1.1.69 *aṇuditsavarṇasya cāpratyayaḥ* will then have to apply, leaving aside the scope of application of 1.1.9 *nājjhalau*. Furthermore, note that *sāvarṇya* is specified with *aC*. Consequently, *aci* is read (via *anuvṛtti*) in the wording of this rule. For, in its absence, a long replacement will find its scope in *kumārī śete* where *ī* and *ś* can be accepted as homogeneous.

This rule is an exception to 6.1.84 *ād guṇaḥ*, insofar as *a* is concerned. Elsewhere, it is an exception to 6.1.74 *iko yaṇ aci*.

2. A *vārttika* proposal allows a replacement in long *ṛ* optionally with *ṛṛ*, a special sound, when a short *ṛ* is followed by its homogeneous counterpart (*savarṇadīrghatve ṛti ṛṛ vā vacanam*). Thus, *hotṛ + ṛkāraḥ* → *hotṛkāraḥ* and *hotṛṛkāraḥ*.

A similar *vārttika* proposal also allows for optional *ḷṛ* when *ḷ* follows. Thus we get *hotṛ + ḷkāraḥ* → *hotḷkāraḥ*. A long replacement is not possible because *ḷ* does not exist.

Incidentally, what is provided by these *vārttika* proposals consists of the duration of two moras (*mātrā*) each. There are two *r* and *l* sounds in the middle with 1/2 *mātrā* each. The vowels on each side carry 1/2 mora each. Refer to the SK ('*ṛti ṛṛ vā*', '*ḷ ḷḷ vā*' *ity ubhayatrāpi vidheyam varṇadvayaṁ dvimātram. ādyasya madhye dvau rephau, tayoṛ ekā mātrā. abhito' jbhakter aparā. dvitīyasya tu madhye dvau lakārau śeṣam prāguvat*) for additional details. Such usages are very rare.

### 6.1.101 प्रथमयोः पूर्वसवर्णः

*prathamayoḥ pūrvasavarṇaḥ*

*/prathamayoḥ 7/2 pūrvasavarṇaḥ 1/1 = pūrvasya savarṇaḥ (śaś. tat.)*

*(saṁhitāyām #72 aci #77 ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ #84 akaḥ dīrghaḥ #100)*

*prathamāyām dvitīyāyām ca vibhaktāu aci akaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ sthāne pūrvasavarṇadīrgha ādeśo bhavati*

A single long vowel, homogeneous with what precedes, comes in place of both—a vowel denoted by *aK* and an *aC* of *prathamā* 'first triplet, nominative' and *dvitīyā* 'second triplet, accusative' that follows this *aK*, when *saṁhitā* finds its scope.

## EXAMPLES:

agnī  
vāyū  
vrkṣāḥ  
vrkṣān

1. The word *prathamayoḥ* is interpreted as a compound parallel to *prathamā ca prathamā ca* = *prathame*, where only one *prathamā* is retained (*ekaśeṣa*). The first *prathamā*, of course, refers to the first triplet of nominal endings *sU*, *au*, *Jaś*. The next *prathamā* is interpreted as referring to first among remaining triplets of nominal endings. Thus, *prathame* of *prathamayoḥ* refers to *prathamā* and *dviṭīyā* nominal endings: *sU*, *au*, *Jaś* and *am*, *auṭ*, *Śas*, respectively. The dual in *prathamayoḥ* also brings *dviṭīyā* within the denotatum of *prathamā*, by association (*sāñacarya*). Or else, as Haradatta (*PM ad Kāś*) suggests, *supi* of 6.1.92 *vā supṛ āpiśaleḥ* should be carried to make *prathame* to refer to *sU*, *au*, *Jaś* and *am*, *auṭ*, *Śas*, the first two triplets of *sUP*.

2. Why does 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* not apply to cause a single substitute similar in form to the following *a* of *Jaś* and *Śas* in *vrkṣāḥ* and *vrkṣān*, the nominative and accusative plural forms of *vrkṣa* 'tree'. Commentators explain that a prior exception (*purastāpavāda*), such as the *pararūpa* of 6.1.96 *ato guṇe*, can only block the most immediate provision such as the *savarṇadīrgha* of 6.1.100 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ* and not any subsequent, for example, the *pūrvasavarṇadīrgha* of this rule (*PŚ: 60*) *purastāpavādā anantarān vidhīn bādhante nottarān*). Our present rule will block the application of 6.1.100 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ* on the basis of *niravakāśatva* 'no scope of application'.

The word *pūrvā* is used in this rule to block a replacement similar to what follows (*parasavarṇa*), in an example such as *agnī + au*. The condition of *aci* 'when *aC* follows' is required to exclude *vrkṣa + sU* → *vrkṣaḥ* and *plakṣa + sU* → *plakṣaḥ*, where *s* of *sU* is not a vowel. The condition of *akaḥ* 'after a sound denoted by *aK*' is also required so that given *nau + au*, where *au* of *nau* is not included within the denotatum of *aK*, a single replacement is blocked. We thus get *n(au → āv) + au* → *nāvau* through 6.1.78 *eco* 'yavāyāvah'. The word *dīrghaḥ* is required so that a corresponding *pluta* 'extra-long' vowel homogeneous with what precedes can be blocked from coming as a single substitute.

## 6.1.102 तस्माच्छसोः नः पुंसि

*tasmāc chaso naḥ puṁsi*

/ *tasmāt* 5/1 śasaḥ 6/1 *naḥ* 1/1 *puṁsi* 7/1/

(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *pūrvasavarṇaḥ* #101)

*tasmāt pūrvasavarṇadīrghād uttarasya śaso* 'vayavyasya sakārasya *puṁsi* *nakārādeśo bhavati*



The *s* of Śas which occurs after a long vowel replacement homogeneous with what precedes is replaced with *n* in the masculine.

EXAMPLES:

*vṛkṣān* 'accusative plural of *vṛkṣa* 'tree''  
*agnīn* '... *agni* 'fire''  
*vāyūn* '... *vāyu* 'wind''  
*kartṛn* '... *kartṛ* 'doer''  
*ṣaṇḍakān* '... *ṣaṇḍaka* 'eunuch''  
*sthūrakān* '... *sthūra* 'man''

1. Note that *tad* of *tasmāt*, a variable, refers to the single replacement accomplished by our preceding rule. For, that alone could be the most proximate antecedent available. The genitive in *śasoḥ* is interpreted as denoting *avayava* 'part of a whole'. That is, *n* comes in place of a part of Śas. Actually, the *n* will come in place of the *s* of Śas because the *a* of Śas, as in *vṛkṣa* + (Ś) *as* → *vṛkṣ(a + a → ā)s* = *vṛkṣās*, would have already been replaced as part of a single long replacement in *ā*. We will thus get *vṛkṣā(s → n)* = *vṛkṣān*. Words such as *vṛkṣān*, *agnīn*, *vāyūn*, *kartṛn*, *hartṛn*, *ṣaṇḍakān*, and *paṇḍhakān* offer additional examples, all with their denotatum qualified with masculine (*pum̐si*). The condition of *tasmāt* is required so that *n*-replacement does not apply in an example such as *etān carato gāḥ paśya* 'look at these grazing bulls'. In the absence of stating *tasmāt*, we will get a replacement in *n* (*natva*) in masculine, whenever, in the context of *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoh*, a replacement in *ā* (6.1.93 *auto'ṃsasoh*) is to be accomplished. We will not get *natva* if *tasmāt* is read in relation to *pravasavarṇadīrgha* 'a long replacement homogeneous with what precedes'.

The word *pum̐si* is interpreted here in two ways: (i) a replacement in *n* is allowed only when multiplicity (*bahutva*) of males (*puruṣa*) is denoted; a replacement in *n* is allowed when multiplicity is denoted by Śas, introduced after a base in masculine? There are problems in both views. The first will not allow a replacement in *n* in *bhrukumsān* where *bhrukumsa* denotes a male dancer dressed like a woman. For, Śas then will not be denoting plurality of men. Worse yet, the first view will also allow a replacement in *cañcāḥ* 'scarecrow' where *cañcā* is a derivate of *kaN* (5.3.96 *ive pratikṛtau*), subsequently deleted by 5.3.98 *lum manuṣye*. A deletion by *LUP* will occasion the application of 1.2.51 *lupi yuktavad vyaktivacane*. We can still not get rid of feminine even though the denotatum is masculine.

The second view is not free of problems either. Consider *sthūrakān* parallel to *sthūrāyāḥ apatyāni bahūni* where *sthūrā* is feminine ending in *ṬāP*. Affix *yañ* (4.1.105 *gargādibhyo yañ*) of *sthūrā* + *Nas* + *yañ* gets deleted by 2.4.64 *yañānoś ca*. Affix *ṬāP* is also deleted subsequently by 1.2.49 *luk taddhitaki*. The word *sthūra* is still feminine. Hence, no replacement in *n*. The same

problem is faced by *ararakān*. It is to resolve such problems that *pum̐si* is interpreted as denoting ‘when the sense of *pum* ‘male’ (*pumartha*) is denoted’. The *Mahābhāṣya* offers the following *śloka-vārttika*:

*natvaṃ pumsām bahutve cet puṃśabdād iṣyate striyām/  
napuṃsake tathaiveṣṭaṃ strīśabdāc ca prasajyate/ /  
puṃśabdād iti ced iṣṭaṃ sthūrāpatye na sidhyati/  
kuṇḍinyā arakāyāḥ puṃsprādhānyāt prasidhyati/ /  
puṃsprādhānye ta eva syur ye doṣāḥ pūrvacoditāḥ/  
tasmād arthe bhaven natvaṃ vadhrikādiṣu yuktavat/ /*

2. The condition of *Śas* is required to block *n*-replacement, for example, in *vr̥kṣa* + *Jas* → *vr̥kṣāḥ*. The denotatum of *pum̐si* similarly blocks *n*-replacement in *kumārī*, *dhenūḥ* and *bahvīḥ*.

### 6.1.103 नादिचि

*nād ici*

*/na φ āt 5/1 ici 7/1/*

(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *aci* #77 *ekaḥ pūrvapaṇayoḥ* #84 *dirghaḥ* #100 *pūrvasavarṇaḥ* #101)

*avarṇād ici pūrvasavarṇādirgho na bhavati*

A long vowel replacement homogeneous with what precedes does not come in place of an *a* (short or long) and a following sound denoted by *iC*, when *saṃhitā* finds scope.

#### EXAMPLES:

*vr̥kṣau* ‘nominative/accusative dual of *vr̥kṣa*’

*plakṣau* ‘... of *plakṣa*’

*khaṭve* ‘... of *khaṭvā*’

*kuṇḍe* ‘... of *kuṇḍā*’

1. This rule negates a single long replacement similar to the preceding, when what precedes is an *a* or *ā*. Consider *vr̥kṣa* + *au* → *vr̥kṣau* where, because of this negation, we get a single *vṛddhi* replacement (6.1.88 *vṛddhir eci*). Now consider *khaṭvā* + *au* → *khaṭve* where 7.1.18 *auñ āpaḥ* applies to yield *khaṭvā* + (*au* → (*Ś*)*ī*) = *khaṭvā* + *ī*. Rule 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* then-offers a single *guṇa* replacement to produce *khaṭv(ā + ī → e)* = *khaṭve*. This same applies to *kuṇḍe* where *Ś* is introduced by 7.1.19 *napuṃsakāc ca*. These illustrate how negating a *pūrvasavarṇādirgha* results into application of a single *guṇa* replacement.

2. The condition of *āt* ‘after an *a* or *ā*’ is required so that a single long replacement can be blocked in examples such as *agni* + *au* → *agnī*, where *au* occurs after *i*. The condition of *ici* ‘when a sound denoted by *iC* follows’ is required so that *pūrvasavarṇādirgha* cannot be blocked in examples such as *vr̥kṣa* + *Jas* → *vr̥kṣāḥ*.

## 6.1.104 दीर्घाजसि च

*dirghāj jasi ca*

/ *dirghāt* 5/1 *jasi* 7/1 *ca*  $\phi$  /

(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *ekah pūrvaparayoh* #84 *dirghah* #100 *pūrvasavarṇah* #101 *na ici* #103)

*dirghāj jasi ici ca parataḥ pūrvasavarṇādirgho na bhavati*

A single long vowel homogeneous with the preceding also does not come in place of both, the long vowel which precedes and the vowel of *Jas* or *iC* which follow, when *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

## EXAMPLES:

*kumāryau* 'nominative dual of *kumārī* 'girl'

*kumāryaḥ* 'nominative plural . . .'

*brahmabandhvau* 'nominative dual of *brahmabandhū*'

*brahmabandhvaḥ* 'nominative plural . . .'

1. This rule negates *pūrvasavarṇādirgha* 'a long replacement homogeneous with what precedes in a vocalic sequence', also when a long vowel, other than *ā* (6.1.103 *nād icā*), is followed by *iC* and *Jas* 'nominative plural'. Consider *kumārī* + *au* → *kumār(i→y)* + *au* = *kumāryau* and *kumārī* + (*J*) *as* → *kumār(i→y)* + *as* = *kumāryas(s→r→ḥ)* = *kumāryaḥ*, where 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* applies in the absence of *pūrvasavarṇādirgha*. Similar derivational provisions are also applicable to *brahmabandhū* + *au* → *brahmabandhvau* and *brahmabandhū* + *Jas* → *brahmabandhvaḥ*.

2. The *anuvṛtti* of *āt* is suspended so that the negation can apply after any long vowel. The long *ā* of *āT* will be included within the reference of *dirghāt*. The *ca* is then used to attract *ici*. The word *dirghāt* is used so that the *guṇa* application of rules 7.3.109 *jasi ca* and 7.3.110 *ṛto nisarvanāmasthānayoḥ* can be saved from over application (*atiprasaṅga*). The condition of *Jas* is required so that this negation does not apply to *kumārīḥ paśya* and *vadhūḥ paśya*, which both are instances of *Śas* 'accusative dual'.

## 6.1.105 वा छन्दसि

*vā chandasi*

/ *vā*  $\phi$  *chandasi* 7/1 /

(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *ekah pūrvaparayoh* #84 *dirghah* #100

*pūrvasavarṇah* #101 *na ici* #103 *dirghāj jasi ca* #104)

*dirghāc chandasi viṣaye jasi ca ici ca parato vā pūrvasavarṇādirgho na bhavati*

A single long vowel homogeneous with the preceding does not, in the Vedic, optionally come in place of both, the long vowel which precedes and the *Jas* or *iC* which follow, when *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

## EXAMPLES:

*mārutīh* = *mārutī* + *Śas* 'accusative plural of *mārutī*  
*mārutyaḥ* 'optional *Śas*-derivate'  
*piṇḍīh* = *piṇḍī* + *Śas* 'accusative plural of *piṇḍī*  
*piṇḍyaḥ* 'optional *śas*-derivate'  
*vārāhī* 'modification of *varāha* = *vārāhī* + *au*  
*vārāhyau* 'optional derivate with *au*'  
*upānahī* 'shoe; *upānahī*  
*upānahyau* 'derivate with *au*'

1. This Vedic option of *pūrvasavarṇadīrgha* is offered in favor of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*. Our earlier rule offers negation of *pūrvasavarṇadīrgha*, obligatorily (*nitya*).

## 6.1.106 अमि पूर्वः

*ami pūrvah*  
 / *ami* 7/1 *pūrvah* 1/1/  
 (*saṃhitāyām* #72 *ekah pūrvaparayoḥ* #84 *akah* #100)  
*ami parato'kah pūrvaparayoḥ sthāne pūrvarūpam ekādeśo bhavati*  
 A single replacement similar to the preceding comes in place of both,  
 a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *aK* which precedes and the  
*a* of *am*, when *am* follows and *saṃhitā* finds scope.

## EXAMPLES:

*vṛkṣam*  
*plakṣam*  
*agnim*  
*vāyum*

1. Why do we have to state *pūrvah* in this rule when it is already available via *anuvṛtti*. Carrying *pūrvah* from the preceding rule will also mean carrying *savarṇah*. This can create problems in determining the quality of a replacement. Consider *kumārī* + *am* → *kumārīm*, where the *sthānīs* 'item(s) to be replaced', i.e., *ī* + *a*, together carry the duration of three *mātrās* 'moras'. Since a replacement must be most similar to what it replaces (1.1.50 *sthāne' ntaratamaḥ*), the *ī* which replaces *ī* + *a* must also carry the duration of three *mātrās*. The correct replacement is an *ī* carrying only two *mātrās*. The use of the word *pūrvā* restricts the exact nature of the replacement. How? The word *pūrvā*, without any association with *savarṇa*, simply means '(identical with) what precedes' and not 'homogeneous with what precedes'. Consequently, our present rule only allows a replacement which is identical in quality with the preceding sound denoted by *ak* (*Nyāsa ad Kāś: yathājātīyakah pūrvas tathājātīyaka eva yathā syād ity evam artham pūrvagrahaṇam*).

Why is *dirghāt* not carried to this rule? Because *pūrvah* introduces something new (*ārambhasāmāthyāt*) which may be incompatible with it.

2. Some also carry the *anuvṛtti* of 6.1.106 *vā chandasi*, whereby optional application of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* can account for *śamīm/śamyam* and *gaurīm/gauryam* in *śamīm paśya/śamyam paśya* and *gaurīm paśya/gauryam paśya*. This, however, is done with split-interpretation (*vākyabheda*) of *vā chandasi*. For, a single sentence interpretation (*ekavākyatā*) of this rule with the inclusion, especially of *vā* with *chandasi*, will create problems in the classical usage where a replacement identical with the preceding (*pūrvah*) alone is desired.

3. It is stated that *dirghāt* should also be carried here (*Nyāsa ad Kāśikā: dirgha iti cehānuvarttate, anyathā hidaṃ vacanam anarthakam syāt*). Perhaps we must correct *cehānuvarttate* 'is also carried here' to read as: *nehānuvarttate* 'is not carried here'. Haradatta (*PM ad Kāś*) rightly states that *dirghāt iti nānuvarttate* . . . '*dirghāt* is not carried . . .'.

### 6.1.107 सम्प्रसारणाच्च

*samprasāraṇāc ca*

/samprasāraṇāt 5/1 ca φ/

(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *aci* #77 *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ* #84 *pūrvah* #106)

*samprasāraṇād aci parataḥ pūrvaparayoḥ sthāne pūrvavṛpam ekādeśo bhavati*  
A single replacement similar to the preceding comes in place of both, the preceding *samprasāraṇa* vowel and the vowel which follows, when *saṃhitā* finds scope.

#### EXAMPLES:

*iṣtam* '(yaj + Kta) + sU'

*uṣtam* '(vaṇ + Kta) + sU'

*grhītam* '(grah + Kta) + sU'

1. This rule offers a single replacement identical with the preceding in place of a *samprasāraṇa* vowel which precedes and a vowel which follows it. Thus, we get ( $y \rightarrow i$ ) *aj* + *ta* → *iaj* + *ta* → ( $ia \rightarrow i$ ) *j* + *ta* = *ij* + *ta* → *i(j \rightarrow s)* + *ta* → *iṣ* + ( $t \rightarrow ṣ$ ) *a* = *iṣṭa*; ( $v \rightarrow u$ ) *aṇ* + *ta* → ( $ua \rightarrow u$ ) *p* + *ta* = *up* + *ta* and *grah* + *iT* + *ta* → *g(r \rightarrow r)* *ah* + *i* + *ta* → *g(r \rightarrow r)* *h* + *i* + *ta* → *grh* + ( $i \rightarrow i$ ) + *ta* = *grhīta*, etc. Note that the *i* of *grh* + *i* + *ta* is replaced with its long counterpart by 6.4.2 *halah*. The *j* of *ij* is replaced with *ṣ* by 8.2.36 *vaścabhrasjsrj*. . . . The *t* of *iṣ* + ( $t \rightarrow ṣ$ ) = *iṣṭa* goes through *ṣtutva* (8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuh*).

2. How come we do not get a single replacement identical with the preceding in *śakahvau* 'those two who are challenging the Śaka' and *śakahvartham* 'for one who challenges the Śaka' at the stage when the strings are *śakahū* + *au* and *śakahū* + *artham*? We find that *ū* and *au* of *śakahvau* and *ū* and *a* of *śakahvartham* are not part of the same base that contains the *samprasāraṇa* vowel. Consider the derivation of *śakahū*, from *śakahvā* + *KvIP*, where the *v*

of *śakahvā* goes through *samprasāraṇa*. The resultant, i.e., *śakah(v→u)ā* = *śakahuā*, gets its *uā* replaced with a long *ū* to yield *śakahū*. The *ū* of *śakahū* will be considered as *pūrvasavarṇa* in view of 6.1.85 *āntādivac ca*. This single replacement is possible because *uā* are part of the same base which contains the *samprasāraṇa* vowel. A single replacement cannot apply to *ū + au*, of *śakahū + a* and *u*, since these two vowels both are not internal (*antaraṅga*). A non-application of this rule, for accomplishing a single replacement, cannot make it vacuous since this rule has already applied, and thus has established its scope of application (in deriving *śakahū*, etc.). As a consequence, *śakahvau* and *śakahvartham* involve the application of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*, instead.

### 6.1.108 एङः पदान्तादति

*eṇaḥ padāntād ati*

/ *eṇaḥ* 5/1 *padāntāt* 5/1 (*ṣaṣ. tat., tasmāt*) *ati* 7/1/

(*samhitāyām* #72 *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ* #84 *pūrvah* #106)

*eṇaḥ yaḥ padāntas tasmād ati parataḥ pūrvaparayoḥ sthāne pūrvarupam ekādeśo bhavati*

A single replacement similar to the preceding comes in place of both, a vowel denoted by *eṇ* and the *aT* which follows *eṇ*, when *samhitā* finds its scope.

#### EXAMPLES:

*agne' tra* 'O Agni, here'

*vāyo' tra* 'O Vāyu, here'

1. This rule forms an exception to 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvah*. Thus, given *agne* + *atra* and *vāyo* + *atra*, where *e* and *o* of *agne* and *vāyo* are *guṇa* replacements (7.3.108 *hrasvasya guṇaḥ*) for *i* and *u* of *agni* and *vāyu*, we do not get *e* and *o* replaced with *ay* and *av*, respectively.

Since the single replacement of this rule obtains only after a vowel denoted by *eṇ*, *dadhi* + *atra* and *madhu* + *atra*, remain excluded from the scope of this rule. We get *dadhy atra* and *madhv atra*, instead. The condition of *padāntāt* as a qualification of *eṇ* blocks a single replacement in *ce* + *ana* and *lo* + *ana*, where *e* and *o* are again *guṇa* replacements of *i* and *ū* of *ci* and *lū*. The results are: *c(i→e→ay) + ana* = *cayana* and *l(ū→o→av) + ana* = *lavana*. The condition of a following short *a* is required so that this replacement does not apply in *bhāno* + *iti* and *vāyo* + *iti* which must produce *bhān(o→av) iti* = *bhānav iti* and *vāy(o→av) + iti* = *vāyav + iti*, through application of 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvah*. Note that the application of 6.1.78 can still not be blocked in deriving *vāy(u→o→av) āyāhi→vāyav āyāhi* and *bhān(u→o→av) āyāhi* = *bhānav āyāhi*, since what follows the *o* of *bhāno* and *vāyo* is the long *ā* of *āyāhi*. That is, it is not an *aT*, the vowel quality specified with the following *t*

(*taparakaraṇa*; 1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*). This also shows why *taparakaraṇa* is also needed.

### 6.1.109 डसिङसोरच

*nasīnasos ca*

/ *nasī-nasos* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*) *ca*  $\phi$  /

(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *ekah pūrvaparayoh* #84 *pūrvah* #106 *eṇah ati* #108)

*eṇ uttarayor nasīnasor ati parataḥ pūrvaparayoh sthāne pūrvārūpam ekādeśo bhavati*

A single replacement similar to the preceding comes in place of both, a vowel denoted by *eN* and the *aT* of *NasI* and *Nas* which follows *eN*, when *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

#### EXAMPLES:

*agner āgacchati*

*agneḥ svam*

*vāyor āgacchati*

*vāyoḥ svam*

1. This rule allows single replacements under the right condition of *a* of the nominal endings *NasI* 'ablative singular' and *Nas* 'genitive singular'. Consider *agni* + (*N*) *asI* → *agni* + *as* and *vāyu* + *as*, where a *guṇa* application of 7.3.111 *gher niti* produces *agn(i→e)* + *as* = *agne* + *as* and *vāy(u→o)* + *as* = *vāyo* + *as*. A single replacement of this rule produces *agn(e + a → e)s* and *vāy(o + a → o)s* = *vāyos*. The *s* can then go through *rutva* or *rutva-visarga* to produced *agner* or *agneḥ* of *agner āgacchati* or *agneḥ svam*. This same also applies to *vāyos* of *vāyor āgacchati* and *vāyoḥ svam*.

The word *padāntāt* is not carried here because of impossibility (*asambhava*). That is, this single replacement is allowed only where *eN* does not occur at the end of a *pada*.

2. Note that since *eN* denotes two vowels and *NasI* and *Nas* denote an equal number of nominal endings, rule 1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam anudeśaḥ samānām* cannot be invoked. That is, this single replacement cannot be limited only to instances where *e* constitutes the left condition for *NasI*, and *o* forms the left condition for *Nas*. For, this replacement is conditioned by the single right condition of *aT*, of course, of *NasI* and *Nas*. But *aT* is not the same. It belongs to two different endings. One can argue here that *yathāsaṃkhyā* can still not be invoked. For, the compound listing of *NasI* and *Nas* in *nasīnasos* becomes an indicator (*jñāpaka*). It indicates that *yathāsaṃkhyā* should not be invoked since Pāṇini does not formulate the rule as: *nasīnaseś ca* as he does elsewhere following provisions of 2.2.34 *alpāc taram*. This reversal of order of *Nas* and *NasI* then must serve the special purpose of impairing *yathāsaṃkhyā*.

Actually, *ŌasI* and *Ōas* do not go through provisions of this rule. It is, instead, their relatum (*sambandhī*) which does. Notice that *ŌasI* and *Ōas* are two and are also part of the predicate. Accepting two predicates (*vidheya*) will offer an opportunity for *yathāsaṃkhyā* 'assigning equivalency in the order of enumeration' to apply. Besides, *ca* will then not allow only one to be carried.

#### 6.1.110 ऋत उत्

*ṛta ut*

/ṛtaḥ 5/1 ut 1/1/

(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *ekah pūrvaparayoh* #84 *pūrvah* #106 *ati* #108 *nasīnasoh* #109)

*ṛkārāntād uttarayor nasīnasor ati parataḥ pūrvaparayor ukāra ekādeśo bhavati*

A single replacement in *uT* comes in place of both a *ṛT* and the *aT* of *ŌasI* and *ṇas* which follows *ṛT*, provided when *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

#### EXAMPLES:

*hotur āgacchati*

*hotuḥ svam*

1. Note that a replacement specified for two in the genitive (*pūrvaparayoh*; *ṛtaḥ* and *nasīnasoh*) receives attributes of either one of them (*Kās*: *dvayoh ṣaṣṭhīnirdiṣṭayoh sthāne yaḥ sa labhate* 'nyataravyapadeśam'). It is for this reason that *u*, followed by *r* as an attribute of *ṛ* (1.1.51 *ur aṇ raparah*), comes as a replacement. Thus, *hot(ṛ + a → ur)s*, as in *hotur āgacchati*, where the final *s* of *hoturs* is deleted (8.2.24 *rāt sasya*). The *r* can still be replaced with *visarga* when occurring either before a pause or a sound denoted by *khaR* (8.3.15 *kharavasānayor visarjanīyah*). Thus we can get *hotuḥ* and *hotuḥ svam*, respectively.

The *taparakaraṇa* in *ṛT* and *uT* is intended for limiting the denotatum of *ṛ* and *u* to its short duration. Long *ṛ* and *ū* are thus excluded.

#### 6.1.111 ख्यत्यात्परस्य

*khyatyāt parasya*

/khyatyāt 5/1 = *khyas ca tyas ca* = *khyatyam* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *parasya* 6/1/

(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *ati* #108 *nasīnasoh* #109 *ut* #110)

*khyatyāt parasya nasīnasor at ukārādeśo bhavati*

An *uT* comes in place of the *aT* of *ŌasI* and *Ōas* when *aT* occurs after *khyā* and *tyā* and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

#### EXAMPLES:

*sakhyur āgacchati*



*sakhyuḥ svam*  
*patyur āgacchati*  
*patyuh svam*

1. Note that, with *khyatyāt*, this rule specifies *khi/khī* and *ti/tī*, both short and long, having their *i* and *ī* replaced with *y* to produce *khy* and *ty* (*kṛtayaṇādeśa*). A specification with *i/ī* replaced with *y* enables reference to both *khi* and *ti* along with their corresponding long forms *khī* and *tī*. We thus get *sakhyur āgacchati* and *sakhyuḥ svam* where *sakhyuḥ* can be derived from *sakhi* + (*Ṇ*)*asI* or *sakhi* + (*Ṇ*)*as*, through *sakhi* + (*a*→*u*)*s*→*sakh(i*→*y*) + *us*→*sakhyu(s*→*r*→*h*) = *sakhyuh*. This same applies to *patyur āgacchati* and *patyuh svam* where *patyuh* can be derived from *pati* + *ṆasI* or *pati* + *Ṇas*.

Now consider the derivation of *sakhīḥ* and *sakhyuḥ* where the bases are derivatives of the denominative verb *sakhīya*. Thus, *sakhaḥ* is derived as a *bahuvrīhi*, parallel to *kheṇa saha varttate* (2.2.28 *tena saheti tulyayoge*). The *saha*, an *upasarjana* 'secondary constituent', is then replaced with *sa* of 6.3.82 *vopasarjanasya*. One now derives *sakhīya*, parallel to *sakham icchati*, with the introduction of *KyaC* (3.1.8 *supa ātmanah kyac*). The *a* of *sakha* then goes through a long replacement in *ī* (*īṭva*; 7.4.33 *kyaci ca*). An introduction, and subsequent deletion, of *KuIP* after *sakhīya* with further deletion of *a*, through *pratyayalopa*, and of *y* through 6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali*, produces *sakhī*. Recall here that wherever 6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali* and 6.1.67 *ver aprktasya* both obtain, 6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali* should apply first. For, once 6.1.67 *ver aprktasya* applies, 6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali* cannot. The nominative singular of this *sakhī* will then be *sakhīḥ*, through *rutva-visarga* of *s(U)*. We can now get *sakhyuḥ*, a form of *sakhī* with *ṆasI* or *Ṇas*. This will be similar to forms of *sakhi*. Now consider *lūnyur āgacchati* 'the one who wishes to chop comes' and *lūnyuḥ svam* which follow similar patterns. Note, however, that given *lūnī* + (*Ṇ*)*asI* and *lūnī* + (*Ṇ*)*as*, the *n*-replacement of the *t* of *niṣṭhā* suffix *Kta* (1.1.26 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*), brought about by 8.2.44 *ivāḍibhyaḥ*, will, in accord with 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham*, still be *t* in view of this rule. That is, this rule still sees *lūti* + *Ṇas*, as against *lūnī* + *Ṇas*.

2. For reasons that *khi* and *khī* are specified here with their modified forms (*vikṛtanirdeśa*) *khy* and *ty*, this rule cannot allow a replacement in *u* in *sakher āgacchati* and *senāpater āgacchati*. Recall that the word *sakhi*, and not any word ending in *sakhi* (*Paribh: grahaṇavatā prātipadikena* . . . (PŚ: 32)), is excluded from the assignment of the term *ghi*. Consequently, one can derive *atisakhīḥ*, parallel to *atīkrāntaḥ sakhā yena saḥ* 'he by who a friend is excelled', with the help of assignment of the term *ghi*. The *guṇa* replacement of *i* of *atisakhi* + *ṆasI* and *atisakhi* + (*Ṇ*)*as* can thus not go through a replacement in *y*. Instead, it will be replaced with *ay*. This also blocks *u*-replacement for *a* of this rule. This again explains why specifications such as *khy* and *ty* are made with *i/ī* replaced with *y*.

## 6.1.112 अतो रोरप्लुतादप्लुते

*ato ror aplutād aplute*

/ataḥ 5/1 roḥ 6/1 aplutāt 5/1 (nañ. tat.) aplute 7/1/

(saṃhitāyām #72 ati 108 ut #110)

*akārād aplutād uttarasya roḥ rephasya ukārānubandhaviśiṣṭasya akāre' plute*  
*parata ukārādeśo bhavati*

An *uT* comes in place of a *rU* (*roḥ*) which occurs after a non-*pluta* vowel, provided a non-*pluta* vowel follows and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

## EXAMPLES:

*vrkṣo' tra*

*plakṣo' tra*

1. This *uT*-replacement for *rU* is offered against *y* of 8.3.17 *bhobhago' pūrvasya yo'si*. Thus, consider *vrkṣas + atra* and *plakṣas + atra*, where the final *s* of *vrkṣas* and *plakṣas* has its source in the nominative ending *sU*. This *s* is replaced with *rU* by rule 8.2.66 *sasajuṣo ruḥ*. A replacement in *u* for *rU* then produces *vrkṣa* (*rU*→*u*) + *atra*→*vrkṣa* + *u* + *atra* and *plakṣa* (*rU*→*u*) + *atra*→*plakṣa* + *u* + *atra*. A *guṇa* application of 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* followed by a single *o*-replacement for (*o* + *a*)→*o* (6.1.108 *eṇaḥ padāntād ati*) produces *vrkṣa(u*→*o*) + *atra* = *vrkṣ(o* + *a*→*o*) *tra* = *vrkṣo' tra*. This same applies also to *plakṣo' tra*.

Note that *u*-replacement of this rule is specified with reference to *rU*-replacement of 8.2.66 *sasajuṣo ruḥ*. Rule 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham* makes 8.2.66 *sasajuṣo ruḥ* suspended (*asiddha*) in view of the application of this rule. That is, this rule cannot see the *rU* with reference to which a replacement in *u* is to be accomplished. Commentators explain that 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham* cannot be invoked here. For, if *rU* is considered suspended, *u*-replacement of this rule will become vacuous (*vyartha*). Since this *u*-replacement is specified with *roḥ*, and also since there is no other *r* qualified with *U* as an *it* (*Nyāsa: kasyacid ukārānubandhaviśiṣṭasya ror asambhavāt*), 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham* cannot be invoked to render 8.2.66 *sasajuṣo ruḥ* suspended in view of our present rule. Besides, the *sthānī* is here specified in the subject category with *rU*. The *u*-replacement is part of the predicate. How could a replacement be allowed without correct identification of the *sthānī*. The *rU*-specification of replacement in 8.2.66 *sasajuṣo ruḥ* will become vacuous. If *r*, as against *rU*, is considered as the *sthānī*, we will also get *u* as a replacement for *r* in *bhrātar gaccha* (6.1.114 *haśi ca*).

Considering *rU* against *r* as *sthānī* will create problems in assigning the term *it* (to *U* of *rU*) and subsequently deletion impacted by it. Consider the controlled derivation of *rāmaḥ* from *rāma + sU*→*rāma + rU*. Note that the *pada*-final (*padānta*) condition of 8.2.66 *sasajuṣo ruḥ* will get transferred to

*rU*. The *r* of *rU* has now to be replaced with the *visarjanīya* of 8.3.15 *kharavasānayoṃ visarjanīyaḥ*. The *r* of *rU* cannot be accepted as occurring at the *avasāna* 'cessation', unless, of course, *U* is deleted via the assignment of the term *it* (*itsamjñālopa*). If *rutva* is considered *asiddha*, we cannot get the deletion of *U* termed *it*. The *visarjanīya* cannot be accomplished unless the *pada* status of 1.4.14 *suptiṇantaṃ padam* is not available to what ends in *r* (*rephānta*). The argument that *padatva* of what ends in *r* can be accepted simply on the basis of *vidhāna-sāmarthyā* 'at the strength of Pāṇini's own desired specification', is not acceptable. For, *vidhāna-sāmarthyā* is not in the danger of becoming vacuous. It has served its purpose (*caritārtha*) in examples such as *punar*. Rejecting *asiddhatva* is the only choice. One must remember, however, that the question of *itsamjñā-lopa* does not arise in replacing *rU* with *u*. The question arises only in the context of a replacement in *visarjanīya*. For, 6.1.112 *ato ror* . . . and 6.1.114 *haśi ca* both have *rU* specified via *roh*.

2. The condition of *aT* (in *ataḥ*, with *taparakaraṇa*; 1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*) is intended for blocking an *uT*-replacement in examples such as *agnir atra* and *vr̥kṣā(r→h) atra* where *rU* is preceded by *i* and *ā*. The condition of an *r*, qualified with *U* as an *it*, is required so that this replacement does not apply to *r* of *prātar atra* and *svar + atra*. For, the *r* of *prātar* and *svar* is not derived. It is part of the bases, instead.

Now consider *vr̥kṣar iha* where *u*-replacement cannot be accomplished because what follows is *i* of *iha*. This shows why the *anuvṛtti* of *ati* from 6.1.108 *enaḥ padāntād ati* is needed. This condition will also block *u*-replacement in *vr̥kṣar + āśritah* where what follows is a long *ā*.

The twin qualifications of *aphutād* 'after a vowel other than an extra-long (*pluta*)' and *aphute* 'before a vowel other than a *pluta*', for vowels which precede and follow *rU*, are required to block this replacement in examples such as *susrotāṣ atra nvasi* and *tiṣṭhatu paya āṣvin* where *āṣ* is a *pluta*. The argument that *āṣ* will still be seen by our present rule as *a*, especially since it is ruled by rules 8.2.84 *dūrādd hūte ca* and 8.2.86 *guror anṛto* 'nantyasyāpy' . . . , and hence, *u*-replacement cannot be blocked, is not acceptable. An explicit mention of *pluta* in *aphutād* and *aphute* will block invoking suspension by 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham*. If *pluta* is considered as suspended, this rule can apply where the context has a preceding *aT*. Why can we not block *asiddhatva* 'suspension' of *pluta* with the help of *taparakaraṇa*? The *taparakaraṇa* cannot block suspension of *pluta* since it has lost its strength after setting aside the long vowel (*dirgha*).

### 6.1.113 हशि च

*haśi ca*

/haśi 7/1 ca φ/

(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *ut* #110 *ataḥ ro* #112)

*haśi ca parato't uttarasya ror ukārādeśo bhavati*

A *rU* which occurs after *a* is replaced with *u*, when a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *haś* (Śś 5–10) follows and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

*puruṣo yāti*

*puruṣo hasati*

*puruṣo dadāti*

1. This rule provides for a replacement in *u* when *rU* occurs preceded by *aT* and followed by a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *haś* (Śś. 5–10). Consider *puruṣa* + (*s(U)→rU→u*) = *puruṣ(u→o)* in *puruṣo yāti*. Similarly, *puruṣo hasati* and *puruṣo dadāti*.

2. Note that *aplutāt* is still carried. This can then block the *u*-replacement in examples such as *suśrotā3 dehi*. The *ca* in this rule is used to attract the *anuvṛtti* of *ati*. This will also facilitate *ati* alone to be carried in subsequent rules. The *anuvṛtti* of *haśi* will be suspended. Besides, *haśi*, when carried, will not make any sense.

Incidentally, a rule is generally formulated with subject (*uddēśya*), predicate (*vidheya*) and conditions (*nimitta*), if any. Any one of this lacking in a rule must be supplied via *anuvṛtti*. Notice that this rule simply offers the condition (*nimitta*).

#### 6.1.114 प्रकृत्यान्तःपादमव्यपरे

*prakṛtyā' ntaḥpādam avyapare*

/*prakṛtyā* 3/1 *antaḥpādam*  $\phi$  = *madhye pādasya* (*avyayībhāva*), *tasmin*; *avyapare* 7/1 = *na avyapare* (*nañ-tat.*); *av ca ya ca* = *avyau* (*dv. tasmin*)/ (*saṃhitāyām* #72 *eṇaḥ ati* #108)

*pādamadhyastha eṇ ati pare prakṛtyā bhavati na tu vakārayakārapare' ti*

A sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *eṇ* remains as is when the same occurs before *aT* in the middle of the quarter of a *ṛk* 'Vedic hymn', and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

*te agre aśvāmāyuñjan*

*te āsmiñjavamādadhuḥ*

*upaprayantó adhvaḡram*

*śiró apaśyam*

*sujāte aśvāsūnṛte*

*adhvāryó adribhiḥ sutam*

1. This rule makes the provision of *prakṛtibhāva* 'retention of that which

it was; absence of *sandhi* in the middle of a *Ṛk*-verse when a sound denoted by *e* occurs followed by *aT*. Thus, consider *sujāte aśvasūnṛte* where *e* of *sujāte* is not subjected through *sandhi*, but is retained as is.

2. The word *prakṛtyā* denotes absence of any *sandhi* operation. The *pādam* of *antahpādam* denotes a quarter of a verse. The word *antaḥ*, an indeclinable, combines with *pādam* to form an *avyayībhāva* compound (2.1.6 *avyayam vibhaktisamūpa* . . .) with the denotatum of *vibhakti*. It here means 'in the middle' (*madhye*). The locative introduced after the compound base *antahpāda* cannot be deleted by 2.4.82 *avyayād āpsupaḥ*. It is replaced with *am* of 2.4.84 *trītyāsaptamyor bahulam*, instead. Note that the *nimitta* 'that which conditions', i.e., *aT*, as well as the *kāryin* 'that which goes through an operation', i.e., *eN*, both must fall within the quarter of a *Ṛk*-verse (*Kāś*: *tau cen nimittakāryiṇāu antahpādam = ṛkpādamadhye bhavataḥ*). This enables blocking of *pūrvārūpa* (6.1.109 *enaḥ padāntād ati*) and *ay*-replacement (6.1.78 *eco'yavāyāvaḥ*) in example such as *te agre* . . . and *te asmin* . . ., etc. Incidentally, *enaḥ*, which ends in *pañcamī* 'ablative', is here changed into *prathamā* 'nominative' to facilitate proper interpretation of this rule. A question is also raised about carrying a distant *enaḥ* (6.1.108 *enaḥ padāntād ati*), as against carrying the proximate *ror* (6.1.112 *ato ror* . . .). Haradatta states that interpretation of the learned alone is our recourse here (*PM ad Kāś*: *atra ca vyākhyānam eva śaraṇam*).

3. *Kāśikā* states that *pāda* here should be interpreted as *ṛkpāda* 'quarter of a *Ṛk*-verse', and not any quarter of a verse (*ślokapāda*). Actually, the examples covered by this rule are all Vedic. It is for this reason that some recommend carrying the *anuvṛtti* of *chandasi* from 6.1.105 *vā chandasi*, via *maṇḍūkaphuṭi* 'frog's leap'. This *anuvṛtti* will continue up to 6.1.121 *sarvatra vibhāṣā goḥ* whereby *prakṛtibhāva*, at the strength of *sarvatra* 'everywhere', will apply in both Vedic as well as classical usages. For, the non-restrictive provision of *sarvatra* can make much sense in view of the restrictive provision of *chandasi*. Some still insist that *sarvatra* itself is enough to indicate the application of *prakṛtibhāva* in the Vedic and classical usage.

4. Some also read this *sūtra* without *avyapare*. This should not be accepted since the following rule cannot account for derivatives focused. Others still read this *sūtra* as *nāntahpādam avyapare* whereby it becomes a negation (*pratiṣedha*) of *sandhi*.

### 6.1.115 अव्यादवद्यादवक्रमुरव्रतायमवन्त्ववस्युषु च

*avyādavadyādavakramuravratāyamavantvavasyuṣu' ca*  
 / *avyāt-avadyāt-avakramuḥ-avratā-ayam-avantu-avasyuṣu* 7/3 *ca*  $\phi$  /  
 (*saṃhitāyām* #72 *enaḥ ati* #108 *prakṛtyāḥ antahpādam* #114)  
 'avyāt, avadyāt, avakramuḥ, avratā, ayam, avantu, avasyu'ity eteṣu yakāra-  
 vakārapare'py atiparato' ntaḥpādam eṇ prakṛtyā bhavati

A sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *eN* which occurs in the middle of the quarter of a verse also remains as is when the *a* of *avyāt*, *avadyāt*, *avakramuḥ*, *avrata*, *ayam*, *avantu*, and *avasyu* follows, and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

## EXAMPLES:

*agnih prāthamo vasúbhirmo avyāt*  
*mītramaho avadyāt*  
*mā śivāso avakramuḥ*  
*te no avratāḥ*  
*śatadhāro ayam maṇiḥ* 'this gem has hundred facets'  
*te nō avantu pītarāḥ*  
*kuśikāso avasyavāḥ*

1. This rule generally constitutes an exception to 6.1.108 *eṇaḥ padāntād ati* and 6.1.78 *eco'yavāyāvah*.

## 6.1.116 यजुस्युरः

*yajuṣy uraḥ*  
 /yajuṣi 7/1 uraḥ 1/1/  
 (saṃhitāyām #72 *eṇaḥ ati* #108 *prakṛtyā* #114)  
*uraḥśabda enanto yajuṣi visaye'ti prakṛtyā bhavati*  
 The form *uraḥ* when ending in *eN* in the usage of the *Yajurveda* remains as is when *a* follows, and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

## EXAMPLES:

*uro antarikṣam*

1. Note that *uro* ends in *eN* through the application of 8.2.66 *sasajuṣo ruḥ* and 6.1.112 *ato ror*. . . . Rule 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* then requires a single replacement in *guṇa* to yield *ura(s→rU)→ura(ṛ→u)→ur(a+u→o)=uro*. This *guṇa*, however, can be accomplished by 7.3.106 *sambuddhau ca* if *uro* is to be interpreted as a singular address form (*sambuddhi*). Some therefore also read the *sūtra* as *yajuṣy uro*.

This *prakṛtibhāva* cannot be limited to the context of *antaḥpādam*. For, there are no verse-quarters in the *Yajurveda* (*SK: yājuṣi pādānām abhāvah*). It will thus apply everywhere.

## 6.1.117 आपोजुषाणोवृष्णोवर्षिष्ठेऽम्बेऽम्बालऽम्बिकेपूर्वे

*āpojuṣāṇovṛṣṇovarṣiṣṭhe' mbe' mbālē' mbikepūrve*  
 /āpo-juṣāṇo-vṛṣṇo-varṣiṣṭhe-ambe-ambālē (used without endings); *ambike-pūrve* 1/2 = *ambike śabdāt pūrve* (*pañc. tat.*)/  
 (saṃhitāyām #72 *ati* #108 *prakṛtyā* #114 *yajuṣi* #116)

'āpo-juṣāno-vṛṣṇo-varṣiṣṭhe'ity ete śabdā 'ambe ambāle' ity etau ca yāu ambikeśabdāt pūrvau yajuṣi paṭhitau te ati parataḥ prakṛtyā bhavanti  
 The words āpo, juṣāno, vṛṣṇo, varṣiṣṭhe, and ambe and ambāle as well, remain as are when used before ambike in the usage of the Yajurveda, provided a follows and saṃhitā finds its scope.

#### EXAMPLES:

āpó aśmān mātaraḥ śundhayantu  
 juṣāno aṭturājyāsyā  
 vṛṣṇó aśsubhyāṃ gabhāstipūtaḥ  
 varṣiṣṭhe adhi nāke  
 ambe ambālyambike

1. Haradatta states that the first word, i.e., āpaḥ, ends in *Jas* 'nominative plural' (obligatorily plural); the second, i.e., juṣāno, in *sU* 'nominative singular'; the third, i.e., vṛṣṇo, in *Śas* 'accusative plural'; and the fourth, i.e., varṣiṣṭhe, in *Ni* 'locative singular'. The rest are forms of *sambuddhi* (2.3.49 *ekavacanam sambuddhiḥ*; *PM* ad *Kāś*: *tatra prathamam jasantam; dvitīyam svantam; tṛtīyam śasantam; caturtham nyantam; itare sambuddhyante*). Jinendrabuddhi (*Nyāsa*) accepts vṛṣṇo as a singular ending in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive' (*ṣaṣṭhyekavacanāntam*).

#### 6.1.118 अङ्ग इत्यादौ च

aṅga ityādaḥ ca  
 / aṅge 7/1 ityādaḥ 7/1 = iti = aṅgaḥ; tasyādiḥ (ṣaṣ. tat.), tasmin; ca φ/  
 (saṃhitāyām #72 eṇaḥ ati #108 prakṛtyā #114 yajuṣi #116)  
 aṅgaśabde ya eṇ tadādaḥ cākāre yaḥ pūrvah sa yajuṣi viṣaye' ti prakṛtyā bhavati  
 The eṇ of an aṅga before a, and the eṇ of any other form before the initial a of an aṅga, remain as are, when saṃhitā finds its scope in the usage of the Yajurveda.

#### EXAMPLES:

aindraḥ prāṇo aṅge aṅge adīdhyat  
 aindraḥ prāṇo aṅge aṅge nidīdhyat  
 aindraḥ prāṇo aṅgo aṅgo aśocisam

1. Note that the word *iti* is used here to bring yet another reading of *aṅge* in this rule (*PM* ad *Kāś*: *itikaraṇenānantarokto' ṅgaśabdaḥ pratyavamarśyate*). The meaning of *ityādaḥ* is inferred as *tadādaḥ* where *tad*, a variable, refers to *aṅga* as its antecedent. The *ca* is used in the sense of *samuccaya* 'conjoining two or more things together'. Thus, *ca*, when read with *ityādaḥ* with the preceding *aṅge*, offers two interpretations to this rule:

(i) the eṇ of *aṅge*, when followed by *a*, goes through *prakṛtibhāva* and

- (ii) an *eÑ*, also when followed by the initial *a* of *aṅge*, goes through *prakṛtibhāva*.

Thus, given *prāṇo aṅge aṅge aśociṣam*, we get *prakṛtibhāva* in *aṅge aśociṣam* where *eÑ* is part of *aṅge*. We also get *prakṛtibhāva* in *prāṇo aṅge* where *eÑ* is not a part of *aṅge*. That is, it is not necessary that *eÑ* must be part of *aṅge*. Conversely, it is also not necessary that the following *a* must also be the initial *a* of *aṅge*.

### 6.1.119 अनुदात्ते च कुधपरे

*anudātte ca kudhapare*

/*anudātte* 7/1 *ca*  $\phi$  *kudhapare* 7/1 = *kuś ca dhaś ca = kudhau* (*dv.*); *kudhau* *paraṁ yaśmāt* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*), *tasmin*/

(*saṁhitāyām* #72 *eṇaḥ ati* #108 *prakṛtyā* #114 *yajusi* #116)

*anudātte cāti kavargadhakārapare parato yajusi viṣaye eṇ prakṛtyā bhavati*

A sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *eÑ* remains as is in the usage of the *Yajurveda*, when an *a* marked with *anudātta* occurs before *kU*, i.e., *k*, *kh*, *g*, *gh*, and *ṇ*, or *dh*, and *saṁhitā* finds its scope.

#### EXAMPLES:

*ayam so' gñiḥ* 'this is that same *agni*'

*ayam so' dhvaraḥ* 'that is that same sacrifice'

1. This rule offers *prakṛtibhāva*, in the usage of *Yajurveda*, where *eÑ* occurs before an *anudātta a* followed by *kU* and *dha*. Incidentally, the *a* at the end of *dha*, in *kudhapare*, is used for ease of articulation. Thus we get *prakṛtibhāva* in *so agñiḥ* and *so adhvaraḥ*, where *a* of *agni* and *adhvara* is followed by *g* and *dh*, respectively. This *ā* is also *anudātta*. The word *agni* is derived with affix *ni* and, hence, is marked by its affixal *udātta* at the end (*Uṇādisūtra* 499: *agner nalopas ca*). Its *a* then automatically becomes *anudātta* (6.1.157 *anudāttaṁ padam . . .*). The *a* of *adhvara* is also *anudātta* because *adhvara*, as a nominal stem (*prātipadika*), is marked *udātta* at the end (*antodātta*; *Uṇādi* 1: *phiṣa antodāttaḥ*). The *g* of *agni* and *dh* of *adhvara* make their *a* meet the condition of *kudhapara*.

2. The condition of *anudātta* is required so that *prakṛtibhāva* can be blocked in examples such as *adho'gre* where *a* of *agre* is *udātta* (*Uṇādisūtra* 196: *ṛjendraḡravajra . . .*). The condition of *kudhapare* is required so that *prakṛtibhāva* can be blocked where an *anudātta a* is followed by any other sound. Thus, consider *so' yam agñiḥ sahasriyaḥ* where *prakṛtibhāva* is not allowed in *so' yam* because *a* is followed by *y*. One can say that *so ayam* should receive *prakṛtibhāva* similar to *śatadhāro ayam mañiḥ*, in consonance with 6.1.115 *avyādavadyāt . . .* This, however, is not possible since 6.1.114 applies under the condition of *antahpādam*. The examples do not come from a *pāda* of the *Yajurveda*.



## 6.1.120 अवपथसि च

*avapathāsi ca*

/avapathāsi 7/1 ca φ/

(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *eṇaḥ ati* #108 *prakṛtyā* #114 *yajuṣi* #116 *anudātte* #119)

'*avapathāḥ*' *śabde*' *nudātte*' *kārādaḥ parato yajuṣi viṣaya eṇ prakṛtyā bhavati*

A sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *eṇ*, remains as is in the usage of the *Yajurveda*, when *avapathāḥ*, with its initial *a* marked with *anudātta*, follows, and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

## EXAMPLES:

*strī rudrebhyo avapathāḥ*

1. The *ca* is used to attract *anudātte*. The word *avapathāḥ*, of *strī rudrebhyo avapathāḥ*, is a derivate of *LAN* 'imperfect' where *LAN* gets replaced with the *ātmanepada* second person singular ending *thās* (4.1.77 *lasya*; 4.1.78 *tiptasjhi* . . .). Its *a*, occurring after *rudrebhyo*, remains *anudātta* in consonance with 8.1.28 *tiṇ atinaḥ*.

The condition of *anudātte* is required so that, elsewhere, this *prakṛtibhāva* can be blocked. *Kāśikā* offers *yad rudrebhyo' vapathāḥ* as a counter-example where *prakṛtibhāva*, in *rudrebhyo' vapathāḥ*, is blocked because *avapathāḥ* is used in combination with a particle (*nipāta*), namely *yad*. Rule 8.1.30 *nipā-tairyadyadi* . . . blocks the *anudātta* status of *a* of *avapathāḥ*.

## 6.1.121 सर्वत्र विभाषा गोः

*sarvatra vibhāṣā goḥ*

/sarvatra φ vibhāṣā 1/1 goḥ 6/1/

(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *eṇaḥ padāntād ati* #108 *prakṛtyā* #114)

*sarvatra, chandasi bhāṣāyām ca, ati parato gor eṇ prakṛtyā bhavati vibhāṣā*

The *pada*-final *eṇ*, of *go*, optionally remains as is everywhere (*sarvatra*), when *a* follows and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

## EXAMPLES:

*go'gram*

*go agram*

*apaśavo vā anye goaśvebhyah goaśvān*

1. Note that *sarvatra* 'everywhere' indicates that this optional *prakṛtibhāva* is valid in both the Vedic as well as classical (*bhāṣā*) usages.

## 6.1.122 अवङ् स्फोटायनस्य

*avaṇ sphoṭāyanasya*

/avaṇ 1/1 sphoṭāyanasya 6/1/

(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *aci* #77 *padāntāt* #108 *vibhāṣā* *goḥ* #121)

*aci* *parato* *goḥ* *ṣphoṭāyanasya* *ācāryasya* *matenāvañ* *ādeśo* *bhavati*

The *o* of a *pada*-final *go* is optionally replaced with *avañ*, in the opinion of *Sphoṭāyana*, when *aC* follows and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

#### EXAMPLES:

*gavāgram* 'ahead of cattles'

*go' gram*

*gavājinam* 'cow-hide'

*go' jinam*

*gavodanam* 'cow and rice'

*gavaudanam*

*gavoṣṭram* 'cow and camel'

*gāvauṣṭram*

1. Note that the *anuvṛtti* of *ati* is suspended, especially because when carried, it will block *avañ* in examples such as *go* + *odanam* = *gavaudanam*, etc. The *anuvṛtti* of *aci*, via *maṇḍūkapluti* 'frog's leap', is required. How come *Kāśikā* (ad 6.1.77 *iko yañ aci*) remarks that *aci*, as a governing word (*adhikāra*), should be carried only up to 6.1.108 *samprasāraṇāc ca*. Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś*) explains that *Kāśikā*'s statement is made in view of uninterrupted *anuvṛtti* of *aci* (*nirantarānuvṛtyabhiprāyaṃ tad ity adoṣaḥ*). He, however, also adds that, in all such instances, *vyākhyāna* 'explanation of the learned' alone is our resource.

2. The word *sphoṭāyana* is used here for expressing respect (*pūjā*). For, *vibhāṣā* itself can account for option. We will thus get *go agram* (*prakṛtibhāva* with no *avañ*), *go' gram* (with *pūrvarūpa*) and *gavāgram* (with *avañ* and *savarṇadīrgha*). We similarly get *go odanam*, *gavaudanam*; *go ajinam* and *gavājinam*, etc.

3. This replacement in *avañ* is marked *udātta* at the beginning (*ādyudātta*), via *nīpātana*. But it is desired only in *bahuvrīhi* compounds such as *gavāgram*, paraphrased as *gāvo agram asya* 'he in front of whom are cows'. Elsewhere, for example in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, this accent is blocked and the compound is marked *udātta* at the end (see *Nyāsa* ad *Kāśikā* for additional details).

#### 6.1.123 इन्द्रे च

*indre ca*

/indre 7/1 ca φ/

(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *aci* #77 *goḥ* #121 *avañ* #122)

*indraśabdasthe' ci* *parato* *gor* *nityam* *avañādeśo* *bhavati*

The final *o* of *go* is replaced with *avañ* when the *aC* of *indra* follows and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

## EXAMPLES:

*gavendraḥ* 'best among cows; lord of cattle'  
*gavendrayajñasvaraḥ*

1. This rule offers obligatory *avaṆ* when *go* occurs followed by the *aC* of *indra*. Thus,  $g(o \rightarrow ava + indraḥ = gav(a + i \rightarrow e)ndraḥ = gavendraḥ$  and *gavendrayajñasvaraḥ*.

2. *Kāśikā* also reads *nityam* as part of this rule. But this is not needed. For, *avaṆ* is made optional by the preceding rule. This express formulation then must make *avaṆ* obligatory. Those who follow the *Kāśikāvṛtti* state that *nityam* is used for *anuvṛtti* in the following rule. The *Mahābhāṣya*, *Padamañjarī* and *Siddhāntakaumudī* read *nityam* as part of the following rule. I also accept this position and read *nityam* as part of the following rule.

## 6.1.124 प्लुतप्रग्रह्या ऽचि नित्यम्

*plutaṭpragrhyā aci nityam*

/ *plutaṭpragrhyāḥ* 1/3 = *plutās ca pragrhyās ca* (*itar. dv.*); *aci* 7/1 *nityam* 1/1/

(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *prakṛtyā* #114) .

*plutās ca pragrhyās cāci prakṛtyā bhavanti nityam*

Those which are termed *pluta* and *pragrhya* remain as are, obligatorily (*nityam*), when a vowel (*aci*) follows and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

## EXAMPLES:

*devadattā3 atra nvasi* 'Devadatta, live here'  
*yajñadattā3 idamānaya* 'Yajñadatta, bring this'  
*agnī iti* 'nominative/accusative dual of Agni'  
*vāyū iti* 'nominative/accusative dual of Vāyu'  
*khaṭve iti* 'nominative/accusative dual of *khaṭvā* 'cot''  
*māle iti* 'nominative/accusative dual of *mālā* 'garland''

1. *Kāśikā* reads *nityam* in the wording of the preceding *sūtra* and carries it to this rule via *anuvṛtti*. This, in turn, is contrary to what the *Mahābhāṣya*, *SK* and *PM* maintain.

2. Rule 1.1.11 *idūded dvivacanam pragrhyam* and 1.1.27 *ūkālō'j jhrasvadīrgha-plutaḥ* define *pragrhya* and *pluta*, respectively. We thus get *prakṛtibhāva* in *agnī iti*, *vāyū iti* and *khaṭve iti*, where *ī*, *ū* and *e* are *pragrhya*. Consider *devadattā3 atra nvasi* and *yajñadattā3 idam ānaya* as examples of *prakṛtibhāva* where *ā3* is a *pluta*, in consonance with 8.2.84 *dūrādd hūte ca*. Note that rule 8.2.84 *dūrādd hūte ca*, which assigns the *pluta*-status to *a*, is contained within the *tripādī* 'first seven and one quarters of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*'. Consequently, 8.2.1 *pūrvatrā-siddham*, if invoked, will make it suspended in view of the application of this rule. But since Pāṇini explicitly offers *pluta* as locus (*āśraya*) of *prakṛtibhāva*

and also since suspension (*asiddhatva*) caused by 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham* will remove this locus, *pluta*-status of *ā3*, remains intact. For, specification of *prakṛtibhāva* via *kāryin*, i.e., *ā3*, as locus will then become meaningless (*anarthaka*; *Nyāsa* ad *Kāś*: *asmād eva prakṛtibhāve kartavye siddhaḥ plutaḥ, anyathā tasya kāryitvenāśrayanam anarthakam syāt*).

2. Note that *aci* is explicitly stated, as against being brought via *anuvṛtti*. This is done to focus on the vowel which may otherwise condition *sandhi*. Consider *jānū asya* where *a* of *asya* conditions *prakṛtibhāva*. Now consider (*jānu + uN → jānū*) *asya*, where *a* does not condition long replacement. A *prakṛtibhāva* in *jānu* *u* is thus not possible. The *uN* in *jānu u(N) asya* is a particle (*nipāta*). The vowel which serves as a condition for single replacement with its preceding *u* does not occur after a *pragṛhya*. The vowel which follows *uN* also does not serve as a condition for single replacement. It is for this reason that, in the absence of *prakṛtibhāva*, a single replacement applies (PM ad *Kāś*: *uñ nipātaḥ, tasya pūrveṇa sahaikādeśasya yan nimittam na sa pragṛhyād uttaraḥ, yaś ca tataḥ paro na sa ekādeśasya nimittam iti prakṛtibhāvābhāvād ekādeśo bhavaty eva*). In fact we can also get *jān(u + u → ū → v) asya*, as in *jānu asya rujati*, not from 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* but from 8.3.33 *maya uño vo vā*. The *aci*, stated again in this rule, facilitates this. For, in the absence of a restated *aci*, this rule would be interpreted as *pragṛhyo'ci parataḥ prakṛtyā bhavati* 'a *pragṛhya* when followed by a vowel remains as is'. This, in turn, would offer *prakṛtibhāva* also to the single replacement obtained by replacing *u* with its preceding *u*. A restatement of *aci* blocks this *prakṛtibhāva*. For, the single replacement in *ū* will be interpreted as containing initial *pragṛhya* (*ādivadbhāva*). An application of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* can also be blocked because of this *prakṛtibhāva* (PM ad *Kāś*: *punar ajgrahāṇe tu na bhavati, tattraikādeśe kṛte tasyādivadbhāvāt pragṛhyagrahaṇenagrahaṇāt 'iko yaṇ aci' iti yaṇādeśaḥ prakṛtibhāvān na bhavati 'mañ uño vo vā' iti pakṣe vakāraḥ*).

The use of *nityam*, of course, not only retains *prakṛtibhāva* but also blocks shortening of 6.1.126 *iko asavarṇe śākalyasya hrasvaś ca*. It is thus used for *prakṛtibhāva*, in addition to blocking any other operation (*kāryāntara*).

### 6.1.125 आङेनुनासिकश्छन्दसि

*āño' nunāsikaś chandasi*  
/ *ānaḥ* 6/1 *anunāsikaḥ* 1/1 *chandasi* 7/1/  
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *aci* #77 *prakṛtyā* #144)

*āño'ci parataḥ saṃhitāyām chandasi viṣaye' nunāsikādeśo bhavati sa ca prakṛtyā bhavati*

An *āN* is replaced with an *anunāsika*, in the Vedic, when *aC* follows and *saṃhitā* finds its scope, with an additional provision that the *anunāsika* remain as is.

## EXAMPLES:

*abhra ā apah*  
*gābhīra ā ugrāputre jighāmsataḥ*

1. This rule offers nasalization of *ā* of *āN*, of course, when a vowel follows. Furthermore, the resultant *ā̃* also goes through *prakṛtibhāva*. Some also read this *sūtra* with *bahulam* 'variously'. Consequently, *ā̃* does not become nasalized, for example, in *indro bāhubhyām* (*ā + atarat* → *ātarat*). Note that the *ā̃* becomes nasalized only when *ā* is used without any meaning (*anarthaka*). Thus, we get *abhra ā̃ apah*. An *ā̃*, used as a prefix (*upasarga*) with a root (*dhātu*), does not become nasalized, and go through *prakṛtibhāva*, because it then carries meaning (*sānthaka*) as a modifier to the action (*kriyāviśeṣaṇatvāt*). Consequently, we get a long replacement in (*ā + atarat*) → *ātarat*. It can still remain an *ā̃*, as in *ā̃ atarat*, if one accepts the reading of *bahulam*.

## 6.1.126 इकोऽसवर्णे शाकल्यस्य ह्रस्वश्च

*iko'savarṇe śākalyasya hrasvaś ca*  
 / *ikaḥ* 6/1 *asavarṇe* 7/1 = *na savarṇaḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmin*; *śākalyasya* 6/1  
*hrasvaḥ* 1/1 *ca*  $\phi$ /  
 (*saṃhitāyām* #72 *aci* #77 *prakṛtyā* 114)  
*iko'savarṇe' ci parataḥ śākalyasyācāryasya matena prakṛtyā bhavanti hrasvaś*  
*ca tasyekaḥ sthāne bhavati*

A vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term *iK* remains as is, in the opinion of Śākalya, when *saṃhitā* obtains and a non-homogeneous vowel follows; additionally, this *iK* is replaced with a *hrasva* 'short'.

## EXAMPLES:

*dadhi atra*  
*dadhy atra*  
*madhu atra*  
*madhv atra*  
*kumāri atra*  
*kumāry atra*  
*kiśori atra*  
*kiśory atra*

1. Note that an *iK*, when followed by a non-homogeneous vowel (*asavarṇa*), will automatically facilitate the application of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*. Our present rule, for the very reason that it is formulated (*ārambhasāmarthyāt*), could then provide for *prakṛtibhāva* and *hrasva* optionally, against the provision of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*. Mention of Śākalya is then made for showing respect (*pūjārtham*).

2. The *ca* in this rule should not be used for carrying *prakṛtyā*. For, provi-

sion of *hrasva* itself can make *prakṛtibhāva* available. But *hrasva*, without *ca*, can provide for *prakṛtibhāva* only when *iK* denotes a long (*dirgha*) vowel. The *prakṛtibhāva* is also required where *iK* may be a short (*hrasva*). But *hrasva* of this rule will not make any sense in the context where *iK* may denote a *hrasva*. It can serve no purpose there (*prayojanābhāvāt*). Why do we need a *hrasva* to be replaced with a *hrasva*? So that vocalic *sandhi* can be blocked. Thus we can get *dadhi + atra* → *dadhi atra* and *dadhy atra*. The idea that a *hrasva* is replaced with *hrasva*, through short replacement of this rule at the strength of *ca*, is no vacuous rule application. For, rules are like clouds (*parjanyaavat*) which rain indiscriminately over both land and water. They are *kṛtakāri* 'effecting results' because their justification lies in bringing about results. They are not like fire (*dahanavat*) whose justification lies in undoing what was brought about (*akṛtakāri*).

3. A *vārttika* proposal is made to negate this *prakṛtibhāva* where a form marked with *S* as an *it* (*sit*) follows, or where an obligatory compound (*nityasamāsa*) finds its scope. Thus, we get *ṛtviyaḥ*, parallel to *ṛtu + ghaS*, paraphrased as *ṛtu prāptaḥ asya* 'that whose season has approached'. Recall that *gh* of *ghaS* will be replaced with *iy* (7.1.2 *āyaneṇīniyiyah* . . .) and the negation of *prakṛtibhāva* will occasion the application of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*. That is, *ṛtu + (gh → iy) a(S) → ṛt(u → v) + iya = ṛtviya + s(U) → ṛtviyaḥ*. Rule 1.4.16 *siti ca* will here assign the term *pada* (1.4.14 *suptiṇantam padam*). Or else, 6.4.146 *or guṇaḥ* will offer application of *guṇa*. We also get obligatory compounds such as (*vi + ākaraṇa*) + *s(U)* → *vyākaraṇam* and (*kumārī + artha*) + *s(U)* → *kumāryartham*. It is in view of this *vārttika* that examples under this rule are all *vākyas* 'non-compounds'.

Note that the locative in *sin-nityasamāsayoḥ* receives split interpretation (*ekam api dvidhā bhidyate*). It is interpreted as denoting the right condition of what follows (*parasaptamī*) in the context of *sit*. It is interpreted as a locative denoting scope (*viśayasaṭptamī*) in the context of *nityasamāsa* 'obligatory compound'.

Yet another *vārttika* proposal requires *prakṛtibhāva*, without any replacement in *hrasva* in the Vedic examples such as *iṣā akṣaḥ*, *kā imare* and *pathā agaman*.

### 6.1.127 ऋत्यकः

*ṛty akah*

/ṛti 7/1 akah 1/1/

(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *prakṛtyā* #114 *śākalyasya hrasvaś ca* #126)

*ṛkāre parataḥ śākalyasyācāryasya matenākaḥ prakṛtyā bhavanti, hrasvaś ca tasyākaḥ sthāne bhavati*

A vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term *aK* remains as is in the opinion of Śākalya, when *saṃhitā* finds its scope and *ṛ* follows; additionally, this *aK* is replaced with a *hrasva* 'short'.

## EXAMPLES:

*khaṭva ṛsyah*  
*māla ṛsyah*  
*kumāri ṛsyah*  
*hotṛ ṛsyah*

1. Why is this *sūtra* formulated when the preceding itself can account for *prakṛtibhāva* and *hrasva*. The preceding *sūtra* can accomplish *prakṛtibhāva* and *hrasva* when an *iK* may be followed by a non-homogeneous vowel (*asavarṇa*). This *sūtra* is needed for contexts where a vowel other than one denoted by *iK* (*anik*, i.e., *aK*) may precede. It is also needed for contexts where a homogeneous (*savarṇa*) vowel may follow. Elsewhere, the preceding *sūtra* itself can account for *prakṛtibhāva* and *hrasva*. Thus, consider *khaṭvā + ṛsyah* → *khaṭva ṛsyah* and *hotṛ + ṛsyah* → *hotṛ ṛsyah*, where *ṛ* of *hotṛ* is short.

2. Why do we need *ṛti*? So that *prakṛtibhāva* and *hrasva* is blocked in *khaṭv(ā + i → e) ndrah* → *khaṭvendrah*. The condition of *akāḥ* blocks *prakṛtibhāva* in *vṛkṣ(au → āv) + ṛsyah* = *vṛkṣāv ṛsyah*.

## 6.1.128 अ॒प्लु॒तवदु॒पस्थि॒ते

*aplutavad upasthite*  
 / *aplutavat*  $\phi$  = *na plutavat* (*nañ. tat.*); *upasthite* 7/1/  
*upasthitaṁ nāmānārṣa itikaraṇaḥ samudāyād avacchidyā padaṁ yena svarūpe' vasthāpyate tasmin parataḥ pluto' plutavad bhavati*  
 A *pluta* is treated as if non-*pluta* when a non-Vedic (*anārṣa*) *iti* follows and *saṁhitā* finds its scope.

## EXAMPLES:

*suślokā3 iti = suśloketi*  
*sumaṅgalā3 iti = sumaṅgaleti*

1. The word *ārṣa* is explained as a *taddhita* derivate of *ṛṣi* 'Veda' signifying *tatra bhavaḥ* 'born or found there in'. The negative *anārṣa* may generally refer to something other than what is found in the Vedas. However, *iti*, with the qualification of *upasthite*, defines its context to *itikaraṇa* 'attaching *iti*'. Technically, *upasthita* refers to the process of splitting individual *padas* of a sentence and marking them with *iti* (*Kāś: upasthitaṁ nāmānārṣa itikaraṇaḥ*). Thus, *suślokā3 iti*. This is what then is viewed as *anārṣa*. The *ā3* of *suślokā3* is *pluta* (8.2.84 *dūrādd hūte ca*). This *pluta*, in view of our present rule, becomes a non-*pluta* and, hence, blocks the *prakṛtibhāva* provision of 6.1.120 *pluta-pragrhyā aci nityam*. We then get *suślokā3 + iti* → *suśloketi* and *sumaṅgalā + iti* → *sumaṅgaleti*. These examples both involve *guṇa*-replacement, in the absence of *prakṛtibhāva*.

2. Why is this specification of *pluta* made with *vat*? In the absence of *vat*,

the specification would have been made as *pluto' plutaḥ*. This, in turn, could negate only the *pluta*. That is, in a situation where *prakṛtibhāva* obtains conditioned by *pluta* and *pragrhya* both, negation applies to one conditioned by *pluta*. A *prakṛtibhāva* conditioned by *pragrhya* cannot be negated. Consequently, *pluta* will be heard in *prakṛtibhāva* conditioned by *pragrhya* (*Kāśī: aphuta ity ucyamāne pluta eva pratiṣidhyeta . . . pragrhyāśraye prakṛtibhāve plutasya śravaṇam na syāt*). Examples are: *agnī3 iti*, *vāyū3 iti*. The *prakṛtibhāva*, consequent upon assignment of the term *pragrhya* by 1.1.11 *īdūded dvivacanam pragrhyam*, applies to *agnī3 iti* and *vāyū3 iti*. The *pluta*, of course, is retained in consonance with 8.2.86 *guror anṛto' nantyasyāpy ekaikasya prācām*.

### 6.1.129 ई३ चाक्रवर्मणस्य

ī3 cākravarmaṇasya

/ī3 (1/1 deleted) cākravarmaṇasya 6/1/

(aci #77 *aplutavat* #128)

ī3 kārḥ *pluto' ci parataś cākravarmaṇasyācāryasya matenāplutavad bhavati*  
An ī termed *pluta* is treated as if a non-*pluta*, in the opinion of Cākravarmaṇa, when a vowel (aC) follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*astu hītyabravīt* = *astu hī3 ity abravīt*

*cinu hīdam* = *cinuhī3 idam*

1. Mention of Cākravarmaṇa is made for indicating option (*vikalpa*). It is intended for suspending the *anuvṛtti* of the Vedic *iti* (*tadupasthite nivṛtyartham*) already available (*prāpta*). It is also used for facilitating this option when a non-Vedic *iti* follows (*aprāpta*). Thus, the use of Cākravarmaṇa is intended for *ubhayatra-vibhāṣā*. Consider *astu hītyabrūtām* 'those two indeed said 'astu', where *astu* is the third singular imperative of *as* 'to be' and *hi* is an indeclinable (*avyaya*). Rule 8.2.93 *vibhāṣā prṣṭaprativacane heḥ* assigns *pluta* to *hi* and, since the specification is desired to have been made with *vat* (*aplutavadbhāva*), *prakṛtibhāva* is blocked in favor of lengthening (*dirgha*). Thus we get *astu hīty*. . . An option of *prakṛtibhāva* will yield *astu hī3 ity abrūtām* with no *sandhi*. *Kāśikā* states that *aplutavadbhāva* 'treatment of a *pluta* as if a non-*pluta*' is also desired in the contexts of vowels other than an ī. We thus get *vaśā3 iyam* and *vaśeyam*, where *guṇa*, in the absence of *prakṛtibhāva*, applies through *aplutavadbhāva*.

### 6.1.130 दिव उत्

diva ut

/divaḥ 6/1 ut 1/1/

(*padāntāt* → *padasya* #108)

*divaḥ padasya ukārādeśo bhavati*



The final sound segment of a *pada*, namely *div*, is replaced with *uT*.

EXAMPLES:

*dyukāmaḥ* 'he whose desire is in heaven'

*dyumān*

*vimaladyu dinam* 'bright day'

*dyubhyām*

*dyubhiḥ*

1. The rule allows a replacement in *uT* for the final *v* (1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*) of *div* when the same is *prātipadika* turned into a *pada*. Note that *div* is not a verbal root. For, its specification is here made without its *it*-element *Ū*. The condition of *div* being a *pada* is reconstructed based upon the *anuvṛtti* of *pada* from 6.1.108 *enaḥ padāntāt ati*. How come *pada* of *padāntāt* alone is carried? Why not the full word *padāntāt*? A compound sometimes can also be carried in part (*ekadeśa*). The condition of *pada* is needed so that the *v* of *diva*, as in *divau* and *divaḥ*, can be blocked from availing a replacement in *u*.

Now consider some examples: *dyukāmaḥ*, a *bahuvrīhi* paraphrased as *divi kāmō yasya* 'he who wishes for heaven' and *dyumān*, paraphrased as *dyauḥ asti yasya* 'he who possesses heaven'. The *bahuvrīhi* compound-base *div* + *kāma*, after deletion of internal inflectional endings, has its *v* replaced with *u*. This yields *di(v→u) + kāma = diu + kāma* which, after application of *yaN*, yields *d(i→y)u + kāma = dyu + kāma = dyukāma*. Incidentally, *dyumān* is the nominative singular of *dyumat*, a derivate of *div* + *mat* (UP) = *di(v→u) + mat→d(i→y)u + mat = dyumat*.

2. Note that *div*, when treated as a verbal root, may cause the application of 6.4.19 *chvoḥ śuḍ anunāsike*. Thus, given *akṣadyūbhyām*, where *akṣadyū* is a derivate of *KuIP* introduced after *div* used in combination with the cooccurring *pada* *akṣa* + *bhis*, we get *ūTH* for *v*. An application of *yaN*, on *i* of *div* before *ūTH*, can then yield *akṣadyū* of *akṣadyūbhyām*. The *T* in *ūT* is also explained as intended for canceling *ūTH* (*Kās*: *taparakaraṇam ūtho nirvṛtyar-tham*). Since a sound brought about by application of a rule (*bhāvyamāna*) refers to sounds homogeneous with it, a *v*, when subjected through *sampra-sāraṇa*, will refer to a short *u* equal in duration of half a mora (see *Nyāsa ad Kās*). Why then use *taparakaraṇa* with short *u*? It is for this reason that *taparakaraṇa* is intended more for canceling *ūTH*.

### 6.1.131 एतत्तदोः सुलोपोऽकोर्नञ्समासे हलि

*etattadoḥ sulopo'kor anaṁsamāse hali*

/etattadoḥ 6/2/ = *etac ca tac ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoh*; *sulopah* 1/1 = *sor lopah* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *akoh* 6/2 = *na vidyate 'k' yayoh* (*bv.*); *anaṁsamāse* 7/1 = *naṁṇaḥ samāsaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *na naṁsamāsaḥ* (*naṁ. tat.*), *tasmin*; *hali* 7/1/ (*samhitāyām* #72)

*etattadau yāu akakārau nañsamāse na vartete tayor yah suśabdaḥ tadarthena sambaddhaḥ tasya saṃhitāyāṃ viśaye hali parato lopo bhavati*

A nominal ending, namely *sU*, when used after *etad* and *tad* not containing *k* and not being used as part of a negative compound (*nañsamāsa*), is deleted, provided a consonant (*hali*) follows and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

#### EXAMPLES:

*eṣa dadāti* 'this one gives'

*sa dadāti* 'he gives'

*eṣa bhunkte* 'this one eats'

*sa bhunkte* 'he eats'

1. Let us consider *eṣa dadāti* 'this one gives?' where *eṣa* is derived from *etad* + *sU*. The final *d* of *etad* is replaced with *a* by 7.2.102 *tyadādīnām aḥ*. Rule 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* then orders *pararūpa*, a single replacement similar to what follows. We thus get: *eta(d→a) + s(U)→et(a + a→a) + s(U)*. The preceding *t* of *etat* is then replaced with *s* (7.2.106 *tadoḥ sāv anantyayoḥ*) to yield *e(t→s)a + s(U)*. This *s* is then replaced with *ṣ* of 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayoḥ*. We thus get *e(s→ṣ)a + s(U) = eṣa + s(U)*. Our final derivate *eṣa* is gotten after deletion of *sU*.

This rule focuses on *etad* and *tad* only. That is why we do not get deletion of *sU*, in *yo dadāti*, where *yad* forms the base. The condition of *sU* is also important. This then does not allow deletion in *etat + au→etadau* where the ending is *au*. The negation of *akoḥ* 'of those with no *k*' excludes forms of *etat* and *tat* which may be derived with *akaC*. Thus, one may derive a form such as *eṣakaḥ* and *sakaḥ*, where *akaC* is introduced prior to the *ṭi* (1.1.64 *aco'ntyādi ṭi*; 5.3.71 *avaṣayasarvanāmnām akc prāk ṭeḥ*) of *eta + s(U)* and *ta + s(U)*. Our forms *eta* and *ta*, of course, derive from *etad* and *tad* with the application of *d→a* (*atva*) and *a + a→a* (*pararūpa*), as already explained in connection with *eṣa*. The resultant forms with *akaC*, i.e., *etaka + s(U)* and *taka + s(U)*, cannot go through deletion of *sU*. They will yield *eṣakaḥ* and *sakaḥ*, where *s* of *eṣakaḥ* goes through a replacement in *ṣ*. The negation of *akoḥ* is necessary because, in its absence, a specification by means of *etad* and *tad* could also include references to their forms with *akaC*. Such a reference is possible in view of the *Paribhāṣā* (PŚ: 90): *tanmadhyapatitas tadgrahaṇena grhyate* 'a specification made in grammar by a form also refers to its corresponding forms which may have inserts within'. That is, *etad* and *tad* can also refer to their forms qualified with *akaC*.

The negation of *anañsamāse* 'when not in combination with a negative particle' is important for blocking deletion of *sU* in *aneṣo dadāti* and *aso dadāti*, where *aneṣaḥ* and *asaḥ* are paraphrased as *na eṣaḥ* and *na saḥ*. The *n* in *na eṣaḥ* is deleted by 6.3.73 *na lopo*. . . . Augment *nUṭ* of 6.3.74 *tasmān*

*nuḍ* . . . is then introduced to derive ( $n \rightarrow \phi$ )  $a(\tilde{N}) + s(U) + (etad \rightarrow eṣa) + sU \rightarrow a + n(UT) + s(U) + eṣa + s(U) = an + (sU \rightarrow \phi) + eṣa + (sU \rightarrow \phi) = aneṣa + sU \rightarrow aneṣaḥ$ . Similar rules apply in deriving *asaḥ*. Note that *naṅ* is related to *etad* and *tad* because a negative compound has its following constituent as principal (*uttarapadaḥpradhāna*).

The condition of *hali* 'when a consonant follows' blocks deletion of *sU*, in examples such as *eṣaḥ + atra → eṣo' tra* and *saḥ + atra → so' tra*, where what follows is a vowel.

### 6.1.132 स्यश्छन्दसि बहुलम्

*syaś chandasi bahulam*

/ *syaḥ* 1/1 *chandasi* 7/1 *bahulam* 1/1/

(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *sulopaḥ hali* #131)

'*sya*' *iti etasya cchandasi hali parato bahulam sor loḥa bhavati*

A *sU* which occurs after *sya*, in the Vedic, is variously deleted when a consonant (*hal*) follows and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

#### EXAMPLES:

*uta sya vājī kṣīpaṇīm tūraṇyati grīvāyāṃ baddhō api kaḥṣa āsani*

*esa sya tē pavata indra somāḥ*

1. Note that deletion of *sU* here refers to one which occurs after ( $t \rightarrow s$ ) *ya* = *sya* of *tyad*. That is, ( $tya(d \rightarrow a) \rightarrow ty(a + a \rightarrow a) \rightarrow (t \rightarrow s)ya = sya$ )); *sya* + *sU*. A provision of *bahulam* also makes this deletion non-applicable, elsewhere. Thus, we get *yatra syo nīpatet*.

The word *syaḥ* is an imitation (*anukaraṇa*) of the nominative, used with the denotatum of *śaṣṭhī* 'genitive' (*śaṣṭhyarthe prathamā*).

### 6.1.133 सोऽचि लोपे चेत्यादपूरणम्

*so' ci loḥa cet pādapūraṇam*

/ *soḥ* 6/1 *aci* 7/1 *loḥa* 7/1 *cet*  $\phi$  *pādapūraṇam* 1/1 = *pādasya pūraṇam* (*śaṣ. tat.*)/

(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *sulopaḥ* #131)

'*saḥ*' *ity etasyāci parataḥ sulopaḥ bhavati loḥa sati cet pādaḥ pūryate*

The *sU* of *saḥ* is deleted when a vowel (*aci*) follows, provided this deletion facilitates completion of the quarter of a verse (*pādapūraṇam*).

#### EXAMPLES:

*sedu rājā kṣayati carṣaṇīnām*

*sauśādhīraṇūrudhyase*

1. This rule allows deletion of *sU* with the express purpose of completing a verse quarter. Thus, given *sa* + *sU* + *idu* and *sa* + *sU* + *ośadhi*, we get

$sa + (sU \rightarrow \phi) + idu \rightarrow s(a + i \rightarrow e) du = sedu$  and  $sa + (sU \rightarrow \phi) + oṣadhi \rightarrow s(a + o \rightarrow au) ṣadhi = sauṣadhi$ , after  $sU$ -deletion and single  $guṇa$  and  $vṛddhi$  replacements.

2. *Kāśikā* states that some also desire *pāda* to refer to quarter of a verse. That is, in addition to referring to the quarter of a Ṛgvedic hymn (*ṛkpāda*) in view of *chandasi*:

*saiṣa dāśarathī rāmaḥ/saiṣa rājū yudhiṣṭhiraḥ/  
saiṣa karṇo mahātyāgī/saiṣa bhīmo mahābalaḥ/*

### 6.1.134 सुद्कात्पूर्वः

*suṭ kāt pūrvah*  
/ *suṭ* 1/1 *kāt* 5/1 *pūrvah* 1/1/  
(*saṃhitāyām* #72)  
*adhikāro* 'yam. ita uttaraṃ yad vakṣyāmas tatra 'suṭ' iti 'kāt pūrvah' iti caitad  
*adhikṛtaṃ veditavyam*  
Augment *sUṭ* is introduced before *k*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*saṃskarttā* 'he who beautifies, etc.'  
*saṃskartum* 'for beautifying'  
*saṃskartavyam* 'that which is to be . . .'

1. This is an *adhikāra* 'governing rule', valid up to 6.1.157 *pāraskaraprabhṛtini ca*. The *ṭ* in *sUṭ* is an *it*. Its *U* is intended for ease of articulation. Since this rule provides for *sUṭ* to be introduced before *k*, 1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau* is not invoked for its placement. A question is raised against marking *sUṭ* with *ṭ* as an *it*, especially since 1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau* is not to be invoked in connection with its placement. It is stated (Bhīmasen Śāstri, II: 562) that *ṭ* as an *it* is here intended for distinguishing *sUṭ* from *su* (of 8.2.70 *parinivibhyaḥ sevasitasaya . . .*). Or else, a specification made with *su*, without *ṭ*, may have confused *su(ṭ)* with verbal root *su*. This, in turn, would have yielded undesired interpretations.

Illustrations will be offered under individual rules.

2. Pāṇini specifies *kāt pūrvah* to indicate that *sUṭ* does not become part of what contains *k* (*Kās: kāt pūrvagrahaṇaṃ suṭo' bhaktajñāpanārtham*). Augment *sUṭ*, because of being marked with *ṭ*, could have been introduced as an initial element anyway (1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau*). Consider the controlled derivation of *saṃkṛṣṭa*, third person singular middle form of *LIṆ*, from *sam* + *kṛ* + (*LIṆ* → *ta*) → *sam* + *kṛ* + *ta*, where, after *sīyUṭ*, we get *sam* + *kṛ* + *sīy* + *ta*. Augment *sUṭ* is now introduced before *ta* in view of 3.4.107 *sūṭ tithoḥ*. The *y* of *sīy*, in *sam* + *s(Uṭ)* + *kṛ* + *sīy* + *s(Uṭ)* + *ta*, is then deleted by 6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali*. Note that *sUṭ* before *kṛ* is accomplished by our present rule. If this *sUṭ*

is treated as part of *kṛ* then *skṛ* will become *saṃyogādi* 'that which has a conjunct in its initial position'. Rule 7.2.43 *ṛtaś ca saṃyogādeḥ* will then require a *guṇa* replacement for *ṛ*. This will yield a wrong form. It is to block such applications that *sUṭ*, at the strength of its specification by *kāt pūrvah*, is not treated as part of what contains *k* (*kakāravān*). A *guṇa* and *iṭ* conditioned by *saṃyogādi* (cf. 7.2.43 *ṛtaś ca saṃyogādeḥ*) will be blocked if *sUṭ* is treated part of the conjunct (*saṃyoga*). A *sUṭ*, if treated as part of the conjunct, would also not allow *nighāta* 'blanket *anudātta*' (cf. 8.1.28 *tiñ atinaḥ*). The word *saṃskṛṣiṣṭa* goes through *anusvāra* of *m* and *ṣ*-replacement for both of its *s* sounds.

Now consider *saṃskriyate*, a third singular present passive, derived from *saṃ + kṛ + (LAT→te)→saṃ + kṛ + yaK + te* where *yaK* is introduced by 3.1.67 *sārvadhātuke yak*. The *ṛ* of *kṛ* is replaced with *ri* (7.4.28 *riḡ śayaglinḡsu*) and augment *sUṭ* is introduced to yield *saṃ + sUṭ + k(ṛ→ri) + ya + te = saṃskriyate*. This intervening *s*, if treated as part of *kri*, would have also blocked *nighāta* 'blanket *anudātta*' of 8.1.28 *tiñ atinaḥ*. Incidentally, in matters of accentuation, an insert consonant is treated as if not present (*avidyamānavat*).

How is a *guṇa* conditioned by initial conjunct (*saṃyogādi*) accomplished in *sañcaskaratuh* and *sañcaskaruḥ* if *sUṭ* is not treated as part of that which contains *k*. Actually, *sUṭ* becomes part of *sañcaskṛ*, an *aṅga*, after iteration (*PŚ* (90): *tanmadhyapatitas tadgrahaṇena grhyate*). The *guṇa* then applies to derive *sañcask(ṛ→ar) + atuh = sañcaskaratuh*. But 7.4.10 *ṛtaś ca saṃyogāder . . .*, even when *sUṭ* is treated as part of *kṛ*, cannot allow *guṇa* since *skṛ* with initial conjunct is not a *dhātu* 'verbal root'. A *vārttika* proposal is made to allow *guṇa* of 7.4.10 also where penultimate conjunct is involved (*saṃyogopadha; saṃyogopadhagrahaṇam ca 'ṛtaś ca saṃyogāder guṇaḥ'ity atra vaktavyam*).

3. Two *vārttika* proposals of this rule have been jointly listed by the *Kāśikāvṛtti* as a separate *sūtra*:

- (i) *aḍvyavāya upasaṃkhyānam 'sUṭ' is introduced before k also in contexts where aṭ intervenes'* and
- (ii) *abhyāsavayavāye' pi ca 'sUṭ' is introduced before k, also where abhyāsa 'doubling' intervenes'*.

The necessity of these proposals is explained relative to introduction of *sUṭ* on the one hand and that of *aṭ* and *abhyāsa* 'doubling' on the other. It is argued that an operation, i.e., *sUṭ*, is more powerful because it is internal (*antaraṅga*) to the preverb (*upasarga*) and the root (*dhātu*). This operation is to be performed before any external (*bahiraṅga*) operation, i.e., *aṭ* and *abhyāsa* conditioned by the affix. But since *sUṭ* is introduced before *k* and it does not become part of the form which contains *k*, *ṭ* and *abhyāsa*, when applied, will follow *s*. This, in turn, is not desired (*iṣṭa*). It is to remove this difficulty that these express proposals are made. One has to apply *aṭ* and

*abhyāsa* first and then, even with them intervening, *sUT* is introduced before *k*. This will offer all desired results (*sarvam iṣṭam siddhyati*).

Provisions of the first proposal are illustrated with *samaskarot* and *samaskārṣīt*, third person singular active imperfect (*LaÑ*) and immediate (*LUN*) past forms of verbal root *kṛ*, used with the preverb *sam*. Notice how *sUT*, i.e., *s* after *a*, is introduced before *k*, even when *aT*, i.e., *a* before *s*, intervenes. We also get *sañcaskāra* and *paricaskāra*, where *ca* results out of *abhyāsa*. Augment *sUT* is again introduced before *k*, even when *abhyāsa* intervenes. See the appendix for full derivational details.

### 6.1.135 सम्पर्युपेभ्यः करोतौ भूषणे

*samparyupebhyah karotau bhūṣaṇe*

*/ sam-pari-upebhyah 5/3 (itar. dv.), tebhyah; karotau 7/1 bhūṣaṇe 7/1/*  
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *suṭ kāt pūrvah* #134)

'*sam, pari, upa*' ity etebhyo *bhūṣaṇārthe karotau parataḥ suṭ kāt pūrvō bhavati*  
Augment *sUT* is introduced before *k* when verbal root *kṛ* 'to do, make', used with the preverbs *sam*, *pari* and *upa*, occurs with the signification of *bhūṣaṇa* 'ornamentation'.

#### EXAMPLES:

*samskartā*

*samskartum*

*samskartavyam*

*parīṣkartā*

*parīṣkartum*

*parīṣkartavyam*

*upaskartā*

*upaskartum*

*upaskartavyam*

1. This rule allows for introduction of *sUT* before *k* when verbal root *kṛ* is used with the preverbs *sam*, *pari* and *upa*, provided when the signification is *bhūṣaṇa* 'ornamentation'. Consider *samskartā* which is a derivate of *tṛC* introduced after *kṛ* used with *sam*. Refer to the derivation of *kartā* (II:388) in the appendix. Given *sam* + *s(UT)* + *kartā*, the *m* of *sam* is replaced with *rŪ* (8.3.5 *samaḥ suṭi*). We now have *sa(m→r(Ū)) + s + kartā = sar + s + kartā*. The *a* of *sar* is optionally nasalized by 8.3.2 *atrānunāsikah pūrvasya tu vā*. Now we have *sār + s + kartā* and *sar + s + kartā*. Rule 8.3.4 *anunāsikāt paro'nusvārah* introduces *anusvāra* after *a* before *rU*, provided *a* is non-nasalized. This application changes *sar + s + kartā* into *saṃ + ṛ + s + kartā*. Rule 8.3.18 *karava-sānayor visarjanīyah* can then apply on both strings to yield: *sā(r→ḥ) + s + kartā = sāḥ + s + kartā* and *saṃ + (ṛ→ḥ) + s + kartā = saṃḥ + s + kartā*. A *vārttika* under 8.3.36 *vā śari*, i.e., *sampumkānām so vaktavyah*, requires the *ḥ* to be

replaced with *s*. We thus get *sā* (*h*→*s*) + *s* + *kartā* = *sās* + *s* + *kartā* and *saṃ* (*h*→*s*) + *s* + *kartā* = *sams* + *s* + *kartā*. Forms with single *s* are also used, especially when the option of *rU* which leads to an additional *s*, via *h*, is accepted.

A statement of the *Mahābhāṣya*, namely *samo vā lopam eke*, also deletes *m* of *saṃ*, thereby yielding a single *s* derivative. Similar rules apply in deriving *saṃskartum* and *saṃskartavyam*, the derivatives of *tumUN* and *tavyaT*, respectively. Derivates such as *parīskartā*, *parīskartum* and *parīskartavyam* involve replacement of *s* by *ṣ* (8.3.70 *suṣtusvañjām*). Deriving *upaskartā*, *upaskartum* and *upaskartavyam* does not offer anything new.

2. The condition of *bhūṣaṇa* is necessary so that examples such as *upakaroti* '... does a favor' are blocked from receiving *sUT*. Some, however, claim that examples such as *saṃskṛtam annam* 'cooked food' requires *sUT*, even when the signification is other than *bhūṣaṇa*. Others claim that *saṃskāra* of *anna* can still be viewed as *bhūṣaṇa*.

3. Some do not read *upa* as part of this rule. For them the *sūtra* is simply: *saṃparibhyāṃ karotau bhūṣaṇa*.

### 6.1.136 समवाये च

*samavāye ca*

/ *samavāye* 7/1 *ca*  $\phi$  /

(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *suṭ kāt pūrvah* #134 *samparyupebhyah karotau* #135)

*samavāyah* = *samudāyah*, *tasmimś cārthe karotau samparyupebhyah kāt pūrvah suṭ āgamo bhavati*

Augment *sUT* is introduced before *k* when verbal root *kr*, used in conjunction with the preverbs *saṃ*, *pari* and *upa*, follows with the signification of *samavāya* 'mass, aggregation, collection' and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

#### EXAMPLES:

*tatra naḥ saṃskṛtam*

*tatra naḥ parīskṛtam*

*tatra naḥ upaskṛtam*

1. Why was a single *sūtra* with the form of *saṃparyupābhyāṃ karotau bhūṣaṇasamavāyayoḥ* not formulated?

### 6.1.137 उपात्प्रतियलवैकृतवाक्याध्याहारेषु

*upāt pratiyatnavaikṛtavākyādhyaḥāreṣu*

/ *upāt* 5/1 *pratiyatna-vaikṛta-vākyādhyaḥāreṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*) /

(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *suṭ kāt pūrvah* #134 *karotau* #135)

'*pratiyatna*, *vaikṛta*, *vākyādhyaḥāra*' *ity eteṣu artheṣu gamyamāneṣu karotau dhātāu parata upāt suṭ kāt pūrvā bhavati*

Augment *sUT* is introduced before *k* of verbal root *kṛ*, used after the preverb *upa*, when *pratiyatna* ‘change or enhancement in an existing quality’, *vaikṛta* ‘modification’ and *vākyādhyaḥāra* ‘paraphrase; supplying words to a sentence to explain understood meanings’ are signified and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

## EXAMPLES:

*edho dakasyopaskurute* ‘wood brings new quality to the water’  
*kāṇḍagunasyopaskurute* ‘ibidem’  
*upaskṛtaṃ bhuṅkte* ‘eats in a bad manner’  
*upaskṛtaṃ gacchati* ‘walks in a bad manner’  
*upaskṛtaṃ jalpati* ‘speaks in a bad manner’  
*upaskṛtaṃ adhīte* ‘studies in a bad manner’

1. Why was the rule not formulated as *saṃparibhyāṃ karotau bhūṣaṇa-samavāyayoḥ upāt pratiyatnavākyādhyaḥāreṣu ca*? Answers Haradatta, go ask the maker of the *sūtras* (PM: *sūtrakāraṃ pṛccha*).

A separate formulation of *sūtras* 6.1.135, 6.1.136 and 6.1.137 was perhaps necessitated because of diverse signification of derivatives. Additionally, the *anuvṛtti* of *upāt* alone is carried to the next rule. Formulating a rule with all the preverbs may have created confusion about the *anuvṛtti* of *upāt* subsequently. If they all carried here they all had to be carried subsequently.

2. The word *pratiyatna* is explained as *saṃhā* ‘necessary effort’ for enhancing an existing quality, or maintaining one already enhanced. (*Kāś*: *sato guṇāntarādhānam ādhikṛtya vṛddhasya vā tadavasthāya saṃhā*). The word *vaikṛta* simply means *vikṛta* ‘brought into a state of modification’. The word *vākyādhyaḥāra* is explained as express mention of words whose meanings otherwise must remain understood (*Kāś*: *gamyamānārthasya vākyasya svarūpenopādānaṃ vākyasyādhyaḥārah*).

## 6.1.138 किरतौ लवने

*kiratau lavane*  
 /kiratau 7/1 lavane 7/1/  
 (saṃhitāyāṃ #72 suṭ kāt pūrvah #134 upāt #137)  
*upād uttarasmin kiratau dhātau lavanaviṣaye suṭ kāt pūrvō bhavati*

Augment *sUT* is introduced before *k* of verbal root *kṛ*, used after the preverb *upa*, when the signification is *lavana* ‘cutting’ and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

## EXAMPLES:

*upaskāraṃ madrakā lunanti* ‘the people of Madra cut having spread it around’  
*upaskāraṃ kāśmīraka lunanti* ‘the people of Kashmīra cut having spread it around’



1. Note that only *upāt* is carried here. This rule provides for *sUT* before *k* when *kṛ* 'scatter, spread about' is used with the preverb *upa* and the signification is *lavana* 'cutting, chopping'. Affix *NamUL*, in *upaskāram*, is introduced in consonance with *bahulam* of 3.3.113 *kṛtyalyuṭo bahulam*.

2. A *vārttika* proposal also requires the introduction of *sUT* when *kṛ*, used with the preverb *upa*, occurs with *NvuL* (3.1.10 *tumunṇvulau kriyāyām . . .*).

### 6.1.139 हिंसायां प्रतेश्च

*hiṃsāyām prateś ca*

/ *hiṃsāyām* 7/1 *prateḥ* 5/1 *ca* φ/

(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *suṭ kāt pūrvah* #134 *upāt* #137 *kiratau* #138)

*upāt prateś cottarasmin kiratau viṣaye suṭ kāt pūrvō bhavati hiṃsāyām viṣaye*  
Augment *sUT* is introduced before *k* in the context of verbal root *kṛ*, used after *upa* and *prati*, when the signification is *hiṃsā* 'harm' and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

#### EXAMPLES:

*upaskīrṇa haṃ te vṛṣala bhūyāt* 'may your cutting O! Vṛṣala, lead to violence'

*pratiskīrṇa haṃ te vṛṣala bhūyāt* 'ibidem'

1. Our examples, *upaskīrṇa* and *pratiskīrṇa*, are derived from *upa* + *s* + *kṛ* + *ta* and *prati* + *s* + *kṛ* + *ta*, via application of *i*-replacement (*itva*; 7.1.100 *ṛta id dhātoḥ*), with a following *r* (*raparatva*; 1.50 *ur aṇ raparah*), change of *t* to *n* (*natva*; 8.2.42 *radābhyām niṣṭhāto . . .*), lengthening (*dirgha*; 8.2.77 *hali ca*) and replacement in *n* (*natva*; 8.4.1 *raṣābhyām ṇo naḥ . . .*). Thus, *upa* + *s* + *k* (*ṛ→ir*) + *ta* → *upaskir* + (*t→n*) *a* → *upask* (*i→ī*) *r* + *na* → *upaskīr* + (*n→ṇ*) *a* = *upaskīrṇa*.

2. Why do we have the condition of *hiṃsā*? So that examples such as *pratikīrṇam* can be kept out of the scope of *sUT*.

### 6.1.140 अपाच्चतुष्पाच्छकुनिष्वालेखने

*apāccatuṣpācchakuniṣu ālekhane*

/ *apāt* 5/1 *catuspāc-chakuniṣu* 7/3 = *catuspādaś ca śakunayaś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu*; *ālekhane* 7/1/

(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *suṭ kāt pūrvah* #134 *kiratau* #138)

*apād uttarasmin kiratau catuspācchakuniṣu yad ālekhanaṃ tasmin viṣaye suṭ kāt pūrvō bhavati*

Augment *sUT* is introduced before *k* of verbal root *kṛ*, when the same is used after preverb *apa* and the signification is 'scratching, scraping' (*ālekhana*) relatable to a quadruped (*catuspād*), or a bird (*śakunayaḥ*), and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

## EXAMPLES:

*apaskirate vṛṣabho hr̥ṣṭaḥ* 'happy, the bull is digging up dirt'  
*apaskirate kukkuṭaḥ bhakṣyārthi* 'hungry, the rooster is digging up dirt'  
*apaskirate śve āśrayārthi* 'seeking a shelter, the dog dusts off the place'

1. Notice that the above examples are all in *ātmanepada* 'middle'. A *vārttika* proposal requires such *ātmanepada* usages when the signification is *harṣa* 'joy', *jīvikā* 'livelihood' and *kulāya* 'making a shelter' (*harṣajīvikākulāyakaraṇeṣu iti vaktavyam*). Elsewhere, one should use active endings (*paraśmaipada*).

## 6.1.141 कुस्तुम्बुरुणि जातिः

*kustumburūṇi jātiḥ*  
 / *kustumburūṇi* 1/3 *jātiḥ* 1/1/  
 (*saṃhitāyām* #72 *suṭ* #134)  
 'kustumburūṇi' *iti suṭ nīpātyate jātiś ced bhavati*  
 Augment *sUṭ* is introduced before *t* in deriving *kustumburu*, when *jāti* 'class' is signified and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

## EXAMPLES:

*kustumburūṇi* 'a kind of vegetation; food plant'

1. This introduction of *sUṭ* before *t* is made via *nīpātana*. The specification of *kustumburu* in *napuṃsaka* 'neuter' *bahuvacana* 'plural' is not intended to be as such (*avivakṣita*). One can also find usages other than neuter plural.

2. The condition of *jāti* is necessary to rule out examples such as *kustumburūṇi*, etc., where *tumburu* denotes a squash (*tindukī*) of bad quality. The signification of the compound base is *nindā* 'censure'.

## 6.1.142 अपरस्परः क्रियासातत्ये

*aparaspārāḥ kriyāsātatyē*  
 / *aparaspārāḥ* 1/3 *kriyāsātatyē* 7/1 = *kriyāyāḥ sātatyam* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*) /  
 (*saṃhitāyām* #72 *suṭ* #134)  
 'aparaspārā' *iti suṭ nīpātyate kriyāsātatyē gamyamāne*  
 Augment *sUṭ* is introduced in deriving *aparaspārāḥ*, via *nīpātana*, when *kriyāsātatyā* 'uninterrupted action' is denoted and when *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

## EXAMPLES:

*aparaspārāḥ sārthāḥ gacchanti* 'Caravans move continuously'

1. The word *kriyāsātatyā* is explained as an action with no interruption (*satatam avicchedenā*). This is what is meant by *sātatyāprabandha* 'constant

occurrence' of *gamana* 'movement'. Elsewhere, we will get an example such as *aparaparāḥ sārthāḥ gacchanti*, where the action takes place only once.

2. Note that *sātatyā* is used with the signification of *satata* 'permanence, continued'. It is formed with *sam* in combination before *tata*. Additionally, there is an optional deletion of *m*. Thus, *satatam* and *santatam*. Consider the following verse from the *Mahābhāṣya*.

*lumped avāśyamaḥ kṛtye tuṅkāmanasor api/  
samo vā hitatatayor māṃsasya paci yudghaṇoh//*

'the *m* of *avāśyam* goes through deletion; the *m* of *tumUN* is deleted when *kāma* and *manas* follow; the *m* of *sam* goes through optional deletion when *hita* and *tata* combine to follow; the final *a* of *māṃsa* also goes through optional deletion when verbal root *pac*, qualified with *yuT* (*LyuT*) or *GHaṆ*, follows.'

The following examples illustrate the intent of this verse:

*avāśyam kāryam = avāśyakāryam; kartum kāmaḥ asya saḥ = kartukāmaḥ;  
hartum kāmaḥ asya saḥ = hartukāmaḥ; sahitaṁ, samhitam, satatam, santatam;  
māṃspacanam, māṃsapacanam; māṃspākaḥ, māṃsapākaḥ.*

#### 6.1.143 गोष्पदं सेवितासेवितप्रमाणेषु

*goṣṭpadam sevītāsevitapramāṇeṣu  
/goṣṭpadam 1/1 sevītāsevitapramāṇeṣu 7/3 = sevitaṁ ca asevitaṁ ca  
pramāṇam ca = sevītāsevitapramāṇāni (itar. dv.), teṣu/  
(saṁhitāyām #72 suṭ #134)*

*goṣṭpadam iti suṭ nīpātyate tasya ca śatvaṁ sevite' sevitē pramāṇe ca viśaye*  
Augment *sUT* is introduced in deriving *goṣṭpada*, via *nīpātana*, with an additional provision of replacement of *s* with *ś*, when *goṣṭpada*, *sevita*, *asevita* and *pramāṇa* are signified.

#### EXAMPLES:

*goṣṭpado deśaḥ*  
'a place where cows graze'  
*agoṣṭpadāny aranyāni*  
'(large) forests where cows do not graze'

1. Augment *sUT* and *ś*-replacement for its *s* (*śatva*) is provided in the context of *sevita* 'frequented', *asevita* 'not frequented' and *pramāṇa* 'measure'. The condition of *asevita* is cited so that *agoṣṭpada* can also be accounted for. Why does one have to cite *asevita* when negation (*pratiśedha*) of *sevita* itself can account for it? But such a negation can only account for contexts where *sevita* is possible. What of contexts where *sevita* is impossible. That is, negating *sevita* can account for a place which is possible to frequent but for

some reason it is not. The *asevita* of our rule refers to situations where possibility of frequenting is simply out of question (*asambhava*). Thus, *agoṣṭadāni aranyāni* 'large forests which cows do not frequent'. Examples such as *goṣṭadapūraṃ vṛṣṭo devaḥ* 'it rained to the extent that only cow's footprints could fill up', etc., denote a measure (*pramāṇa*). Thus, *goṣṭada* is not here used in the sense of a cow's footprint. Elsewhere, we will get *goḥ padam* = *goṣṭadam* 'cow's foot'.

### 6.1.144 आस्पदं प्रतिष्ठायाम्

*āspadam pratiṣṭhāyām*

/ *āspadam* 1/1 *pratiṣṭhāyām* 7/1/

(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *suṭ* #134)

*ātmayāpanāya sthānam* = *pratiṣṭhā*, *tasyām āspadam iti sūṭ nīpātyate*

Augment *sUT* is introduced in deriving *āspada* 'place', via *nīpātana*, when *pratiṣṭhā* 'place for earning a living' is denoted and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

#### EXAMPLES:

*āspadam anena labdham* 'he has found a place where he can earn his living'

1. Note that *āspadam* is derived as a neuter derivate of affix *GHa*. Thus, *ā* + *sUT* + *pad* + *GHa* = *āspada* + *sU* → *āspadam*. The word *pratiṣṭhā* is explained as *ātmayāpanāya sthānam* 'a place for sustenance'. Elsewhere, we will get *āpadāt* = *āpada* + *sU* → *āpadam*, an indeclinable compound, with the meaning of ablative (*pañcamī*) involving no *sUT*.

### 6.1.145 आश्चर्यमनित्ये

*āścaryam anitye*

/ *āścaryam* 1/1 *anitye* 7/1 = *na nityam* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmin/*

(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *suṭ* #134)

*anitye* 'rtha *āścaryam iti sūṭ nīpātyate*

Augment *sUT* is introduced in deriving *āścarya*, via *nīpātana*, when *anitya* 'surprising, unusual, impermanent' is denoted, and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

#### EXAMPLES:

*āścaryam yadi sa bhuñjīta* 'it will be a surprise if he ate?'

*āścaryam yadi so' dhiyīta* 'it will be a wonder if he studied?'

1. The word *anitya* refers to something unusual and extraordinary (*adbhutatvam*). Thus, we get *ā(Ñ)* + *car* + *ya(T)* → *ā* + *s(uT)* + *car* + *ya* → *ā* + (*s* → *ś*) + *car* + *ya* = *āścarya*. Augment *sUT* is, of course, provided via *nīpātana*. Affix

yaT, though, is offered by a *vārttika* proposal (*caṇer āṇi cāgurau*). We will get *ācaryaṃ karma śobhanam* 'one should pursue some noble deed' outside the meaning scope of *anitye*.

#### 6.1.146 वर्चस्के ऽवस्करः

*varcaske' vaskarah*

/varcaske 7/1 avaskarah 1/1/

(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *suṭ* #134)

'avaskara' iti nipātyate varcaske' abhidheye

Augment *sUT* is introduced in deriving *avaskara*, via *nipātana*, when *varcaska* 'throw away food; useless' is denoted, and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

#### EXAMPLES:

*avakīryata ity avaskarah*

1. The word *avaskara* denotes *annamalam* 'food not fit for eating'. It can also denote a place where such food is thrown away. It can be derived with affix *aP* (3.3.57 *īdor ap*) introduced after verbal root *kṛ*, used with the preverb *ava*. The *sUT*, of course, is introduced via *nipātana*. Affix *aP* thus has the signification of *karman* 'object'.

#### 6.1.147 अपस्करो रथाङ्गम्

*apaskaro rathāṅgam*

/apaskarah 1/1 rathāṅgam 1/1 = rathasya aṅgam (ṣaṣ. tat.)/

(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *suṭ* #134)

'apaskara' iti nipātyate rathāṅgam ced bhavati

Augment *sUT* is introduced in deriving *apaskara*, via *nipātana*, when *rathāṅga* 'part of a chariot' is denoted, and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

#### EXAMPLES:

*apaskarah* 'part of a chariot'

1. The word *apaskarah* is derived similarly to *avaskarah*. Elsewhere, we get *apakarah* with the signification of *brahmacāriṇaḥ striyāṃ retaḥ sekaḥ* 'a celebrate's sprinkling of semen into a woman'.

#### 6.1.148 विष्किरः शकुनौ वा

*viṣkirah śakunau vā*

/viṣkirah 1/1 śakunau 7/1 vā φ/

*saṃhitāyām* #72 *suṭ* #134/

'viṣkira' iti vā *suṭ* nipātyate śakunāv abhidheye

Augment *sUṭ* is optionally introduced in deriving *viṣkira*, via *nipātana*, when *śakuni* 'bird' is denoted and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

*viṣkiraḥ* 'bird'

*vikiraḥ* 'ibidem'

1. *Kāśikā* reads the *sūtra* as *viṣkiraḥ śakunir vikiro vā*. It is argued that *vā* alone could have accounted for optional *vikiraḥ*. The *Mahābhāṣya* reads the *sūtra* as *viṣkiraḥ śakunau vā*. *Kāśikā* still uses it to show that this optional derivation is available only in the context of *śakuni* 'bird', and not anywhere else. The two derivatives can be derived with optional *sUṭ* and introduction of affix *Ka* (3.1.135 *igupadhajñāprīkiraḥ kaḥ*) after verbal root *kṛ* used with the preverb *vi*. Of course, *ṛ* will be replaced with *ir*, as shown earlier in connection with *upaskirṇam*, etc. The word *vikira* must also here mean *śakuni* 'bird'.

#### 6.1.149 ह्रस्वाच्चन्द्रोत्तरपदे मन्त्रे

*hrasvāc candrottaraṇpade manṭre*

/hrasvāt 5/1 candrottaraṇpade 7/1 = candraś cāsau uttarapaḍaṃ ca (itar. dv.), tasmin; manṭre 7/1/

(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *sUṭ* #134)

*candraśabda uttarapaḍe hrasvāt paraḥ suḍ āgamo bhavati manṭraṇviṣaye*

Augment *sUṭ* is introduced after a short vowel in the *manṭra* usage when *candra* follows, and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

*suścandro yuṣmān*

1. *Kāśikā* offers *sūryācandramasāv iva* as a counter-example where *sUṭ* cannot be introduced because *sūryā* ends in a long vowel. A classical usage such as *sucandrā paurṇamāsī* 'a night with beautiful full moon' can also not qualify for *sUṭ* either. That is, it cannot qualify for its status as a *manṭra*. An example such as *candram asi* can also be out because *asi*, eventhough it follows, does not qualify as a following constituent. Thus, *uttaraṇpade* refers to constituency in a compound.

#### 6.1.150 प्रतिष्काशश्च कशेः

*pratiṣkāśaś ca kaśeḥ*

/pratiṣkāśaḥ 1/1 ca φ kaśeḥ 5/1/

(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *suṭ* #134)

'*kaśaḥ gatiśāsanayoḥ*' ity etasya dhātōḥ pratipūrvasya pacādyaci kṛte suṭ nipātyate tasyaiva śatvam

The word *pratiṣkaśa* is additionally derived by introducing augment *sUT* before *k* of verbal root *kaś*, used with the preverb *prati*, with an additional provision that *s* of *sUT* be replaced with *ṣ*.

EXAMPLES:

*grāmam adya pravekṣyāmi*  
'I shall enter the village today'  
*bhava me tvam pratiṣkaśaḥ* 'you be my companion'

1. The word *pratiṣkaśaḥ* is a derivate of *aC* derived from *prati* + *kaś* + *aC* → *prati* + *sUT* + *kaś* + *aC*. Affix *aC* is introduced in consonance with 3.1.134 *nandigrahīpacādibhyo*. . . . The word itself is explained as *vārtāpuruṣa* 'someone to converse with', *sahāya* 'companion' and *puroyāyi* 'he who goes before'.

2. The condition of a verbal root such as *kaś* 'to move, govern' is needed to block *sUT* in an example such as *pratikaśo śvaḥ* = *pratigataḥ kaśām* 'a horse who cannot be controlled with a whip' where *prati*, as a preverb, is related to *gam* 'to go' and *kaśā* 'whip' is not a verbal root.

6.1.151 प्रस्कण्वहरिश्चन्द्रावृषी

*praskaṇvahariścandrāv ṛṣī*  
/ *praskaṇvahariścandrau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*) *ṛṣī* 1/2/  
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *suṭ* #134)  
'*praskaṇva*, *hariścandra*' *ity suṭ nīpātyate ṛṣī ced abhidheyau bhavataḥ*  
Augment *sUT* is introduced in deriving *praskaṇva* and *hariścandra*, when *saṃhitā* finds its scope and the denotata are sages (*ṛṣī*).

EXAMPLES:

*praskaṇvaḥ ṛṣiḥ* 'a sage named Praskaṇva; (he from whom sins have departed)'  
*hariścandraḥ ṛṣiḥ* 'a sage named Hariścandra; (he for whom moon is like Hari)'

1. Why mention *hariścandra* here when the same can be derived with 6.1.149 *hrasvāc candrottaraṇapade mantre*? This example refers to usage outside the *Mantra* literature. Lack of *sUT*, in *praskaṇvo māṇavakaḥ* and *haricandro māṇavakaḥ*, indicates that *māṇavaka* 'boy, celebrate' is not a *ṛṣi* 'sage'.

6.1.152 मस्करमस्करिणौ वेणुपरिव्राजकयोः

*maskaramaskariṇau veṇuparivrājakayoḥ*  
/ *maskara-maskariṇau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*)  
*veṇu-parivrājakayoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*)/  
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *suṭ* #134)

'*maskara, maskarin*' ity etau yathāsamkhyam veṇu parivrājake ca nipātyete  
The words *maskara* and *maskarin* are derived via *nipātana* with the introduction of augment *sUT* when the signification is *veṇu* 'bamboo' and *parivrājaka* 'wandering ascetic', respectively.

EXAMPLES:

*maskaro veṇuḥ* 'maskara is a kind of Bamboo'  
*maskarī parivrājakaḥ* 'maskarin is a wandering ascetic'

1. The words *maskara* and *maskarin* are derived with *sUT* when the signification is *veṇu* 'bamboo, flute' and *parivrājaka* 'wandering ascetic'. Elsewhere, we get *makarah* 'crocodile, shark' and *makarī* 'ocean', a derivate of *inI* paraphrased as *makarāḥ santi asmin* 'that in which there are crocodiles'.

2. Some derive *maskara* by introducing affix *aC* after verbal root *kṛ*, used with the preverb *māN*. The derivate is then paraphrased as *mā kriyate* = *yena pratiśidhyate* 'a bamboo stick by means of which someone is disciplined not to do something'. Of course, *aC* and *sUT* are introduced via *nipātana*. The word *maskarī* 'a wandering ascetic' is derived with affix *inI*, signifying *tācchīlya* 'he whose nature it is to . . .'. A *maskarī* preaches people to desist from worldly affairs and seek inner peace (*mā kuruta karmāṇi śāntir vaḥ śreyasī*). Both these examples will involve *sUT* and shortening of *mā*.

6.1.153 कास्तीराजस्तुन्दे नगरे

*kāstīrājastunde nagare*  
/*kāstīrājastunde* 7/1 (*itar. dv.*); *nagare* 7/1/  
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *suṭ* #134)

'*kāstīra, ajastunda*' ity etau śabdau nipātyete *nagare* 'bhidheye

The words *kāstīra* and *ajastunda* are derived via *nipātana* with the introduction of augment *sUT* when *saṃhitā* finds its scope and derivates signify a city (*nagara*).

EXAMPLES:

*kāstīraṃ nāma nagaram* 'a city named Kāstīra'  
*ajastundaṃ nāma nagaram* 'a city named Ajastunda'

1. The non-*sUT* derivates *kāstīra* and *ajastunda* are derived from *kā* + *tīra* and *aja* + *tunda*, parallel to *iṣat tīraṃ* 'small shoreline' and *ajasya iva tundaṃ asya* 'one whose belly is similar to that of a goat'. The derivates of *sUT* must, of course, name cities.

6.1.154 पारस्करप्रभृतीनि च संज्ञायाम्

*pāraskaraṃprabhṛtīni ca saṃjñāyām*  
/*pāraskaraṃprabhṛtīni* 1/3 = *pāraskara prabhṛtir yeṣām* (*bu.*), *tāni; ca* φ



*saṃjñāyām* 7/1/

(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *suṭ* #134)

*pāraskaraḥprabhṛtini ca śabdārūpāni nipātyante saṃjñāyām viśaye*

The word *pāraskara*, and its likes, are derived via *nipātana* with the introduction of augment *sUT*, when derivatives denote a name (*saṃjñā*) and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

#### EXAMPLES:

*pāraskaro deśaḥ* 'Pāraskara is a place'

*kāraskaro vṛkṣaḥ* 'Kāraskara is a tree'

*rathaspā nadi* 'Rathaspā is a river'

*kiṣkuḥ pramāṇam* 'Kiṣku is name of a measure'

*kiṣkindhā guhā* 'Kiṣkindhā is a cave'

1. Note that *Kāśikā* lists *kāraskaro vṛkṣaḥ* as a separate *sūtra*. Our present *sūtra*, which accounts for an open ended listing of nominals with express condition of *saṃjñāyām* 'when a name is denoted', is much more economical. In fact, the *Mahābhāṣya* lists *kāraskaro vṛkṣaḥ* as an example under this rule. It is for this reason that I have not listed *kāraskaro vṛkṣaḥ* as a separate rule.

2. These words should be accepted as derived. Efforts, however, are still made to explain their derivation. Thus, *pāraskara* is derived parallel to *pāraṃ karoti* 'goes across', an *upapada-samāsa* 'a compound formed with a conjoined word'. Thus, *pāra* + *am* + *kṛ* + *Ṭa* yields *pārakara* with deletion of *am* and *guṇa* of *kṛ* with a following *r*. Augment *sUT* gives the final derivative as *pāraskara* signifying a place. Incidentally, affix *Ṭa* is introduced by 3.2.20 *kṛṇo hetutācchīlya*. . . . A similar application of rules can also derive *kāraskaraḥ*. The word *rathaspā*, again a compound similar to the preceding examples, is explained as a *nadi* 'river', paraphrased as *ratham pāti* ' . . . protects chariots'. It may be treated as a derivative of *Ka* (3.2.3 *āto'nupasarge* . . .) where 6.4.64 *āto lopa iṭi ca* deletes the *ā* of *pā*. Thus, *rathap*(*ā*→*ϕ*) + (*K*)*a* = *ratha* + *s*(*UT*) + *p* + *a* = *rathaspa*. Feminine affix *ṬāP* (4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp*) is then introduced to derive *rathaspā*. Haradatta accepts the derivative as *rathṣpā*, parallel to *ratham pāti*, where *s* of *sUT* goes through a replacement in *ṣ* (*ṣatva*), via *nipātana*. Other examples can be similarly explained.

2. A proposal is also made to derive *taskara* and *bṛhaspati* with *sUT*, provided the derivative signifies *cora* 'thief' and *devatā* 'divinity'. Given *tat* + *kara* and *bṛhat* + *pāti*, the final *t* in the first constituent of both examples is deleted, again via *nipātana*.

#### 6.1.155 अनुदात्तं पदमेकवर्जम्

*anudāttam padam ekavarjam*

/ *anudāttam* 1/1 *padam* 1/1 *ekavarjam* 1/1 = *ekaṃ varjayitvā* (*upa. tat.*) /

*yatrānyaḥ svara udāttaḥ svarito vā vidhīyate, tatrānudattaṃ padaṃ ekaṃ varjayitvā bhavaṭīty etad upasthitaṃ draṣṭavyam*

A *pada* bears the *anudatta* accent with the exception of one syllable specified as follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

See under rules to follow.

1. This rule assigns blanket *anudatta* with the exception of one specifically marked otherwise. Thus, 6.1.60 *dhātoḥ* requires that the final of a verbal root be marked *udatta*. A verbal form such as *gopāyati* will thus be marked *anudatta* everywhere except for its final *udatta*.

2. Note that specific assignment of accent on components of a given word may be more than one. This creates a difficulty. Which one of the many be made an exception to blanket *anudatta*? The guiding principle must be *satīṣiṣtasvaro baṭīyaḥ* 'an accent which is expressly specified against what already exists is treated as comparatively more powerful'. Thus most subsequently taught accent should be accepted as an exception to blanket *anudatta*.

It is stated that the accent of a *vikaraṇa*, for example *Śnā*, is accepted as more powerful than the accent of a verbal root (*dhātu*). That is, when it comes to accepting one accent and the choice has to be made between a root-accent and the accent of a *vikaraṇa*, the accent of a *vikaraṇa* is to be excluded. The accent of an affix, such as *tas*, is treated as more powerful than the accent of a *vikaraṇa*. Thus, the accent of an affix must be selected as an exception when it comes to a choice between the accents of a *vikaraṇa* and an affix. Finally, the accent of *ām* is treated as more powerful than that of an affix. Thus, *lunāti*, *lunītaḥ* and *lunītaṣṭarām*. What is made an exception to blanket *anudatta*, in the last example, is the final *udatta* of *ām*. The rest of the *pada* is marked *anudatta*. The provision of this *sūtra* thus enables one to get rid of individual accents, for examples, of an augment (*āgama*), *vikaraṇa* 'base-modifying suffix', *prakṛti* 'base' and *pratyaya* 'affix'. Thus, the *Mahābhāṣya*:

*āgamasya vikārasya prakṛteḥ pratyayasya ca/  
pṛthaksvaranivṛtyarthaṃ ekavarjaṃ padasvarah/*

Consider the derivation of *catvārāḥ* from *catur* + *Jas*, where augment *ām*, because of being marked with *M* as an *it*, is inserted before the final *r*. Augment *ām* is *udatta* by 7.1.98 *caturanaḍuhor ām udāttaḥ*. The accent of *ām* thus blocks the accent of *catur*. Consequently, *udatta* of *ām* is treated as an exception. The accent of *anAN*, marked *udatta* by 7.1.75 *asthidadhi . . .*, similarly blocks the initial *udatta* accent of *dadhi* in deriving *dadhani*. Consider *gopāyati* again, where the derived root *gopāya* is marked *udatta* at the end blocking the initial *udatta* accent of suffix *āya*. It is the accent of the derived base

which is treated as more powerful. But consider also *kartavyam* where the initial *udātta* accent of affix *tavyaT* blocks the final *udātta* accent of the root *kṛ*. Thus we get: *kartavyam*.

Note that, in addition to most immediately specified accent (*satīṣiṣṭa*), relative strength of accents is also determined on the basis of notions such as *para* 'subsequent in order', *nitya* 'obligatory', *antaraṅga* 'internally conditioned' and *apavāda* 'exception'. Thus, in *gopāyati*, accent of affix *āya*, an initial *udātta*, is an exception to the accent of verbal root *gup*, a final *udātta*. It blocks the accent of *gup* but is then blocked by the accent of the newly derived base *gopāya*, again a final *udātta*.

#### 6.1.156 कर्षात्वतो घञोऽन्त उदात्तः

*karṣātvato ghañō' nta udāttaḥ*

/karṣātvataḥ 6/1 = ād asyāstīty ātvān; karṣaś ca ātvāṁś ca (sam. dv. with int. bv.); ghañāḥ 6/1 antaḥ 1/1 udāttaḥ 1/1/

*karṣater dhātor ākāravataś ca ghañantasyānta udātto bhavati*

An *udātta* is assigned to the final of verbal root *kṛṣ* 'to draw', and also to that which ends in affix *GHaÑ* and contains an *ā*.

EXAMPLES:

*karṣaḥ*

*pākāḥ*

*tyāgaḥ*

*rāgaḥ*

*dāyaḥ*

*dhāyaḥ*

1. A specification (*nirdeśa*) of *kṛṣ* with its modified (*vikṛta*) *guṇa*-form *karṣa* is made so that the *tudādi* root *kṛṣ* can be excluded from the scope of this rule. That is, the final *udātta* accent applies to *karṣa*, ending in *GHaÑ*, provided it is the derivate of the *bhvādi* root *kṛṣ*. The *tudādi* derivate of *GHaÑ*, i.e., *karṣa*, will, of course, be marked *udātta* at the beginning (*ādyudātta*). Thus, we get *karṣaḥ*.

The accentual provision of this rule constitutes an exception to the initial *udātta* accent of 6.1.197 *ñnityādir nityam*. Recall that *GHaÑ* is marked with *Ñ* as an *it*. Examples of derivatives of *GHaÑ* with *ā* are: *pākāḥ*, *rāgaḥ* and *dāyaḥ*, where *ā* comes from *vṛddhi*. The *y* of *dāyaḥ* comes from *yUK* of 7.3.33 *āto yuk*. . .

#### 6.1.157 उञ्छादीनां च

*uñchādīnām ca*

/uñchādīnām 6/3 = uñcha ādir yeṣām te (bv.); ca φ/

(*anta udāttaḥ* #156)

'*uñcha*'ity evam ādinām *anta udātto bhavati*

The final of the list headed by *uñcha* is also marked with *udātta*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*uñchaḥ*

*mlecchaḥ*

*jaṇṇaḥ*

*vyadhah*

1. Note that *uñchaḥ* 'grain picked from fields after harvest', *mlecchaḥ* 'corrupt', *jaṇṇaḥ* 'warrior' and *jaṭpaḥ* 'gossip' are all derivatives of *GHaÑ* qualified for *ñnitsvara* 'accent based on *Ñ* and *N* as an *i*'. This rule assigns final *udātta*. Others, i.e., *jaṭpaḥ* and *vyadhah*, are derivatives of *aP* (3.3.61 *vyadhajapor anupasarge*). They should have qualified for initial *udātta* of *dhātoḥ* (6.1.159 *dhātoḥ*).

2. A final *udātta* is also recommended for *garaḥ*, a derivative of *aP*, provided the signification is *dūṣya* 'corruptible'. Elsewhere, *gara* means poison and is marked initial *udātta*.

Derivates of *GHaÑ* (3.3.121 *halaś ca*), particularly *veda* 'that by means of which one knows', *vega* 'that by means of which one goes', *veṣṭa* 'that by means of which something is enclosed' and *bandha* 'that by means of which one ties', are similarly marked *udātta* at the end. This, of course, is done only when the derivatives denote *karana* 'instrument'. They are again marked initial *udātta* when the denotatum is *bhāva* 'action'.

Yet another proposal is made for *stu*, *yu* and *dru* to be marked *udātta* at the end in the Vedic (*stuyudrivaś chandasī*). For, *pariṣṭut*, *samyut* and *paridrut* derive with *KvIP* and augment *tUK*, where *KvIP* goes through total deletion. A similar proposal is also made for *vartah*, used in the sense of *stotra* 'praise' (*sāmaveda: vartaniḥ stotre*).

The word *dgaraḥ* when signifying *śvabhra* 'hole, chasm' is also marked *udātta* at the end. Elsewhere, it is marked *udātta* at the beginning. Incidentally, *śvabhra* is used with varying significations. It is not clear what signification conditions this proposal. Similar accentual proposal is made also for *sāmbah* 'along with *Ambā*' and *tāpaḥ*, provided the signification is *bhāvagarhā* 'censure of denoted action'. This restriction of *bhāvagarhā*, however, is not required in case of *uttamaḥ* and *śaśvattamaḥ* which are also marked *udātta* at the end.

A proposal is also made for derivatives of *GHaÑ*, such as *bhakṣa*, *mantha*, *bhoga* and *deha* which do not contain *ā*, to be marked *udātta* at the end.

#### 6.1.158 अनुदात्तस्य च यत्रोदात्तलोपः

*anudāttasya ca yatrodāttalopah*

/*anudāttasya* 6/1 *ca*  $\phi$  *yatra*  $\phi$  *udāttalopaḥ* 1/1 = *udāttasya lopaḥ* (ṣaṣ. tat.)/

(*udāttaḥ* #156)

*yasmin anudātte parata udātto lupyate tasyānudāttasyādir udātto bhavati*

An *anudātta* is also marked *udātta* when it conditions the deletion (*LOPA*) of a preceding *udātta*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*kumārī*

*pathaḥ*

*kumudvān*

1. Consider *kumārī* which is a derivate of the feminine affix *ÑiP*. The word *kumāra* is marked *udātta* at the end by *phiṣo' ntodāttaḥ* (*Phiṣsūtra*: 1). Affix *ÑiP*, which is marked *anudātta*, follows it. Since deletion of the *udātta* *a* of *kumāra* is caused by the following *anudātta* of *ÑiP* (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*), our present *sūtra* allows *ī* to be marked *udātta*. The *sUP* in *pathaḥ*, *pathāḥ* and *pathe* are all marked *udātta* at the end. But since the nominal endings condition *ṭi*-deletion of *in* of *pathin*, they are marked *udātta*. All the three words are thus marked *udātta* at the end. This same applies to *mat* of *ḌmatUP* in *kumudvān*, *naḍvān* and *vetasvān* where *kumuda*, etc., are all marked *udātta* at the end. Of course, *mat*, because of being marked with *Pas* as an *it*, is *anudātta*. Recall that the final *a* of *kumuda*, etc., is deleted under the condition of *mat* marked with *Ḍ*. Consequently, the *ā* of *vā* in *kumudvān*, etc., is marked *udātta*.

2. Why is *anudāttasya* used as a qualifier? Consider *prāsaṅga* + *yāT* = *prāsaṅgyaḥ*, paraphrased as *prāsaṅgaṃ vahati* (4.4.76 *tad vahati* . . .). Now, *prāsaṅga* is marked *udātta* at the end (6.2.144 *thāthaghañ* . . .). Its final *a* is deleted before *yāT* marked with *svarita* (6.1.183? *tāsyānudāttēn* . . .). How come this *svarita* does not become *udātta* after having caused deletion of the *udātta* which precedes? But this reasoning is not valid? For, at the time when *yāT* is marked *svarita*, the remainder of the word becomes *anudātta* in view of the general accentual provision of 6.1.155 *anudāttaḥ padam*. . . But still there is no deletion of an *anudātta* here. The word *anudātta* is here used to indicate that an initial *anudātta* becomes *udātta*.

This *sūtra*, in the absence of *anudāttasya*, could have been formulated as *yatrodāttalopaś ca*. This, with *antaḥ*, could then have yielded the meaning: *yatra* (*yasmin pratyaye parataḥ*) *udātto* (*lupyate*) *tasyānta udātto* (*bhavati*) 'the final of that, following which an *udātta* is deleted, is marked *udātta*'. This could create difficulty in examples such as *mā hi dhukṣātām* and *mā hi dhukṣāthām*. That is, the final of *ātām* and *āthām* could then be marked *udātta* which is not desired. Recall that the *a* of *Ksa* (of *duh* + *sa* + *ātām* and *duh* + *sa* + *āthām*) is deleted conditioned by the following *ā* (of *ātām* and *āthām*). The use of *anudāttasya* then becomes an indicator (*jñāpaka*) for marking initial *a* as *anudātta*. Additional support for this view comes from the use of *hi* and

*mā* in these examples. Note that *mā* blocks the introduction of *aT* (6.4.74 *na mānyoge*). For, *āT* would have made the *pada* marked initial *udātta*. This, in turn, would have caused the deletion of an *ā* marked *anudātta*. Similarly, *dhukṣātām* would have received blanket *anudātta* of 8.1.28 *tinatīnaḥ*. That is, if *hi* was not given as part of examples (8.1.34 *hi ca*).

3. Why is the word *yatra* used here? Consider *bhārgavaḥ*, *bhārgavau* and *bhrgavāḥ*, where the *aN* (4.1.114 *ṛṣyandhakavṛṣni* . . .) of *bhrgavaḥ* is deleted prior to the introduction of nominative plural *Jas*. Affix *Jas* is not the cause (*nimitta*) of this deletion. It simply offers its scope (*viṣaya*). Consequently, *Jas* is not marked *udātta*. This would have not been possible without the use of *yatra*.

The use of *udātta* (in *udāttalopaḥ*) is made so that in examples such as *vaidī* and *aurvī*, the affixal *ī* (*NiN*; 4.1.73 *śārṇaravādyaṇo* . . .) conditioning the deletion of *a* of *vaida*, could not be marked *udātta*. For, the *anudātta* *ī* does not cause the deletion of an *udātta* *a*. Isn't *a* an *udātta* in *vaida*? No. Because, as a derivate of *aN* (4.1.104 *vidādibhyo* . . .), it is marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.196? *ñnityādir nityam*) and consequently, 6.1.155 *anudāttam padam* . . . marks its remainder as *anudātta*. Thus, *ī* of *NiN*, in *vaidī*, causes the deletion of an *anudātta*.

### 6.1.159 धातोः

*dhātoḥ*

/dhātoḥ 6/1/

(*anta udāttaḥ* #156)

*dhātor anta udātto bhavati*

The final of a verbal root is marked *udātta*.

### EXAMPLES:

*pacāti*

*ūrnóti*

*gopāyāti*

*yāti*

1. Note that *antaḥ* is carried here. The *a* of *pac*, since it is a monosyllabic root, is marked *udātta*. Affixes *ŚaP* and *tiP* of *pacati* are both *anudātta* because they are marked with *P* as an *it* (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*). The *a* is, subsequently, marked with *svarita* (8.4.66 *udāttānudanudāttasya svaritaḥ*) to yield *pacāti*. A derived root such as *gopāya* is also marked *udātta* at the end. This *a* will again becomes *svarita* to yield *gopāyāti*. The *yā* of *yāti* is *udātta*, where the *ŚaP* gets deleted by 2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ* . . .).

### 6.1.160 चितः

*citah*

/citaḥ 1/1 = cakāra ita yasya (bv.)/  
 (anta udāttaḥ #156)

cito' nta udātto bhavati  
 A form ending in what is marked with C as an *it* is marked *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

bhaṅguram  
 bhāsuram  
 meduram  
 kuṇḍināḥ  
 bahupaṭavaḥ  
 uccakaiḥ

1. The first three examples are derivatives of *GHuraC* (3.2.161 *bhaṅjabhāsamido ghurac*), an affix with C as an *it*. The next example, i.e., *kuṇḍināḥ*, has a replacement in *kuḍinaC*, again marked with C as an *it*.

It is stated that this provision of final *udātta* is intended for the entire form. That is, it is not intended just for the form which may be marked with C as an *it*. Thus, *bahupaṭavaḥ* is derived with *bahuC* marked with C, but it is preposed (5.3.68 *vibhāṣā supo bahuc purastāt*). The final *udātta* conditioned by C as an *it* thus applies to the form *bahupaṭavaḥ*. Similar accent applies to *uccakaiḥ*, a derivative of *akaC*, where the affix is introduced before the *ṭi* of the base (5.3.71 *avyayasarvanāmnām akac prāk ṭeḥ*).

2. A *vārttika* proposal is made in the *Mahābhāṣya* for express purpose of marking derivatives of *bahuC* and *akaC* with final *udātta* (*sapṛkṛter bahvaka-jartham*). Patañjali does not see any need for this *vārttika*. He thinks that the *sūtra* itself can account for it. For, *citaḥ* of the *sūtra* refers to 'a form which has C as an *it*'.

6.1.161 तद्धितस्य

taddhitasya  
 /taddhitasya 6/1/  
 (anta udāttaḥ #156 citaḥ #160)  
 citaḥ taddhitasyānta udātto bhavati

A *taddhita* affix marked with C as an *it* is marked with *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

kauṇjāyanāḥ

1. Why is this rule stated when the preceding itself can account for its function? This rule is needed so that derivatives such as *kauṇjāyanāḥ*, *kauṇjāyanau* and *kauṇjāyanāḥ* could still be marked with final *udātta*. Notice

that affix *CphaN̄* → *āyana* has two *it*-elements, i.e., *C* and *N̄*. Rule 6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam* requires that whatever derives with an affix marked with *N̄* and *N* as an *it* be marked obligatorily with *udātta* at the beginning.

Rule 6.1.160 *citah* would require a final *udātta* for forms ending in an affix marked with *C* as an *it*. Our examples, since they end in an affix marked with *C* and *N̄*, will qualify for both accents. Our present rule is required to resolve such conflicts. Besides, if *N̄* as an *it* were to regulate this accent, *C* as an *it* will become vacuous. For, *N̄* as an *it* has two functions: *vr̥ddhi* and accent. The *C* serves only one purpose of regulating accent.

#### 6.1.162 कितः

*kitah*

/kitah 1/1/

(*anta udāttaḥ* #156 *taddhitasya* #161)

*taddhitasya kito' nta udātto bhavati*

A *taddhita* affix marked with *K* as an *it* is marked *udātta* at the end.

#### EXAMPLES:

*nādāyanaḥ*

*cārāyanaḥ*

*akṣikaḥ*

*śālākikaḥ*

1. This again is an exception to affixal accent (*pratyayasvara*). Recall that an affix, such as *phaK* (4.1.99 *naḍādibhyaḥ phak*) and *ṭhaK* (4.4.2 *tena divyati . . .*) of our examples, is marked *udātta* at the beginning. Forms ending in these affixes could then have been marked *udātta* at the beginning of the affix. And not at the end of derivatives of these affixes which is desired. Thus, an *udātta* in *kauñjāyana* would have obtained at the *ā* and not at the final *a*.

#### 6.1.163 तिसृभ्यो जसः

*tisṛbhyo jasaḥ*

/tisṛbhyaḥ 5/1 jasaḥ 6/1/

(*anta udāttaḥ* #156)

*tisṛbhya uttarasya jaso' nta udātto bhavati*

The final of *jas* which occurs after *tisṛ* is marked *udātta* at the end.

#### EXAMPLES:

*tisras tiṣṭhanti*

1. The word *tisṛ* refers to the replacement of *tri* obtained in feminine (7.2.99 *tricaturo striyām . . .*). The word *tri* is marked *udātta* at the end (*Phīṣṭūtra*



1: *phīṣo' ntodāttaḥ*). Its replacement *tisṛ* will also be marked *udātta* at the end. A *yaN* replacement for *r* yields *tisṛ* + *Jas*, where *r* is a replacement for *r*, an *udātta*. The *a* of *Jas*, an *anudātta* (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*), will thus qualify for a *svārita* of 8.2.4 *udāttasvaritayoḥ*. . . . Our present rule offers *udātta* as an exception to that.

Note that *tisṛ* is always used in the plural. The accent of *JaS* after *tisṛ* remains unaccounted for. The accusative plural *Śas* will be marked *udātta* in view of 6.1.172 *udāttayaṇo halpūrvāt*. Rule 6.1.177 *ṣaṭtricaturbhyo halādiḥ* will account for other endings. This rule provides for *Jas*. It is argued that *Jas* need not be used in the rule. That is, the *sūtra* should have been formulated simply as *tisṛbhyah*. Since *Jas* alone is relevant for accentual specification, the rule would have automatically covered it. But specification by *Jas* is needed so that proper accent can be obtained where *tisṛ* can be used with singular and dual endings. But *tisṛ* is only used in the plural. Not when it occurs as a non-principal constituent in *atitistrau* and *atitistraḥ*. The provision of this rule will not apply to such instances. A non-use of *Jas* could account for accent where *tisṛ* alone is used before *Jas*. A lack of specification by *Jas* will create conflicts in cases where *tisṛ* occurs combined as a secondary constituent.

#### 6.1.164 चतुरः शसि

*caturah śasi*

/caturah 6/1 śasi 7/1/

(*anta udāttaḥ* #156)

*caturah śasi parato'nta udātto bhavati*

The final of *catur* is marked *udātta* at the end when *Śas* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*caturāḥ paśya*

1. The word *catur* is a derviate of *urAN* (*Uṇādi* 5.59 *cater uran*) and hence, is obligatorily marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*). This rule assigns final *udātta* as an exception.

Note that this rule does not apply to *catasṛ*, a replacement of *catur*, used before *Śas* in feminine (7.2.99 *tricaturo striyām* . . .). The accent of *catur* would have applied to *catasṛ* by way of *sthānivadbhāva* 'treating a replacement as if it was the item replaced'.

A proposal is then made for initial *udātta*, instead.

#### 6.1.165 सावेकाचस्तृतीयादिर्विभक्तिः

*sāv ekācas tṛtīyādir vibhaktiḥ*

/sau 7/2 ekācaḥ 1/1 = eko'c yasmin (bv.), tasmāt; tṛtīyādiḥ 1/1 = tṛtīyā ādir yasyāḥ (bv.) vibhaktiḥ 1/1/

(*udāttaḥ* #156)

*su ya ekāc tasmāt parā tṛtīyādir vibhaktir udāttā bhavati*

Nominal endings, enumerated beginning with *tṛtīyā* through *saptamī*, are optionally marked with *udātta* when they occur after a form which remains monosyllabic before *su* of locative plural.

#### EXAMPLES:

*vācā*

*vāgbhyām*

*vāgbhiḥ*

*vāgbhyaḥ*

*yātā*

*yādbhyām*

*yādbhiḥ*

1. This rule assigns *udātta* accent for specified endings under the condition of their occurrence after a form which remains monosyllabic in locative plural. Thus, the instrumental and dative singular endings *Ṭā* and *Ñe* which occur after *rājan* to yield *rājñā* and *rājñé* will not qualify for this accentual provision. For, the locative plural form of *rājan*, i.e., *rājāsu*, does not have a monosyllabic (*ekāc*) form before *su*. The locative plural of *vāk* is *vākṣu*, where we find a monosyllabic form. Consequently, we get *vācā*, *vāgbhyām* and *vāgbhiḥ*, etc.

The condition of *ekāc* will itself block accentual provision of this rule from applying to specified endings occurring after non-monosyllabic nominal stems such as *giri* and *hari* as in *giriṇā* and *hariṇā*. The condition of *tṛtīyādi* 'instrumental, etc.' blocks this provision from applying to *prathamā* and *dvitīyā* as in *vācāu* and *vācāḥ*. Finally, the specification of *ekāc* in *saptamībahuvacana* 'locative plural' blocks this provision from applying to *tvayā* and *tvayi* which are monosyllabic but are instrumental and locative singular, respectively.

#### 6.1.166 अन्तोदात्तादुत्तरपदादन्यतरस्यामनित्यसमासे

*antodāttād uttarapadād anyatarasyām anityasamāse*

/antodāttāt 5/1 uttarapadāt 5/1 anyatarasyām 7/1 anityasamāse 7/1 =  
*nityaḥ samāsaḥ; na nityasamāsaḥ* (*nañ. tatp. with int. karm.*), *tasmīn/*  
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *ekācas tṛtīyādir vibhaktiḥ* #165)

*anityasamāse yad uttarapadam antodāttam ekāc ca tasmāt parā tṛtīyādir vibhaktir anyatarasyām udāttā bhavati*

Nominal endings enumerated beginning with *tṛtīyā* through *saptamī* are optionally marked *udātta* when they occur after a monosyllabic final constituent of a non-obligatory compound (*nityasamāsa*) marked *udātta* at the end.

## EXAMPLES:

*paramavācā*  
*paramavācé*  
*paramatvacā*  
*paramatvacé*

1. This rule makes accentual provision for specified endings occurring after the following monosyllabic constituent of a compound other than one formed obligatorily. Thus, we get *paramavācā* where instrumental singular *Ṭā* is optionally marked *udātta*. The compound, here formed with *parama*, is a *karmadhāraya*. It is also non-obligatory (*anitya*). Rule 6.1.220 *samāsasya* will assign the final *udātta* accent in case this option is not accepted. The word *nityam* of *anityam* refers to compounds which are formed within the domain of *nityam*, for example under the provision of rules 2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ*, etc. The word *nitya* is thus used technically. It does not refer to compounds which may be formed by rules outside the domain governed by *nityam*, but which lack a corresponding paraphrase with their constituents (*asvapada-vigraha*). Consider *agnicitā* and *somasutā*, both instrumental singular forms of *agnicit* and *somasut*, where the compound is allowed by a rule of the domain of *nitya* (*nityādhikāre*). The word *cit* is here *udātta* because of the retention of the original accent of the following *pada* (6.2.139 *gatiḥkārakopapadāt kṛt*). The option of this present rule will not apply here. But now consider *avācā brāhmaṇena* and *suvācā brāhmaṇena* which are *bahuvrīhi* compounds formed outside the domain of *nitya* and which do not yield a parallel paraphrase. These compounds get the final *udātta* of 6.2.172 *bahuvrīhau naṅsubhyām*. The paraphrase in these compounds is made, not with *naṅ* and *su* but with *avidyamānā* and *śobhanā*. Our present rule will thus apply here to offer optional *udātta* to the nominal endings.

A condition of *antodātāt* is necessary so that final *udātta* of this rule can be blocked in *avācā*, *suvācā* and *sutvācā* which are *taṭpuruṣa* compounds ending in *ṭṛīyā* 'instrumental'. The final constituent of these compounds is not final *udātta*. Rule 6.2.2 *taṭpuruṣe tulyārtha* . . . retains the original accent of the initial constituent (*pūrvapada prakṛtisvara*).

The word *uttarapada* is used so that it can be qualified with *ekāc* to yield the interpretation: 'a following constituent which consisted of a single *aC*'. The rule with this interpretation would have applied to *śunaḥ urk* = *śvorjā* but would not have applied to *paramavāc*, since the compound consists of more than one *aC*. That is, *ekāc* would have become a qualifier to the compound (*samāsaviśeṣaṇa*).

6.1.167 अञ्चेच्छन्दस्यसर्वनामस्थानम्

*añceś chandasy asarvanāmasthānam*

/añceḥ 5/1 chandasi 7/1 asarvanāmasthānam 1/1 (nañ. tat.)/  
(udāttaḥ #156 vibhaktiḥ #165)

añceḥ parā asarvanāmasthānavibhaktir udāttā bhavati chandasi viṣaye  
A nominal ending other than *sarvanāmasthāna* is marked with *udātta*,  
in the Vedic, when the same occurs after *añcU*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*indró dadhīco asthibhīh*

1. Consider *dadhīcaḥ* where *dadhīc* is used with *Ñas* 'genitive singular'. Our nominal stem *dadhīc* is derived with affix *KviP* introduced after *añc* used with the cooccurring condition of *dadhi + am* (3.2.59 *ṛtvigdadhyk* . . .). We get *dadhīc* after the deletion of *ñ* (6.4.138 *acaḥ*) and lengthening of *i* (6.3.137 *cau*).

Why use *asarvanāmasthānam* when *ṛṭīyā*, etc., could itself account for it. But *ṛṭīyā*, etc., cannot account for *Śas* 'accusative plural' which is not included within the *sarvanāmasthāna*. It is thus to account for *Śas* that *asarvanāmasthāna* is used as a qualifier. Thus, *Śas* of *prāṭīcaḥ* in *prāṭīco bāhūn* also gets *udātta*.

#### 6.1.168 ऊडिदंपदाद्यप्पुम्रैद्युभ्यः

*ūḍidampadādyappumraidyubhyaḥ*  
/ūḍidampadādyappumraidyubhyaḥ 5/3 = ūṭh ca idañ ca padādayas ca ap  
ca pum ca rai ca dyauś ca = ūḍi . . . divaḥ (itar. dv.), *tebhyaḥ*/  
(udāttaḥ #156 vibhaktiḥ #165 antodāttāt #166 asarvanāmasthānam #167)  
'ūṭh, idam, padādi, ap, pum, rai, div' ity etebhya'  
*sarvanāmasthānavibhaktir udāttā bhavati*

A nominal ending other than *sarvanāmasthāna* is marked *udātta* when it occurs after stems ending in *ūṭh*, and *idam*; nominals enumerated beginning with *pada*, etc., and *ap*, *pum*, *rai*, and *div*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*praṣṭhauhah*  
*praṣṭhauhā*  
*ābhyām*  
*ebhiḥ*  
*nīpadaścatīro jahi*  
*yā dato dhāvāte*  
*apāḥ paśya*  
*adbhiḥ*  
*pumsaḥ*  
*rāyaḥ paśya*  
*divaḥ paśya*

1. Note that *padādi pada*, etc., refers to replacements enumerated beginning with *pada* through *niś* of rule 6.1.61 *padannomāsa*. . . . The *anuvṛtti* of *antodāttāt* blocks *udātta* of a nominal ending where an *anudātta* obtains with reference to *anvādeśa* 'reference to antecedent' (2.4.73 *idamo' nvādeśe*. . . . That is, this rule will not apply when *idam* is not marked *udātta* at the end. Refer to the appendix under 1.1.21 *ādyantavad ekasmin* for derivational details of *ābhyām*. Incidentally, the *a*, of *aś* in *gbhiḥ*, is replaced with *e* of 7.3.103 *bahuvacane jhaly et*.

2. A *vārtika* proposal is made to restrict the provision of this rule to instances of *ūṬH* only when *ūṬH* is penultimate of the base. Thus, consider *akṣadyuvā* which derives from *akṣadyū* + *Ṭā* where *ūṬH* is final. Our present rule will not apply here.

Note that the accentual provision of this rule will apply to a nominal endings occurring after *padādi* when they are replacements as explained. The *Mahābhāṣya* does not say anything about it. Commentators interpret this specification of *padādi* as *vyavasthita-vibhāṣā* 'fixed option'. This is done by carrying *anyatarasyām* from 6.1.166 *antodāttād*. . . . The *padādi*-replacements all are *ekāC* and hence create conflicts of accentuation with 6.1.165 *sāv ekācas*. . . .

### 6.1.169 अष्टनो दीर्घात्

*aṣṭano dīrghāt*

/aṣṭanaḥ 5/1 dīrghāt 5/1/

(*udāttaḥ* #156 *vibhaktiḥ* #165 *asarvanāmasthānam* #167)

*aṣṭano dīrghāntād asarvanāmasthānavibhaktir udātā bhavati*

A nominal ending which is not *sarvanāmasthāna* is marked *udātta* when it occurs after *aṣṭan* 'eight' ending in a long vowel.

#### EXAMPLES:

*aṣṭāḥ*

*aṣṭābhyah*

*aṣṭāsu*

1. Note that *aṣṭan* is enumerated in the *ghṛtādi* group of nominals. It is marked *udātta* at the end (*Phitsūtra*: 21). The final (1.1.51 *alo'nyasya*) *n* of *aṣṭan* is replaced with *ā* (*ātva*) by 7.2.84 *aṣṭan ā vibhaktau*. We thus get two sets of forms of *aṣṭan*, i.e., *aṣṭa* and *aṣṭā*. The provisions of this rule apply to an ending which occurs after *aṣṭā*. The *anuvṛtti* of *anudāttāt* is not applicable here since *aṣṭā* will already be *anudātta* at the end.

2. The use of the word *dīrghāt* has several implications. Firstly, it indicates that the *ā*-replacement of *n* of *aṣṭan* is optional. For, a specification by *dīrghāt* will be useless if there was no form of *aṣṭan* ending in a short *a*. Secondly, it also indicates that the form of *aṣṭan* replaced with *ā* is termed *ṣaṭ* (1.1.24

*ṣnāntā ṣaṭ*). For, if this *jñāpaka* ‘indication’ is not accepted, this accentual provision (conditioned by *ā*) will be blocked by the subsequent provision of 6.1.176 *ṣatṭricaturbhyo halādiḥ*, read with 6.1.177 *jhalṇ upottamam*, on the basis of *paratva*. Of course, in contexts where *ā*-replacement does not apply.

### 6.1.170 शतुरनुमोनद्याजादी

*śaturanumo nadyajādī*

/śatuḥ 5/1 anumah 5/1 = *nāsti numah yasya* (bv.), *tasmāt*; *nadyajādī* 1/2 = *ac ādir yasya* (bv.); *nadī ca ajādīs ca* (itar. dv.)/

(*udāttah* #156 *vibhaktiḥ* #165 *antodāttāt* #166 *asarvanāmasthānam* #169) *anumah yah śatṛpratyayas tadantād antodāttāt parā nadī ajādir vibhaktir asarvanāmasthānam udāttā bhavati*

That which is termed a *nadī*, and a non-*sarvanāmasthāna* nominal ending beginning with a vowel as well, are marked *udātta* when they occur after a form which, marked *anudātta* at the end, terminates in affix *ŚatR* with no introduction of augment *nUM*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*tudatī*

*nudatī*

*lunatī*

*pūnatī*

*tudatā*

*nudatā*

*lunatā*

*pūnatā*

1. Note that *antodāttāt* is carried here. The word *nadī* is used with its technical sense in consonance with 1.4.3 *yūstryākhyau nadī*. The *ī* of a *nadī* is marked *udātta* when an optional augment *nUM* is not introduced by 7.1.80 *ācchinadyor num*. Our present rule does not apply where the option of *nUM* is accepted. Thus, we get *tudāntī* and *nudāntī*.

Now consider *tudatī*, derived from *tud* + *Śa* + (*LAṬ* → *ŚatR*) = (*tud* + *a* + *at*) *ṆiP*), where *ṆiP* is *anudātta* because of its *Pas* an *it* (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*). The *ŚatR* replacement of *LAṬ*, a *sārvadhātuka*, becomes *anudātta* in view of 6.1.183 *tasyānudāttennīdupadeśāl*. . . . This *anudātta*, along with the *udātta* of *tud*, is jointly replaced with *udātta* by 8.2.5 *ekādeśa udāttēnodāttah*. The *ī* of *nadī* can then be marked with *udātta*, since it will be occurring after an *udātta*. But 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham* will make the result, i.e., *udātta* of *tudat* + *ī*, suspended (*aiddha*). That is, now *ī* will not be occurring after an *udātta*. Consequently, it cannot be marked *udātta* by our present rule. The specification of *anum* in this *sūtra*, along with the split interpretation (*yogavibhāga*) of *n* in 8.2.3 *na mune*, becomes an indicator (*jñāpaka*) that an accentual single re-

placement (*ekādeśa*) does not become *asiddha*. Thus we get: *tudatī* and *nudatī*. Incidentally, *lunatā* and *ṣunatā* are derivatives with *Śnā* where the *ā* of (*lu + nā + at*) + *Ṭā*) and (*ṣu + nā + at*) + *Ṭā*) is deleted (6.4.112 *śnābhyoṣ tayor ātaḥ*). Incidentally, the long *ū* of verbal roots *lūṆ* and *ṣūṆ* are replaced with short by 7.3.80 *pvādinām hrasvaḥ*.

2. The condition of *nadyajādī* excludes the application of this rule to *tudadbhyām* and *nudadbhyām* where the ending starts with a consonant. The condition of *antodāttāt* is also necessary to exclude examples such as *dadātī* and *dadhātaḥ* where 6.1.186 *abhyastānām ādīḥ* requires an initial *udātta*.

3. A *vārttika* proposal is also made here to bring *bṛhatī*/*bṛhatā* and *mahatī*/*mahatā* within the scope of this rule.

### 6.1.171 उदात्तयणो हल्पूर्वात्

*udāttayaṇo halpūrvāt*

*/udāttayaṇaḥ 5/1 = udāttasya yaṇ (ṣaṣ. tat.), tasmāt; halpūrvāt 5/1 = hal pūrvō yasya (bv.), tasmāt/*

(*udāttaḥ* #156 *vibhaktiḥ* #165 *asarvanāmasthānam* #167 *nadyajādī* #170)

*udāttasthāne yo yaṇ halpūrvas tasmāt parā naḍī ajādir ya'*

*sarvanāmasthānavibhaktir udāttā sā bhavati*

That which is termed a *naḍī*, and a non-*sarvanāmasthāna* nominal ending beginning with a vowel as well, are marked *udātta* when they occur after a *yaN* (*y, v, r, l*) which replaces an *udātta* occurring after a *hal* (consonant).

#### EXAMPLES:

*kārtrī*

*hārtrī*

*pralāvitrī*

*kārtrā*

*hārtrā*

*pralāvitrā*

1. Note that examples of this rule are all derivatives of *ṭrC*. The bases are thus all marked *udātta* at the end (6.1.160 *citaḥ*). A *yaN*-replacement in *r*, which replaces the *udātta* *r*, occurs after the consonant *t*. This occasions the *udātta* accent for *ī* and the endings. This rule blocks the *svarita* of 8.2.4 *udāttasvaritayor yaṇaḥ svarito' nudāttasya*.

2. The condition of *udātta* is necessary so that *kartrī*/*kartrā* and *hartrī*/*hartrā* can be excluded. These derivatives end in *ṭrN* and are, hence, *udātta* at the beginning. The condition of *hal* is required to exclude examples where *yaN* does not occur after a consonant. Thus, consider *bahutītaṇā* which derives from *bahutita* (*u → v*) + *Ṭā*.

3. A *vārttika* proposal is also made to include bases which end in *n*. Thus, we get *vākyapatnīyam* where 4.1.36 *vibhāṣā sapūrvasya* introduces *n* as a final

replacement of *patnī* and *ÑiP* is introduced by 4.1.5 *ṛnnebhyo ñīp*. Since *pati* is marked *udātta* at the end, and this *udātta* retains after the replacement, *ÑiP* becomes *udātta*.

### 6.1.172 नोङ्धात्वोः

*noṇdhātvoḥ*

*/na φ ūṇdhātvoḥ 6/2 = ūṇ ca dhātuś ca (itar. dv.), tayoh/*

(*udāttaḥ* #156 *vibhaktiḥ* #165 *asarvanāmasthānam* #169 *nadyajādī* #170

*udātta yaṇo halpūrvāt* #171)

That which is termed a *naḍī*, and a non-*sarvanāmasthāna* nominal ending beginning with a vowel as well, are not marked *udātta*, provided they occur after *ūṇ*, or a *yaṇ*-replacement of a verbal root which replaces an *udātta* and after a *haL* (consonant).

#### EXAMPLES:

*brahmabandhvā*

*brahmabandhve*

*vīrabandhvā*

*vīrabandhvé*

*śakṛtvā*

*śakṛtvé*

*khalāpvé*

1. This *sūtra* negates what the preceding *sūtra* provides. Note that the qualification of *naḍī* does not apply here. A *naḍī* is not found occurring after *ūṇ* and a *dhātu*. Now consider our two examples, *brahmabandhvā* and *brahmabandhve*, where a *bahuvrīhi* is formed parallel to *brahmā bandhur asyāḥ*, and *ūṇ*, an *udātta* (3.1.3 *ādyudāttaḥ*) by affixal accent (*pratyayasvara*), is introduced after the compound. The short *u* of *brahmabandhu*, along with the long of *ūṇ* (4.1.66 *ūṇ utaḥ*), is then replaced with a single long *ū*. This single long replacement (*ekādeśa*) is marked *udātta* by 8.1.5 *ekādeśa udāttēnodāttaḥ*. The long *ū* is further replaced with its *yaṇ*-counterpart *v*, under the following condition of nominal endings *Ṭā* ‘instrument singular’ and *Ñe* ‘dative singular’. These nominal endings, because of the negation of this *sūtra*, cannot be marked *udātta* as the earlier rule provides. They must be marked *svarita* by 8.2.4 *udāttasvaritayoh*. . . . The rest can be marked *anudātta* in view of 6.1.155 *anudāttaṃ padam*. . . .

This negation also applies after the *yaṇ* of a verbal root. Thus, *śakṛtvā*, *śakṛtvé* and *khalāpvé*, where *śakṛllū* and *khalāpū* are *uapapada-samāsa*, parallel to *śakṛl lunāti* and *khalāp punāti*. Verbal roots *lū* and *pū* occur here before affix *KuIP*. This affix is a *kṛt*, and consequently, 6.4.83 *oḥ supi* orders *yaṇ* as a replacement of *ū*, an *anudātta* (*Kāś*: *kvibantasya kvibuttara-padaprakṛtisva-reṇāntodāttasya ‘oḥ supi’ iti yaṇādeśaḥ*).



## 6.1.173 ह्रस्वनुद्ध्यां मतुप्

*hrasvanuḍbhyām matuḥ*

/hrasvanuḍbhyām 5/2 = hrasvaś ca nuṭ ca (itar. dv.), tābhyām; matuḥ 1/1/

(udāttaḥ #156 antodāttāt #166)

*hrasvāntād antodāttān nuṭaś ca paro matuḥ udātto bhavati*

Affix *matUP* is marked *udātta* when it occurs either after a form which ends in a *hrasva* 'short' vowel marked *udātta*, or after augment *nUT*.

## EXAMPLES:

*agnīmān*

*vāyūmān*

*kartṛmān*

*hartṛmān*

*akṣaṇvatā*

*śiṛṣavātā*

1. The bases of our derivatives *agnīmān*, *vāyūmān*, *kartṛmān* and *hartṛmān* all end in a short vowels. The first two are marked *udātta* at the end by nominal stem accent (*prātipadikasvara*). The next two end in affix *trC* and hence are accented in view of 6.1.160 *citāḥ*. Affix *matUP* is introduced after *akṣan* by 5.2.94 *tad asyāstīti*. . . . Now consider *akṣaṇvatā* and *śiṛṣavātā* where 7.1.76 *chandasy api dṛśyate* introduces *anAN* to yield *akṣ(i→an(AN) + mat(UP) = akṣan + mat*. Augment *nUT* is then introduced by 8.2.16 *ano nuṭ*. The *n* is, of course, deleted by 8.2.7 *nalopah*. . . . The final forms are derived with the introduction of instrumental singular *Tā* with subsequent replacement of *m→v* and of *n→ṇ*. The second example involves a replacement in *śiṛṣan* (6.1.60 *śiṛṣan chandasi*). Affix *matUP* is here marked *udātta*.

2. A *paribhāṣā* of Vyāḍi (*svaravidhau vyañjanam avidyamānavat*) which makes a consonant as if non-existent with reference to accentual operations does not apply here. For, this specification by *nUT* would become useless. Thus, consider, for an exception, *magrutvān*.

A *vārttika* proposal also requires *matUP* to be marked *udātta* when it occurs after *re*. Thus, *ārgvān*. Yet another proposal negates this *udātta* when *matUP* occurs after *tri*, for example, in (*tri + mat + NīP*) + *sU*) = *trivatiḥ*.

## 6.1.174 नामान्यतरस्याम्

*nāmāny anyatarasyām*

/nāmāni 1/3 anyatarasyām 7/1/

(udāttaḥ #156 vibhaktiḥ #165 antodāttāt #166 hrasvaḥ matuḥ #173)

*matuḥ pi yo hrasvas tadantād antodāttād anyatarasyām nām udātto bhavati*

An optional *udātta* is assigned to *nām* when it follows *matUP*, used after that which terminates in a short vowel and is marked *udātta* at the end.

## EXAMPLES:

*agnīnām*  
*agninām*  
*vāyūnām*  
*vāyūnām*  
*karṣṇām*  
*karṣṇām*

1. Note that the bases of these genitive plurals all end in a corresponding short vowel when *matUP* is introduced. Note that *hrasva* is qualified here with *matUP* to yield the meaning: ‘... ending in a *hrasva* occurring before *matUP*’. This way, *udātta* can be obtained with reference to current (*sām-pratika*) *hrasva* and *bhūtapūrva* ‘one which was short previously’, as well. Thus, we get *ṭisṛnām* and *catasṛnām* as examples.

The condition of *nUT* is needed so that this rule does not apply to *dhenvām* and *śakṭyām* where we have *ām* (7.3.116 *ñer ām* . . .), but no *nUT*. The final *udātta* of 6.1.171 *udāttayaṇo halpūrvāt* thus applies. The condition of *hrasvāt* keeps examples such as *kumārīnām*, where *kumārī* ends in a long vowel, out of the scope of this rule. Finally, *nām* cannot be marked *udātta* also when it does not occur after a base marked *udātta* at the end. Consider *vasūnām* and *trapūnām* where *vasu* and *trapu* are marked *udātta* at the beginning.

## 6.1.175 ड्याश्छन्दसि बहुलम्

*nyās chandasi bahulam*  
 /nyāḥ 5/1 chandasi 7/1 bahulam 1/1/  
 (udāttah #156 vibhaktiḥ #165 nām #174)  
*nyantāc chandasi viṣaye nām udātto bhavati bahulam*  
 A *nām* used after that which ends in *ŌyāP*, in the Vedic, is variously marked *udātta*.

## EXAMPLES:

*devaśenānāmabhibhañjatinām*  
*bahvīnām pītā*  
*nādinām pāre*  
*yayāntīmām mṛgūtāḥ*

1. Note that *bhañjati* and *bahvī* are derivatives of *ŌiP*. This provision of *udātta* may, as indicated by *bahulam* ‘variously’, not be found in other examples. Thus, consider *nādinām*, of *nādinām pāre*, and *jayāntīnām*, of *jayāntīnām mṛgūtāḥ*, where *nām* is marked *anudātta* because of being a *vibhakti* ‘nominal ending’.

## 6.1.176 षट्त्रिचतुर्भ्यो हलादिः

*ṣaṭṭricaturbhyo halādih*

/ṣaṭtricaturbhyaḥ 5/3 = ṣaṭ ca trayaś ca catvāraś ca (itar. dv.), tebhyaḥ, halādiḥ  
 1/1 = hal ādir yasya (bv.)/  
 (udāttaḥ #156 vibhaktiḥ #165)

ṣaṭsaṃjñakebhyaḥ, 'tri, catur'ity etābhyām ca parā halādir vibhaktir udāttā bhavati

A nominal ending which begins with a consonant is marked with *udātta* when it occurs either after an item termed *ṣaṭ*, or after *tri* and *catur*.

EXAMPLES:

ṣadbhiḥ  
 ṣadbhyaḥ  
 ṣannām  
 pañcānām  
 tribhiḥ  
 trayānām  
 caturbhyaḥ  
 caturām

1. Note that *antodāttāt* is not carried here. Stems such as *ṣaṣ*, *pañcan* and *saptan* are termed *ṣaṭ* (1.1.24 *ṣṇāntā ṣaṭ*). The condition of *halādi* is needed to exclude examples such as *catasraḥ* where *Śas* 'accusative plural' begins with a vowel (*ajādi*).

#### 6.1.177 इत्युपोत्तमम्

jhalṃ upottamam  
 /jhalī 7/1 upottamam 1/1/  
 (udāttaḥ #156 vibhaktiḥ #165 ṣaṭtricaturbhyaḥ #176)  
 ṣaṭtricaturbhyo yā jhalādir vibhaktis tadante pade upottamam udāttaḥ bhavati  
 The *upottama* 'penultimate; next to the last' of a *pada* is marked with *udātta* when it ends in a consonant-initial nominal ending introduced either after a stem termed *ṣaṭ*, or after *tri* and *catur*.

EXAMPLES:

pañcabhiś tapas tapati  
 saptabhiḥ parān jayati  
 tiṣṭbhiś ca vahāse triṃsatā  
 caturbhiḥ

1. This rule assigns *udātta* to the next to the last (*upottama*; also cf. *upadhā*; 1.1.64 *alo' ntyāt pūrva upadhā*) of a *pada*, derived with a consonant-initial nominal ending introduced after *ṣaṭ*, *tri* and *catur*. Consider *pañcabhiḥ*, *saptabhiḥ*, *tiṣṭbhiḥ* and *caturbhiḥ* where the next to the last *a*, *ṛ* and *u* are marked *udātta*. Note that *upottama* is explained as next to the last (*uttama*)

vowel of a word consisting of at least three syllables (*Kāś*: *triprabhṛtīnām antyam uttamam*; *tasya samīpam upottamam*; also see notes under 4.1.78 *añiñor* . . .).

2. Derivates such as *pañcānām* and *spatānām* are offered as counter-examples where *ām* is a nominal ending beginning with a vowel (*ajādi*). Derivates such as *ṣaḍbhiḥ* and *ṣaḍbhyaḥ* are also treated as exception since they do not meet the condition of *upottama*. These words contain only two vowels.

### 6.1.178 विभाषा भाषायाम्

*vibhāṣā bhāṣāyām*

/vibhāṣā 1/1 bhāṣāyām 7/1/

(*udāttaḥ* #156 *vibhaktiḥ* +165 *ṣaṭtricaturbhyaḥ* #176)

*ṣaṭtricaturbhyo yā jhalādir vibhaktis tadante pade upottamam udāttaṁ bhavati vibhāṣā bhāṣāyām viṣaye*

The next to the last (*upottama*) vowel of a *pada* which, in the Classical language, ends in a consonant-initial nominal ending introduced after an item termed *ṣaṭ*, or after *tri* and *catur*, is marked *udātta*, only optionally.

#### EXAMPLES:

*pañcābhiḥ*

*pañcābhiḥ*

*saptābhiḥ*

*saptābhiḥ*

*tisṛbhiḥ*

*tisṛbhiḥ*

*caturbhiḥ*

*caturbhiḥ*

1. This rule offers an optional *udātta* in the *bhāṣā* 'classical language'. Thus, the *udātta* of the *upottama* becomes optional to the *udātta* of the nominal ending.

### 6.1.179 न गोश्वन्साववर्णराडङकुङ्कृद्भ्यः

*na gośvansāvavarṇarāḍaṅkruṅkṛdbhyaḥ*

/na φ go-śvan-sāvavarṇa-rāḍ-aṅ-kruṅ-kṛdbhyaḥ 5/1 = sau avarṇam = sāvavarṇam (*sapt. tat.*); gauś ca śvā ca sāvavarṇañ ca rāṭ ca aṅ ca kruṅ ca kṛt ca (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyah*/

'go, śvan, sāvavarṇaḥ, rāḍ, aṅ, kruṅ, kṛd' ity etebhyo yad uktam tan na bhavati Provisions made by the preceding rules do not apply to go 'cow', śvan 'dog', sāvavarṇa 'a form which ends in a when used with the nominative singular sU', rāṭ 'a KuIP-derivate of rāj', aṅ 'a KuIN-derivate of aṅcU', kruṅ 'a KuIN-derivate of kruṅ' and kṛt 'a KuIP-derivate of kṛ' 'to do' and kṛt 'to cut'.

## EXAMPLES:

gavā  
 gavé  
 gobhyām  
 sugunā  
 sugavé  
 sugubhyām  
 śunā  
 śuné  
 śvabhyām  
 paramaśunā  
 paramaśuné  
 paramaśvabhyām  
 yebhyaḥ  
 tebhyaḥ  
 kebhyaḥ  
 rājā  
 paramarājāḥ  
 prācā  
 prāce  
 prāgbhyām  
 kruñcā  
 paramakruñcā  
 kṛtā  
 paramakṛtā

1. Note that this rule makes negative provisions against some positives already made. Thus, consider *gavā*, etc., where this rule negates the *udātta* of nominal endings made available by 6.1.165 *sāva ekācas*. . . . The *udātta* of the nominal stem *go* will be retained here. A similar negation applies to *sugunā* etc., where *anudātta* is optionally available to nominal endings by 6.1.166 *antodāttād uttarapadād*. . . . The final *udātta* of the following *pada* (6.2.171 *nañsubhyām*) is thus retained. The *udātta* is similarly negated in *śunā* and *paramaśunā*, etc. Provisions of 6.1.165 *sāv ekācas*. . . and 6.1.166 *antodāttāt*. . . (in combination with *parama*) are again negated. Our examples, *yebhyaḥ*, *tebhyaḥ* and *kebhyaḥ*, are derivatives of *bhyas* introduced after *yad*, *tad* and *kim*. The word *rājā* is a derivative of *KvIP* introduced after *rājR* 'glow'. But *añ* is a derivative of *KvIN* introduced after *añcU*. This nasalized reference to *añcU* is intended for restricting this negation to only where no deletion of *n* occurs. Recall that 6.4.30 *nāñceḥ pūjāyām* blocks such deletion when *añc* is used with the denotatum of praise (*pūjā*). A similar specification for accental negation is also made by *kruñ*, again a derivative of *KvIN* (3.2.59 *ṛtvigdadhrk*. . .). A reference with *kṛt*, a derivative of *KvIP*, is made to include

both *kṛ* or *kṛI* 'to cut'. A derivate of *kṛ* will, of course, involve introduction of *tUK* (6.1.71 *hrasvasya pitikṛti tuk*). Similar explanations apply to other compound bases.

### 6.1.180 दिवो झल्

*divo jhal*

/divaḥ 5/1jhal 1/1/

(*udāttaḥ* #156 *vibhaktiḥ* #165 *na* #179)

*divaḥ parā jhalādir vibhaktir nodāttā bhavati*

A nominal ending which begins with a *jhaL* (Śś. 8–14) and occurs after *div* 'heaven' is not marked with *udātta*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*dyubhyām*

*dyubhiḥ*

1. This rule negates the *udātta*, of 6.1.160 *sāv ekācas . . . and* 6.1.163 *ūḍidamṣa . . .*, in favor of the initial *udātta* of the nominal stem. The condition of *jhalādi* is imposed to exclude *divā*, etc., where the ending begins with a vowel (*ajādi*).

### 6.1.181 नृ चान्यतरस्याम्

*nṛ cānyatarasyām*

/nṛ (5/1 deleted) ca φ anyatarasyām 7/1/

(*udāttaḥ* #156 *vibhaktiḥ* #165 *na* #179 *jhal* #180)

'*nṛ*' *ity etasmāt parā jhalādir vibhaktir anyatarasyām nodāttā bhavati*

A nominal ending which begins with a *jhaL* (Śś. 8–14) and occurs after *nṛ* 'man' is optionally not marked with *udātta*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*nṛbhiḥ* 'instrumental plural of *nṛ*'

*nṛbhyām* 'dative-ablative dual . . .'

*nṛbhyāḥ* 'dative-ablative plural . . .'

*nṛṣu* 'locative plural . . .'

1. This negation applies optionally to the nominal stem accent (*prātipadikasvara*). The *udātta* of 6.1.165 *sāv ekācas . . .* will apply if this negative option is not accepted.

### 6.1.182 तित्स्वरितम्

*tit svaritam*

/tit 1/1 = *takāra it yasya* (*bv.*); *svaram* 1/1/

*tit svaritam bhavati*

That which is marked with *T* as an *it* is marked with *savrita*.

EXAMPLES:

*cīkīrṣyám*  
*jīhīrṣyám*  
*kāryám*  
*kāryám*  
*hāryám*

1. This rule is an exception to the more general initial *udātta* of an affix (3.1.3 *āyudāttaś ca*). Thus, *cīkīrṣyám* and *jīhīrṣyám* are derivatives of *yaT* (3.1.97 *aco yat*) introduced after the derived roots *cīkīrṣa* and *jīhīrṣa*. Recall that the *a* of . . . *ṣa* is deleted by 6.4.48 *ato lopah*. Affix *yaT*, because of its *t* as an *it*, is marked *svarita*. Consequently, 6.1.155 *anudāttaṃ padam . . .* marks the remainder as *anudātta*. Our next two derivatives of *ṆyaT* (3.1.124 *ṛhalor ṇyat*) follow similar rules.

6.1.183 तास्यनुदात्तेन् ङिदुपदेशाल्लसार्वधातुकमनुदात्तमहन्विडोः

*tāsyānudāttēnnidadupadeśāl lasārvadhātukam anudāttaṃ ahnviṇoḥ*  
*/tāsyānudāttēnnidadupadeśāt 5/1 = anudātta ita yasya sa = anudāttet*  
*(bv.); nākāra it yasya sa = nit (bv.); at cāsau upadeśaś ca = adupadeśaḥ*  
*(karma); tāsiś ca anudāttec ca nīc ca adupadeśaś ca (sam. dv.), tasmāt;*  
*lasārvadhātukam 1/1 = lasya sārvidhātukam = lasārvadhātukam (ṣaś. tat.);*  
*anudāttaṃ 1/1 ahnviṇoḥ 6/2 hnuś ca in ca = hnuīau (itar. dv.); na hnuīau*  
*(nañ. tat.), tayoh/*  
*tāser anudātteto nito' kārāntopadeśāc ca śabdāt paraṃ*  
*lasārvadhātukam anudāttaṃ ca bhavati 'hnuñ, in' ity etābhyāṃ paraṃ*  
*varjayitvā*

A *sārvadhātuka* replacement of *LA* is also marked with *anudātta* when it occurs after the following with the exception of *hnuñ* and *iñ*: that which ends in *tāsI*; a verbal root marked with an *anudātta* as *it*; a verbal root which is marked with *Ṇ* as *it*; that which is given as ending in *a* in *upadeśa*.

EXAMPLES:

*karttā*  
*karttārau*  
*karttārah*  
*āsté*  
*vasté*  
*sūté*  
*śeté*  
*tudatāh*

*n̄datāḥ*  
*pacātāḥ*  
*paṭhātāḥ*

1. This again is an exception to the general provision of affixal *udātta* at the beginning. Consider *kartā*, from *kṛ* + *LUT*, where third person singular, dual and plural replacements of *LUT* are replaced with *Dā*, *rau* and *ras* (2.4.85 *luṭaḥ prathamasya dāraurasah*). We thus get the *ātmanepada* form: *kṛ* + (*ta*→*(D)* *ā* = *kṛ* + *ā*→*kṛ* + *tās* + *ā*, where 3.1.33 *syatāsi lṛluṭoḥ* introduces *tās*. The *ās* of *tās* goes through *ṭi*-deletion and the *guṇa* of *ṛ*, with its following *ṛ*, produces *k(ṛ→ar) + t(ās→ḥ) + ā = kartā*. Similar rules apply in deriving *kartārau* and *kartāraḥ* where third personal dual and plural active endings *tas* and *jhi* will be replaced with: *rau* and *ras*, respectively.

Note that these derivatives involve a fairly complex interaction of accentual rules. Thus, *kartā* involves interaction of the accent of *dhātu*, *tās* and *ā*. Let us understand this in view of the derivation of *kartārau* and *kartāraḥ* where *kṛ* is marked *udātta* (6.1.159 *dhātoḥ*). Affixes *tas* and *jhi* will also bring their affixal *udātta*. This same will apply to augment *tās*. Both *rau* and *ras* are also marked *udātta* by affixal accent (*pratyayasvara*; 3.1.3 *ādy udātta ca*; 3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*). How come the existing accent of *tās* could not block the *udātta* of *rau* and *ras*? Because *sati śiṣṭo' pi vikaraṇasvaro lasārvadhātuka-svaram na bādhathe* 'the accent of a *vikaraṇa*, even though existent, does not block the accent of a *sārvadhātuka* replacement of *LA*'. The *udātta* of *rau* and *ras* is then marked *anudātta* by our present rule.

2. Verbal root *āsĀ* 'to sit, stay' and *vasĀ* 'to cover' are marked with *anudātta* as their *it*, and hence, allow *ātmanepada* 'middle' endings. The *te*, in *āste* and *vaste*, because of being a *sārvadhātuka* replacement of *LA*, is marked *anudātta*. Because of the accent of root (6.1.159 *dhātoḥ*), this *anudātta* is finally replaced with *svarita* (8.4.66 *udāttād anudāttasya svaritaḥ*). Thus we get *āsté* and *vasté*. Derivates of verbal roots *ṣūṆ* and *ṣiṆ*, i.e., *sūté* and *śeté*, illustrate the specification by *Nit*. Now consider *tuḍatāḥ* and *n̄datāḥ*, examples of a verbal root ending in *a* in *upadeśa* (*adupadeśa*). These roots will be marked *udātta* in view of 6.1.159 *dhātoḥ*. Affix *tas* will then be marked *udātta* by affixal accent (3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*). Augment *Śa*, which is then introduced, also ends in *a* in *upadeśa*. Our present *sūtra* will mark *tas* as *anudātta* in view of *Śa* ending in *a* in *upadeśa*. The *tas* finally becomes a *svarita*. This same applies to the derivation of *pacātāḥ* and *paṭhātāḥ* where *ŚaP* is still considered ending in *a* in *upadeśa*. For, *anubandhas*, here *Ś* and *P*, are not treated as part of *ŚaP*, in *upadeśa*.

The last two examples, i.e., *pacamānaḥ* and *yajamānaḥ*, involve *ŚānaC* (3.2.124 *laṭaḥ śatṛśānacāv . . .*) and augment *mUK* (7.2.82 *āne muk*). A question is raised as to whether *mUK* is to be introduced to the root which still stays *adupadeśa* with *ŚaP*, or it should be accepted as introduced to the *aṅga*



which ends in *a*? In the first case, the *adupadeśa* status of the root will remain intact. For, an *āgama* becomes part of what it is introduced to (*Paribhāṣā* (PŚ:12): *yadāgamā guṇibhūtās tadgrahaṇena grhyante*). This can clear the way for *anudatta* of the *sārvadhātuka* replacement. If one accepts the second position, then *mUK* will intervene between *adupadeśa* and suffix *tas*. The *anudatta* of *tas* can then not be accomplished. Commentators state that *tas* can still be marked *anudatta* even with this second option. They state that *mUK* will be treated as externally conditioned (*bahiraṅga*) in view of accentuation of *tas*, an operation conditioned internally (*antaraṅga*). That is, in matters of accentuation (*svaravidhī*), augment *mUM* (*mugāgama*) will be treated as external (*bahiraṅga*). But do not forget the accent of *ŚānaC* which will avail the accent in view of its *C* as an *it*. This accent will be blocked by subsequent accent of the *sārvadhātuka* affix *tas*.

3. The condition of *tās*, etc. is required so that affixes such as *tas* and *jhi*, for example in *cinutaḥ* and *cinvanti*, can be excluded. But the *Śnu* in these examples is treated as marked with *Ñ* (1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit*)? Only when an operation on what precedes, and not on what follows, is to be performed (*pūrvasya kāryam prati nid bhavati na tu parasya*). That is, it can be considered a *Ñit* for blocking *guṇa* of *i* of *ci*. It cannot be considered a *Ñit* for accent on what follows. One may even accept the *Ñit* of this *sūtra* as referring to a *Ñit* in *upadeśa*, and not to an extensional (*ātideśika*) *Ñit*.

The condition of *adupadeśa* similarly excludes examples such as *hṛtaḥ* and *hṛthaḥ* where *tas* and *thas* occur after *han*, a root ending in *n* in *upadeśa*. The condition of *lasārvadhātukam* is necessary so that *paṇamānāḥ*, etc., do not come within the scope of this rule. Affix *CānaŚ* (3.2.129 *tācchilyavayovacana . . .*) is here introduced directly. It is not a replacement of *LA*. The condition of *sārvadhātukam* similarly excludes *śiśye*, *śiśyāte* and *śiśyiré*, where replacements of *LIT*, i.e., *eŚ*, *āte* and *ireC* (3.4.81 *liṭas tajhayor . . .*), are not *sārvadhātuka*. Finally, *hnyūte* and *yad ādhūte* are used to illustrate the exclusion of *hnviṇoh*. Particle *yat* is here used to indicate the retention of the root accent (8.1.30 *nipātailr yadyadi . . .*).

#### 6.1.184 आदिः सिचोऽन्यतरस्याम्

*ādiḥ sico' nyatarasyām*

/ādiḥ 1/1 sicaḥ 6/1 anyatarasyām 7/1/

(*udattaḥ* #156)

*sijantasya anyatarasyām ādir udatto bhavati*

The initial (*ādi*) of that which ends in *sIC* is optionally marked *udatta*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*mā hi kārṣṭām*

*mā hi kārṣṭām*

*mā hi lāviṣṭām*  
*mā hi lāviṣṭām*

1. This optional *udātta* applies to a form which ends in augment *sIC*. Thus, we get *mā hi kārṣṭām* and *mā hi kārṣṭām*, where the first is *udātta*, initially, as per this rule. The second is marked *udātta* at the end in view of affixal accent (3.1.3 *ādyudāttaśca*). But consider *mā hi lāviṣṭām* and *mā hi lāviṣṭām*, where the first is marked *udātta* at the beginning. The second, however, is marked *udātta* in the middle (*madhyodātta*). The *anudātta* of *sIC*, because it is marked with *C* as an *it* (*citkarana*), is blocked. The *i* of augment *iṭ* (7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*), since it becomes part of that which ends in a *sIC*, is marked *udātta* in view of *C* as an *it* of *sIC*. A preceding *hi* in these examples illustrates that the *anudātta* of 8.1.34 *hi ca* is negated.

2. A *vārttika* proposes that, in matters of initial *udātta* of a form ending in *sIC*, an affix marked with *P* as an *it* and not used with *iṭ* should be optionally marked *udātta*. Thus consider *mā hi kārṣam* and *mā hi kārṣām* where *miP* is an affix marked with *P* as an *it*. It is also marked *anudātta* (3.1.4 *anudāttau supītau*). We would get only one form in the absence of the *vārttika* proposal. That is, with *udātta* initially in view of 6.1.159 *dhātoḥ*. This restricted proposal in the context of non-*iṭ* allows another form with *udātta* in the middle (*madhyodātta*).

#### 6.1.185 स्वपादिहिंसामच्यनिटि

*svapādihiṁsām acy aniṭi*

/svapādihiṁsām 6/1 = *svap ādir yeṣām te* (bv.); *svapādayaś ca hiṁś ca* (itar. dv.), *teṣām; aci 7/1 aniṭi 7/1* (bv.), *tasmin/*

(*udāttaḥ* #156 *lasārvadhātukam* #183 *ādiḥ anyatarasyām* #184)

*svapādīnām hiṁśeś cājādāv aniṭi lasārvadhātuke parato' nyatarasyām ādir udātto bhavati*

The initial of *svap*, etc., and of *hiṁś* as well, is optionally marked *udātta* when a replacement of *LA* which begins with an *aC* and does not permit augment *iṭ* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*svapānti*  
*svapānti*  
*śvasanti*  
*śvasanti*  
*hiṁsanti*  
*hiṁsanti*

1. This rule offers optional *udātta* at the beginning of specified roots. Of course, when a *sārvadhātuka* replacement of *LA* which begins with an *aC* and is not used with *iṭ* follows. Incidentally, *lasārvadhātukam*, a form ending

in the nominative (*prathamā*), is here changed into locative (*saptamī*) in relation to *aci* and *aniṭi*. Thus, we get two examples where, in one, we get initial *udātta*. We get middle *udātta* in the other, due to affixal accent. These examples are all third plural active where *jh* of *jhi* is replaced with *ant* (7.1.3 *jho' ntaḥ*). This, in turn, makes the affix vowel-initial (*ajādi*).

This initial *udātta* option is not available, for example in *svaṣṣyāt* and *himsyāt*, on the one hand, and in *svasitaḥ* and *svapitaḥ*, on the other. The first two examples do not have an ending beginning with a vowel. The next two are used with augment *iṭ*.

This provision is desired (*iṣṭa*) only when a vowel initial affix marked with *Ṇ* as an *it* follows (*nity ajādāu ayaṃ vidhir iṣyate*). Thus, *svaṣṣāni* and *hinsāsāni*. The *sārvadhātuka* replacement of the first person active are treated as marked with *P* as an *it* (*pit*; 3.4.92 *āḍ uttamasya pic ca*). Rule 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit* will not allow a *pit* affix to be accepted as *nit*.

#### 6.1.186 अभ्यस्तानामादिः

*abhyastānām ādiḥ*

/abhyastānām 6/3 ādiḥ 1/1/

(*udāttaḥ* #156 *lasārvadhātukam* #183 *acy aniṭi* #185)

*abhyastānām ajādāu aniṭi lasārvadhātuke parata ādir udātto bhavati*

The initial of an *abhyasta* is marked with *udātta* when a replacement of LA which begins with an *aC* and does not permit augment *iṭ* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*dadāti*

*dadāu*

*dadhāti*

*dadhāu*

*jakṣāti*

*jakṣātu*

*jāgrāti*

*jāgrātu*

1. The word *ādi*, though available via *anuvṛtti* from the previous rule, is expressly used to make this rule obligatory (*nitya*). The term *abhyasta* is assigned to a form which results out of doubling (6.1.5 *ubhe abhyastam*). Thus, *dadāti* and *dadhāti* are forms of LAṭ where *dā* and *dhā* go through doubling. Their *ŚaP* goes through deletion by *ŚLU* (2.4.75 *juhotyādibhyaḥ śluḥ*). Refer to derivational details of *jakṣātuḥ* (II:412–13) where the term *abhyasta* is assigned by 6.1.6 *jakṣityādayaḥ ṣaṭ*.

#### 6.1.187 अनुदात्ते च

*anudātte ca*

/*anudātte* 7/1 = *avidyamānam udāttam asmin* (bv.); *ca*  $\phi$ /  
 (*udāttaḥ* #156 *lasārvadhātukam* #183 *abhyastānām ādiḥ* #186)  
*avidyamānodātte ca lasārvadhātuke parato' bhyastānām ādir udātto bhavati*  
 The initial of an *abhyasta* is also marked with *udātta* when a replacement of *LA* with no *anudātta* follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*dadāti*  
*jahāti*  
*dadhāti*  
*jihīte*  
*mimīte*

1. This rule is formulated to account for instances where a *sārvadhātuka* replacement of *LA* does not begin with a vowel. The locative *anudātte* is not interpreted here technically (*śāstrīya*) as: 'when an *anudātta* follows'. It is interpreted as a *bahuvrīhi* compound parallel to *avidyamānaḥ udāttaḥ yasmin tasmīn* 'that within which there is no *anudātta*'. This will enable the rule to apply where a vowel is either deleted, or is replaced with *yaN*. Consider *dadhāti* and *dadhāty atra* where the final *i* in the first example is deleted (3.4.100 *itaś ca*) to yield *dadhāt*. The second example involves a replacement in *yaN* before *atra*. Recall that *tiP* is *anudātta* (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*). A technical interpretation of *anudātta* will block *udātta* of this rule where the *anudātta* *i* gets deleted, or is replaced with *yaN*. For, there would not be any *anudātta* to follow. In cases of replacements in *yaN*, the initial *udātta* of this rule still applies. The replacement, since it is externally conditioned (*bahiraṅga*), becomes suspended (*asiddha*). Refer to the appendix (III:761) for derivational details of *dadāti* and *dadhāti*.

## 6.1.188 सर्वस्य सुपि

*sarvasya supi*  
 /*sarvasya* 6/1 *supi* 7/1/  
 (*udāttaḥ* #156 *ādiḥ* #186)  
*sarvasābdasya supi parata ādir udātto bhavati*  
 The initial of *sarva* is marked *udātta* when *sUP* follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*sarvāḥ*  
*sarvāu*  
*sarvé*

1. This initial *udātta* is offered here against a final *udātta* (*Uṇādi*: 1.153: *sarvanīdhṛdhariṣu* . . .). This makes *sarva* an *anudātta* at the beginning. Con-

sequently, *sārvaḥ*, a derivate of *aÑ* (4.2.44 *anudāttāder añ*), is marked with *anudātta* at the beginning. The condition of *supi* 'when *sUP* follows' blocks this accentual provision in *sarvatāraḥ* and *sarvatāmaḥ* where *sarva* is followed by *taraP* and *tamaP*.

2. A *vārttika* proposal is made to avail this accentual provision, for example in *sarvāstomaḥ*, even when a nominal ending is deleted (*Mahābhāṣya* ad 1.1.63 *na lumatāṅgasya*). That is, the deleted nominal ending is still considered as *udātta* at the beginning (3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*), via *pratyayalakṣaṇa* 'operation characteristic of an affix obtains even when the affix gets deleted' (1.1.62 *pratyayalope . . .*). This deletion of nominal ending in *sarvāstomaḥ* results on account of compound formation.

Yet another proposal is made to interpret *sarva* of this rule as one not qualified with *akaC* (*anacka*). That is, this accentual proposal does not apply to *sarva* when used with affix *akaC*. Recall that *sarva* may also refer to *sarvaka* because *akaC* is here contained within *sarva* (cf. (*Paribhāṣā* (90): *tanmadhyapatitas tadgrahaṇena grhyate*).

#### 6.1.189 भीहीभृहुमदधनजनदरिद्राजागरां प्रत्ययात्पूर्वं पिति

*bhīhrībhṛhumadadhanajanadaridrājāgarām pratyayāt pūrvam piti*  
 /bhī-hrī-bhṛ-hu-mada-dhana-jana-daridrā-jāgarām 6/3 (itar. dv.); *pratyayāt*  
 5/1 *pūrvam* 1/1 *piti* 7/1 = *pakāra it yasya* (bv.), *tasmin/*  
 (udāttaḥ #156 *lasārvadhātukam* #185 *abhyastānām* #183)  
 'bhī, hrī, bhṛ, hu, mada, jana, dhana, daridrā, jāgr' ity eteṣām  
*abhyastānām lasārvadhātuke piti pratyayāt pūrvam udāttaṁ bhavati*  
 That part of an *abhyasta*, particularly of *bhī, hrī, hu, mada, jana, dhana, daridrā*, and *jāgr* which precedes an affix, is marked *udātta* when a *sārvadhātuka*-replacement marked with *P* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*bībheti*  
*jīhreti*  
*bībharti*  
*jūhoti*  
*māmattú naḥ pariṁmā*  
*jājanāindrām*  
*dādhanat*  
*dāridrāti*  
*jāgarti*

1. Note that 6.1.187 *anudātte ca* offers initial *udātta* to a form termed *abhyasta*. This rule offers *udātta* to a part of *abhyasta* which precedes the affix. Refer to the appendix for derivational details.

## 6.1.190 लिति

liti

/liti 7/1/

(udāttaḥ #156 pratyayāt pūrvam #189)

lakāreṣaṃjñake pratyayāt pūrvam udāttaṃ bhavati

That which precedes is marked *udātta* when an affix marked with *L* as an *it* follows.

## EXAMPLES:

cikīrṣakāḥ

jihīrṣakāḥ

bhaurikiṭvidham

bhaurikiṭvidham

aiśukāribhāktam

1. Note that the *ī* before *aka* is marked *udātta* in *cikīrṣakāḥ* and *jihīrṣakāḥ*. That is, after 6.4.48 *ato lopah* deletes the final *a* of *cikīrṣa* and *jihīrṣa*. Refer to the appendix (II:406–7) for full derivational details. Affixes *vidhaL* and *bhaktaL* which are introduced after *bhauriki* and *aiśukāri* are also marked with *L* (4.2.54 *bhaurikyādyaiśukāryādibhyo vidhalbhaktalau*).

## 6.1.191 आदिर्णमूल्यन्यतरस्याम्

ādir namuly anyatarasyām

/ādiḥ 1/1 namuli 7/1 anyatarasyām 7/1/

(udāttaḥ #156)

namuli parato' nyatarasyām ādir udātto bhavati

An initial is optionally marked *udātta* when affix *NamUL* follows.

## EXAMPLES:

lolūyamlolūyam

lolūyāmlolūyam

1. This rule provides for optional *udātta* at the beginning of a root which occurs before *NamUL*. Why state this rule when the earlier rule can account for its provision. This rule is stated for roots which are not monosyllabic (*ekāc*). Consider *lolūya* which is a root derived with *yaN* with the signification of *kriyāsamabhihāra* 'intense action'. Given *lolūya* + *NamUL* = *lolūya* + *am*, where 6.4.48 *ato lopah* deletes the final *a* before the *ārdhadhātuka* suffix *NamUL*, we get *lolūyam*. This derivate then becomes optionally *udātta* at the beginning. This option will be made against the *udātta* in the middle (*madhyodātta*; . . . *ya* . . .) of the preceding rule. Another set of two forms are gotten from doubling of *lolūyam* when the signification is *ābhikṣṇya* 'over and over again' (vt.: *ābhikṣṇe dve bhavataḥ*; ad 8.1.12 *prakāre guṇavacanasya*).

The second *lolūyam* of *lolūyamlolūyam* will then be termed *āmreḍita* (8.1.2 *tasya paramāmreḍitam*). Consequently, it will also become *anudātta* (8.1.3 *anudāttaṃ ca*).

### 6.1.192 अचः कर्तृयकि

*acah karṭryaki*

/acah 6/1 karṭryaki 7/1 = karttari vihito yak (sapt. lat.); tasmin/  
(udāttah #156 upadeśāt #183 ādiḥ anyatarasyām #191)

*ajantā ye upadeśe dhātavas teṣāṃ karṭryaki anyatarasyām ādir udātto bhavati*  
A vowel-final (*ajanta*) root in *upadeśa* is optionally marked *udātta* at the beginning when affix *yaK* with the signification of *karṭr* 'agent' follows.

EXAMPLES:

*lūyāte kedāraḥ svayam eva*

*lūyāté kedāraḥ svayam eva*

*stūryāte kedāraḥ svayam eva*

*stūryāté kedāraḥ svayam eva*

1. Recall that 3.1.67 *sārvadhātuke yak* introduces *yaK* after a verbal root when *bhāva* 'action; root-sense' or *karman* 'object' is denoted. This rule covers instances of *yaK* where an object (*karman*) is treated as if it was *karṭr*. Such a treatment of *karman* is made possible via *vyapadeśivadbhāva* 'treatment of a secondary as principal' of 3.1.87 *karmavat karmanā tulyakriyāḥ*. We thus get *lūyate* where this rule offers optional *udātta* at the beginning. In the absence of this initial *udātta*, 6.1.183 *tāsyānudāttet* . . . will assign *anudātta* to *te*. Rule 3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca* will then assign affixal *udātta* to *yaK*.

### 6.1.193 थलि च सेटीडन्तो वा

*thali ca seṭiḍ anto vā*

/thali 7/1 ca φ seṭi 1/1 (bv.); iṭ 1/1 antaḥ 1/1 vā φ/  
(udāttah #156 ādiḥ anyatarasyām #191)

*seṭi thali iṭ vā udātto bhavati anto vā ādir vā anyatarasyām*

An *iṭ*, when used before a following *thaL*, is optionally marked *udātta*; additionally, the final and initial are also optionally marked with *udātta*.

EXAMPLES:

*lūlavithá*

*lūlávithá*

*lūlavítha*

1. Note that this rule does not use *ca* in its right place. It should be paraphrased to attract *ādiḥ*, thereby yielding two paraphrases: (i) *thali seṭi iḍ vā udātto bhavati* 'it is optionally marked *udātta* when *thaL*, conjoined with

*iṭ*, follows'; (ii) *anto vā ādir vā anyatarasyām udātto bhavati* 'an initial or final is optionally marked *udātta*'. Notice that *vā* is used here even when *anyatarasyām* is carried. Commentators explain that this rule offers *udātta* as a single operation (*kārya*). It, however, has three *kāryin* 'operands': *iṭ*, *ādi* and *anta*. The expressly used *vā* is intended for denoting option of operands. The *anuvṛtti* of *anyatarasyām* offers operational option of *udātta*. Thus, we get three forms marked with *udātta*, as specified with *iṭ*, *ādi* and *anta*. A fourth form with *udātta* on what precedes the affix can be gotten at the strength of *thaL*, an affix marked with *L* as its *it* (6.1.190 *liti*). This will be an operational option (*kāryavikalpa*). Consider *lulavitha* which derives from *lū* + (*LIT*→*siP*→*thaL*)→*lū* + *thaL*, where *LIT* gets replaced with *thaL*, via second person singular active ending *siP* (3.4.82 *parasmaipadānām ṇalatususthala* . . .). Reduplication (6.1.8 *liṭi dhātor* . . .), followed by *iṭ* (7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*) and shortening of *ū* of the first *lū* produces: *lū* + *lū* + *tha(L)*→*lū* + *lū* + *i(ṭ)* + *tha(L)*→*l(ū→u)* + *lū* + *i(ṭ)* + *tha(L)*. An application of *guṇa* (7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ*), followed by *av* (6.1.78 *eco'yavāyāvah*), then yields: *lu* + *l(ū→o→av)* + *i(ṭ)* + *tha(L)* = *lu* + *lav* + *i* + *tha* = *lulavitha*. This rule will mark the *iṭ* of this derivate *udātta*. The initial and final of this derivate will also be marked *udātta*. Of course, these three options will be availed in turn (*paryāya*). Finally, because *thaL* is marked with *L* as an *it*, 6.1.190 *liti* will offer *udātta* on what precedes the affix. Thus we get four alternate forms: *lulāvitha*, *lūlavitha*, *lūlavithá* and *lūlavītha*.

### 6.1.194 जित्यादिर्नित्यम्

*ñnityādir nityam*

/ññiti 7/1 = ñaś ca naś ca = ñnau (dv.); ñnāv itāv asya (bv. with int. dv.),  
tasmīn; ādiḥ 1/1 nityam 1/1/

(*udāttaḥ* #156)

*ñiti niti ca nityam ādir udātto bhavati*

The initial of a form is marked *udātta* when that which has *Ñ* or *N* as an *it* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*gārgyáḥ*

*vātsyáḥ*

*vāsúdevakaḥ*

*arjúnakaḥ*

1. This constitutes an exception to affixal accent (*pratyayasvara*; 3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*). The first two examples are derivatives of *yañ* (4.1.105 *gargādibhyo yañ*), marked with *Ñ* as an *it*. The next two are examples of *vuN* (4.3.98 *vāsudevārjunābhyām vun*), marked with *N* as an *it*.

2. Note that 1.1.62 *pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam* cannot be invoked for



this application. That is, one cannot avail this accentual provision where affixal deletion applies. Consider *gargāḥ* and *vidāḥ* where 2.4.64 *yañāñōs ca* offers deletion of affixes *yañ* and *añ*. The examples will thus be marked as *gargāḥ* and *vidāḥ*, without consideration of this rule.

### 6.1.195 आमन्त्रितस्य च

*āmantritasya ca*  
*/āmantritasya 6/1 ca φ/*  
*(udāttaḥ #156 ādiḥ #191)*  
*āmantritasyaḍir udātto bhavati*

The initial of that which is termed an *āmantrita* is also marked *udātta*.

EXAMPLES:

*devádattaḥ*  
*devádattau*  
*devádattāḥ*

1. Note that the term *āmantrita* (2.3.48 *sā' mantritam*) is assigned to the nominative used with the signification of *sambodhana* 'address form'. This rule blocks the provision of rule 6.2.148 *kārakād dattaśrutayor . . .* in *devádatta*, *devádattau* and *devádattāḥ*.

### 6.1.196 पथिमथोः सर्वनामस्थाने

*pathimathoḥ sarvanāmasthāne*  
*/pathimathoḥ 6/2 = panthās ca manthās ca (itar. dv.), tayoh; sarvanāmas-*  
*thāne 7/1/*  
*(udāttaḥ #156 ādiḥ #191)*

*pathimathoḥ sarvanāmasthāne parata ādir udātto bhavati*

The initial of *pathin* and *mathin* is marked *udātta* when an affix termed *sarvanāmasthāna* (1.1.42 *śi sarva . . .*) follows.

EXAMPLES:

*panthāḥ*  
*panthānau*  
*panthānaḥ*  
*manthāḥ*  
*manthāḥ*  
*manthānau*  
*manthānaḥ*

1. Note that *pathin* (Uṇādi 4.11) and *mathin* (Uṇādi 4.112) are derivatives of *inI*. They are marked *udātta* at the end in view of affixal accent. They are here offered *udātta* at the beginning. Refer to derivational details of *panthāḥ* (II:398–99). Similar rules apply in deriving *manthāḥ*.

2. The condition of *sarvanāmasthāne* blocks this *udātta* at the beginning, for example, in *pathaḥ paśya* where a non-*sarvanāmasthāna* accusative plural ending *Śas* follows. The word is marked *udātta* at the end (6.1.158 *anudāttasya ca yatrodāttalopaḥ*). Here again 1.1.62 *pratyayalope* . . . cannot be invoked. Note, however, that *pathi* of a *bahuvrīhi* compound, such as *pathipriyaḥ*, is marked *udātta* at the end on account of the original accent of its preceding constituent (6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau prakṛtyā pūrvapadam*).

### 6.1.197 अन्तश्च तवै युगपत्

*antaś ca tavai yugapat*

/antaḥ 1/1 ca φ tavai (1/1 deleted) yugapat φ/

(*udāttaḥ* #156 *ādiḥ* #191)

*tavai pratyayāntasya śabdasyāntaś cādiś ca yugapat udāttau bhavataḥ*

The initial, and final as well, of that which ends in affix *tavai* is simultaneously (*yugapat*) marked *udātta*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*karttavai*

*harttavai*

1. This constitutes an exception to affixal accent of *udātta* at the beginning (3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*). Affix *tavai* is introduced by 3.4.14 *kṛtyārthe tavai* . . .

2. The word *yugapat* is used for allowing *udātta* to the initial and final of *tavai*, simultaneously. Recall that *ekavarjam* of 6.1.155 *anudāttaṃ ekavarjam* goes contrary to an application, in turn (*paryāya*).

### 6.1.198 क्षयो निवासे

*kṣayo nivāse*

/kṣayaḥ 1/1 nivāse 7/1

(*udāttaḥ* #156 *ādiḥ* #191)

*kṣayaśabdo nivāse' bhidheye ādyudātto bhavati*

The word *kṣaya* is marked *udātta* at the beginning when *nivāsa* 'residence' is the signification.

#### EXAMPLES:

*kṣayé jāgrhi prapaśyan*

1. Note that *kṣaya*, paraphrased as *kṣiyanti nivasanti yasmin* 'that in which they live, decay', is a derivate of affix *GHa* (3.3.118 *pūṃsi samjñāyām* . . .), introduced after verbal root *kṣi* 'decay'. This initial *udātta* is offered against final affixal *anudātta* (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*). This accent will not be available to *kṣayaḥ* of *kṣayo dasyūnāṃ vartate* 'there is destruction of bandits' where the signification is something other than *nivāsa*.

## 6.1.199 जयः करणम्

*jayaḥ karaṇam*

*/jayaḥ 1/1 karaṇam 1/1/*

*(udāttaḥ #156 ādiḥ #191)*

*jayaśabdaḥ karaṇavācī ādyudātto bhavati*

The word *jaya* signifying *karaṇa* 'means' is marked *udātta* at the beginning.

## EXAMPLES:

*jayó' śvaḥ* 'a horse by means of which one wins'

1. The word *jaya* is again a derivate of *GHa*. Here again, this initial *udātta* blocks the final affixal accent of the derivate. That *jayaḥ* denotes *karaṇa* 'instrument' is explained by the paraphrase: *jayanti tena* 'by (means of) that they win'. The *jayaḥ* of *jayo varttate brāhmaṇānām* 'brāhmaṇas are victorious' does not qualify for this accenual provision. For, this *jaya* derives with affix *aC* (3.3.53 *er ac*) with the signification of root-sense (*bhāva*).

## 6.1.200 वृषादीनां च

*vṛṣādīnām ca*

*/vṛṣādīnām 6/3 = vṛṣa ādir yeṣām (bv.), te, ca φ/*

*(udāttaḥ #156 ādiḥ #191)*

*vṛṣādīnām śabdānām ādir udātto bhavati*

The initial of items enumerated in the list headed by *vṛṣa* is also marked *udātta*.

## EXAMPLES:

*vṛṣáh*

*janáh*

*jvaráh*

1. Note that *vṛṣaḥ* is a derivate of *Ka* (3.1.135 *igupadhajñā . . .*) introduced after *vṛṣ* 'to water, rain'. The other two examples are derivatives of *aC* (3.1.134 *nandigrahipacādy . . .*) introduced after *janī* 'to be born' and *jvarī* 'to be afflicted'. The accentual provision of this rule is made against affixal *udātta* at the end (*antodātta*).

2. Note that the *vṛṣādi* is treated as an *ākṛtigāṇa* 'open-ended'. That is, any nominal for which no initial *udātta* has been expressly provided can be covered by this rule.

## 6.1.201 संज्ञायामुपमानम्

*sañjñāyām upamānam*

*/sañjñāyām 7/1 upamānam 1/1/*

(*udāttaḥ* #156 *ādiḥ* #191)

*upamānaśabdah samjñāyām udātto bhavati*

A standard of comparison (*upamāna*) is marked *udātta* when the signification is a name (*samjñā*).

EXAMPLES:

*cañcā*

*vardhrikā*

*kharākuṭī*

*dāśī*

1. Note that *cañcā* ‘a doll, straw figure’, derived with a deleted *kaN* (5.3.96 *ive pratikṛtau*; 5.3.98 *lum manuṣye*), can denote a name by way of serving as an *upamāna* ‘standard of comparison’. Here again, 1.1.62 *pratyayalope* . . . cannot be invoked for purposes of accentuation.

#### 6.1.202 निष्ठा च द्वयजनात्

*niṣṭhā ca dvyajanaṭ*

*/niṣṭhā 1/1 ca ∅ dvyaḥ 1/1 = dvau acau yasmin (bv.), tat; anāt 5/1 = na āt (nañ. tat.)/*

(*udāttaḥ* #156 *ādiḥ* #191 *samjñāyām* #201)

*niṣṭhāntaṃ ca dvyaḥ samjñāyām viśaye ādyudāttaṃ bhavati*

That which contains two vowels, and ends in an affix termed *niṣṭhā*, is also marked with *udātta* at the beginning, provided the signification is a name (*samjñā*) and what is to be marked *anudātta* is not an *ā*.

EXAMPLES:

*dattāḥ*

*guptāḥ*

*buddhāḥ*

1. This again is an exception to affixal accent (*pratyaya-svara*). Refer to the appendix (III:775–77) for derivational details of *dattāḥ*. Similar rules derive *buddhāḥ*, from *budh* + *Kta*. Recall that affixes *Kta* and *KtavatU* are termed *niṣṭhā* (1.1.26 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*).

2. This accentual provision cannot apply to *deva* and *bhīma*, two derivatives of non-*niṣṭhā* suffixes *aC* and *maK*, respectively. It does not apply to *cintita* and *raṁṣita*, because these both consist of more than two vowels. Derivates of *niṣṭhā*, for example, *trāta* and *āpta* are also excluded since they have *ā* at the beginning. Finally, *kṛta* and *hṛta* must also be excluded because they do not denote a name.

#### 6.1.203 शुक्कधृष्टौ

*śuṣkadhṛṣṭau*

/śuṣka-dhr̥ṣṭau 1/2 (itar. dv.)/

(udāttah #156 ādih #191)

‘śuṣka, dhr̥ṣṭa’ ity etāv ādyudāttau bhavataḥ

The words śuṣka and dhr̥ṣṭa are marked udātta at the beginning.

EXAMPLES:

śuṣkāḥ ‘dried’

dhr̥ṣṭāḥ ‘daring’

1. Note that śuṣka and dhr̥ṣṭa are derivatives of niṣṭhā suffix Kta, where Kta of the first example is replaced with ka (8.2.51 śuṣaḥ kaḥ). Our next example involves ṭ as a replacement for t (ṣṭutva; 8.4.41 ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ). These examples could be covered by the previous rule. This initial udātta is then offered to cover usages outside the scope of saṃjñā ‘name’ (Kāś: asajñārthaḥ ārambhaḥ).

#### 6.1.204 आशितः कर्ता

āśitaḥ karttā

/āśitaḥ 1/1 karttā 1/1/

(udāttah #156 ādih #191)

āśitaśabdaḥ kartṛvācī ādyudātto bhavati

The word āśita, when used with the signification of kartṛ ‘agent’, is marked udātta at the beginning.

EXAMPLES:

āśito devadattaḥ ‘Devadatta has eaten’

1. Note that āśita is a derivative of Kta (3.4.70 taylor eva . . .) introduced after verbal root aś used with the preverb āñ. The affixal denotatum is here interpreted as kartṛ. It is stated that aś is a transitive root, but it becomes intransitive (akarmaka) when the object (karman) remains unexpressed. The Mahābhāṣya (ad 3.4.72 gatyarthākarmaka . . .) accepts that Kta is here introduced in the sense of kartṛ, via nipātana. The accentual provision of this rule blocks the provision of 6.2.144 thāthaghañ . . .

Two counter-examples, i.e., āśitam annam and āśitam devadattena illustrate how their Kta denotes karman and bhāva, respectively. Obviously, āśita here cannot qualify for this accent.

#### 6.1.205 रिक्ते विभाषा

rikte vibhāṣā

/rikte 7/1 vibhāṣā 1/1/

(udāttah #156 ādih #191)

riktaśabde vibhāṣā ādir udātto bhavati

The initial of rikta is marked udātta, only optionally.

## EXAMPLES:

*riktāḥ* ‘emptied’

*riktah*

1. Note that *rikta*, a derivate of *ricIR* + *Kta* where the signification is a name (*saṃjñā*), can qualify for obligatory *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.102 *niṣṭhā ca dvyajanāt*). This rule makes that provision optional. That is, when the signification is something other than a name. A final *udātta* (6.2.144 *thāthaghañ . . .*) will apply if optional provision of this rule is not accepted.

## 6.1.206 जुष्टार्पिते च छन्दसि

*juṣṭārpīte cac chandasi*

/juṣṭārpīte 7/1 = juṣṭaś ca arpitaś ca (itar. dv.), tayoh; ca ∅ chandasi 7/1/  
(udāttaḥ #156 ādiḥ #191)

‘juṣṭa, arpita’ity ete śabdarūpe chandasi viśaye vibhāṣā ādyudātte bhavataḥ  
The initial of *juṣṭa* and *arpita* is optionally marked *udātta* when the usage is Vedic.

## EXAMPLES:

*juṣṭāḥ*

*juṣṭah*

*arpitāḥ*

*arpitah*

1. This optional provision of initial *udātta* only applies to the Vedic usage. Elsewhere, in the classical (*bhāṣā*) usage, we will get *udātta* at the end in view of affixal accent (3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*).

Our first example derives with affix *Kta*, introduced after *juṣṭ* ‘to enjoy’ with an additional application of *ṣṭutva* (8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*). The second example also derives with *Kta*, introduced after *ṛ* ‘to go’ with causal *ṆiC*. Further application of augment *pUK* (3.2.184 *arttihrīlūdḥū . . .*), and an application of *guna*, derive *arpita*. The accentual provision of this rule is again made against affixal accent.

2. The *chandasi* provision of this rule restricts usages to the Vedas and Brāhmaṇas with the exception of the Mantras.

## 6.1.207 नित्यं मन्त्रे

*nityam mantre*

/nityam 1/1 mantre 7/1/

(udāttaḥ #156 ādiḥ #191 juṣṭārpīte #206)

‘juṣṭa, arpita’ity ete śabdarūpe mantraviśaye nityam ādyudatte bhavataḥ

The words *juṣṭa* and *arpita*, in the *Mantra* usage, are obligatorily marked with *udātta* at the beginning.

## EXAMPLES:

*juṣṭām devānām*  
*arpitām pitṛṇām*

1. Note that *mantra* is used for the *saṃhitā* sections of the Vedas, especially the *R̥gveda* and the *Yajurveda*. Some here do not accept the *anuvṛtti* of *juṣṭa*. For, *juṣṭa* is also found *udātta* at the end in the *Mantra* usage. Thus, they want optional *udātta* for *juṣṭa* there.

2. Why state *nityam* when the very formulation of *mantra* as a separate rule can accomplish this obligatory provision. The word *nityam* is then intended for clarity. Or else, for *anuvṛtti* in the following rule (*Nyāsa* ad *Kās*: *ārambhasāmarthyād eva nityatve siddhe nityagrahaṇam viśpaṣṭārtham, uttārārthaṇ ca*).

## 6.1.208 युष्मदस्मदोर्ङसि

*yuṣmadasmador ṇasi*  
 /*yuṣmad-asmadoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*) *ṇasi* 7/1/  
 (*udāttaḥ* #156 *ādiḥ* #191)  
 'yuṣmad-asmad' *ity etayoḥ śabdayoḥ ṇasi parata ādir udātto bhavati*

The initial of *yuṣmad* and *asmad* is marked with *udātta* when *Ṇas* follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*tavā svam*  
*mamā svam*

1. Note that *yuṣmad* and *asmad* are derivatives of affix *madIK* (*Uṇādi* I:119). They are also marked *udātta* at the end, via affixal accent. Given *yuṣmad* + *Ṇas* and *asmad* + *Ṇas*, rule 7.1.27 *yuṣmadasmadbhyām ṇaso' ś* replaced *Ṇas* with *aŚ*. Rule 7.2.96 *tava mamau ṇasi* also replaces *yuṣm* and *asm* of the bases with *tava* and *mama*, respectively. Thus, *yuṣmad* + ((*Ṇ*) *as* → *a(Ś)*) = *yuṣmad* + *a* → (*yuṣm* → *tava*) *ad* + *a* = *tava* + (*ad* →  $\emptyset$ ) + *a* = *tava* + *a*. Rule 7.2.90 *śeṣe loṇaḥ* causes the deletion of *ad*. We get the final derivative with a single replacement: *tav(a + a* → *a*) = *tava* (*pararūpa*; 6.1.97 *ato guṇe*). Similar rules also apply in deriving *asmad*.

This accentual provision goes against the final *udātta* provision of 8.2.5 *ekādeśa udāttanodāttaḥ*.

## 6.1.209 ङयि च

*ṇayi ca*  
 /*ṇayi* 7/1 *ca*  $\emptyset$ /  
 (*udāttaḥ* #156 *ādiḥ* #191 *yuṣmadasmadoḥ* #208)

‘*ne*’ity *etasmimś ca parato yuṣmadasmador ādir udātto bhavati*

The initial of *yuṣmad* and *asmad* is also marked *udātta* when *Ñi* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*tubhyám*

*mahyám*

1. A separate formulation of this and the preceding rule is intended for resolving doubts of *yathāsaṃkhyā* ‘assignment of equivalents in accord with equal number of enumerated items’. That is, (i) *yuṣmad* is marked *udātta* when *Ñas* follows; and (ii) *asmad* is marked *udātta* when *Ñe* follows. A separate formulation can account for *udātta* of *yuṣmad* and *asmad* before *Ñas* and *Ñe* both.

Note that *Ñe* ‘dative singular’ after these two bases is replaced with *am* (7.1.28 *ñeḥ prathamayoṛ am*). These bases are also replaced with *tubhya* and *mahya* (7.2.95 *tubhyamahyau ñayi*), respectively. Other rule applications are similar to *tava* and *mama*. Note that these bases are both *udātta* at the end. The affix is *udātta* at the beginning. A single replacement (*ekādeśa*) similar to the following (*pararūpa*), i.e., *a*-replacement in *tubhy* (*a + a → a*) *m = tubhyam*, should thus be also marked with *udātta*. This rule blocks it.

6.1.210 यतोऽनावः

*yato’ nāvaḥ*

/yataḥ 6/1 anāvaḥ 1/1 = *na nau* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmāt/*

(*udāttaḥ* #156 *ādih* #193 *dvyac* #202)

*yaṭpratyayāntasya dvyac ādir udātto bhavati na cen nau śabdāt paro bhavati*

That which contains two vowels and ends in affix *yaT* is marked *udātta* at the beginning, provided *yaT* does not occur after *nau* ‘boat’.

EXAMPLES:

*ceyám*

*jeyám*

*kañṭhyám*

*oṣṭhyám*

1. Note that *dvyac* is understood here from 6.1.202 *niṣṭhā ca dvyajanāt*. This rule offers *udātta* as an exception to the *svarita* of 6.1.182 *tī svaritam*. This provision of initial *udātta* must be blocked in case of *nāvyám*, where affix *yaT* is introduced after *nau* (3.1.97 *aco yat*). Refer to the appendix (III:364–65) for derivational details of *ceyám* and *jeyám*. The last two examples are also derivatives of *yaT*, introduced by 5.1.6 *śarīrāvayavād yat*.

Note that a derivate of *yaT* which consists of more than two vowels is not allowed this accent. Thus, *cikīṛsyám* and *lalāṭyám* which must be marked with *svarita* (6.1.182 *tī svaritam*) at the end.



## 6.1.211 ईडवन्दवृशंसदुहां ण्यतः

*īḍavandavṛśamsaduhām ṇyataḥ*

/īḍa-vanda-vṛ-śamsa-duhām 6/1 (itar. dv.); ṇyataḥ 6/1

(udāttah #156 ādiḥ #191)

'īḍa, vanda, vṛ, śams, duh' ity eteṣāṃ yo ṇyat tadantasyādir udātto bhavati

The initial of that which ends in *ṇyaT*, introduced after verbal roots *īḍa* 'praise', *vanda* 'respect', *vṛN* 'honor', *śams* 'praise' and *duh* 'to fulfill', is marked with *udātta*.

## EXAMPLES:

*īḍyām*

*vandyām*

*vāryām*

*śasyām*

*dohyā denuḥ*

1. Here again we find an exception to 6.1.183 *tit svaritam*. Note that affix *ṇyaT* could not be included within the reference of *yaT* of the earlier rule. For, it consists of two *it*-elements, *N* and *T*. Affix *ṇyaT* is introduced after specified verbal roots when the signification is *bhāva* 'root-sense' and *karman* 'object' (3.1.24 *ṛhalor ṇyat*).

## 6.1.212 विभाषा वेण्विन्धानयोः

*vibhāṣā veṇvindhānayoḥ*

/vibhāṣā 1/1 veṇv-indhānayoḥ 6/2 (itar. dv.)/

(udāttah #156 ādiḥ #191)

'veṇu-indhāna' ity etayor vibhāṣā ādir udātto bhavati

The initial of *veṇu* and *indhāna* is optionally marked with *udātta*.

## EXAMPLES:

*veṇúḥ*

*veṇuḥ*

*indhānaḥ*

*īndhānaḥ*

*īndhānāḥ*

1. Note that *veṇu* is a derivate of *Uṇādi* affix *nu* (3.38: *ajivṛṛibhyo nit*). Consequently, it is subject to an obligatory *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*). Our present rule offers an optional *udātta* at the end. Note, however, that *veṇu* is obligatorily marked *udātta* at the beginning when a name (*saṃjñā* 6.1.201 *saṃjñāyām upamānam*) is denoted.

The word *indhāna* can be derived with affixes *CānaŚ* (3.2.129 *tācchīlyavayo...*) and *ŚānaC* (3.2.124 *laṭaḥ śatṛśānacāv...*), both introduced after

*Ñindhī* 'to kindle'. A derivate of *CānaŚ*, because of its *C* as an *it* (6.1.160 *cītaḥ*), will be marked *udātta* at the end. This same will also apply to a derivate of *ŚānaC*. A derivate of *ŚānaC* will require this affix to replace *LAṬ*. This will further require introduction of *ŚānaM*, followed by deletion of its *n* (6.4.23 *śnān nalopaḥ*). Thus, *indh + (LAT→(Ś) āna(C)) = indha + āna→indha + (Ś) na(M) + āna→indh + (n→ϕ) a + āna*. The *a* before *āna* is also subsequently deleted (6.4.111 *śnasor al lopaḥ*), to finally produce *indhāna*. There are several accentual interactions involved here. Firstly, we will get the final *udātta* of *ŚānaC* due mainly to *C* as an *it*. This accent of a *sārvadhātuka*-replacement of *LA* cannot be blocked by the affixal accent of initial *udātta* of *ŚnaM*, a *vikaraṇa* (cf. *saṭiṣṭho'pi vikaraṇasvaro lasārvadhātukasvaram na bādhatē*). But since *ŚnaM* has *a* is *upadeśa* (6.1.183 *tāsyānudāten . . .*), *ŚānaC* will then be marked *anudātta*. The *ŚnaM* itself will be marked with affixal *udātta* at the beginning. But recall that *a* of *ŚnaM* gets deleted before *āna*. This will occasion *udātta* in the middle (*madhyodātta*; 6.1.158 *anudāttasya ca yatro . . .*).

### 6.1.213 त्यागरागहासकुहश्वाठक्रथानाम्

*tyāgarāgahāsakuhaśvaṭhakrathānām*

/tyāga-rāga-hāsa-kuha-śvaṭha-krathānām 6/3 (itar. dv.)/

(*udāttah* #156 ādiḥ #191)

'*tyāga, rāga, hāsa, kuha, śvaṭha, kratha*' *ity eteṣāṃ vibhāṣā ādir udātto bhavati*  
The initial of *tyāga, hāsa, kuha, śvaṭha*, and *kratha* is optionally marked with *udātta*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*tyāgāḥ*

*tyāgāḥ*

*rāgāḥ*

*rāgāḥ*

*hāsāḥ*

*hāsāḥ*

*kuhāḥ*

*kuhāḥ*

*śvaṭhāḥ*

*śvaṭhāḥ*

*krathāḥ*

*krathāḥ*

1. Note that *tyāgaḥ*, etc., are derivatives of *GHañ*. They are subject to final *udātta* because of *N* as an *it* (6.1.156 *karṣātvato . . .*). This rule offers *udātta* at the beginning as an option. The remaining examples are all derivatives of *aC* (3.1.134 *nandigrāhi . . .*). They thus get optional final *udātta* against the initial *udātta* option of this rule.

## 6.1.214 उपोत्तमं रिति

*upottamaṃ riti*

/upottamam 1/1 riti 7/1 = *repha it yasya* (bv.), *tasmin/*  
(*udāttaḥ* #156)

*ridantasyopottamam udāttaṃ bhavati*

The penultimate of that which ends in an affix with *R* as an *it* is marked with *udātta*.

EXAMPLES:

*kaṛaṇīyām*

*haṛaṇīyām*

*paṭujāṭīyāḥ*

*mṛdujāṭīyāḥ*

1. This rule offers *udātta* to an *upottama* 'next to the last (vowel) of a word with three or more vowels', where the derivate entails an affixal *R* as an *it*. Thus, *kaṛaṇīyām* and *paṭujāṭīyāḥ* where *anīyaR* (3.1.96 *taṇyattavyānīyarah*) and *jāṭīyaR* (5.3.96 *prakāravacane jāṭīyar*) are both marked with *R* as an *it*. This again is an exception to affixal accent of final *udātta*.

## 6.1.215 चङञ्यतरस्याम्

*caṇy anyatarasyām*

/caṇi 7/1 anyatarasyām 1/1/

(*udāttaḥ* #156 *ādiḥ* #191 *upottamam* #214)

*caṇante' nyatarasyām udāttaṃ bhavati*

The next to the last of that which consists of at least three syllables and ends in *CaṆ* is marked *udātta*.

EXAMPLES:

*mā hi cīkṛatām*

*mā hi cīkṛatām*

1. Refer to derivational details of *acīkarat* (II:507–9). Similar rules apply in deriving *cīkaratām* of *mā hi cīkaratām*. The *tas* of *cīkaratām* is replaced with *tām* (3.4.101 *tasthathamipām* . . .). Augment *aT* is here blocked because of concurrent *māṆ* (6.4.74 *na mānyoge*). The *anudātta* of *cīkaratām* (8.1.28 *tiṇ atīnaḥ*) will also be blocked because of *hi* (8.1.34 *hi ca*) after which a *pada* ending in *tiṆ* occurs (8.1.28 *tiṇ atīnaḥ*). The *anudātta*, however, will apply to *tām*, a *sārvadhātuka* replacement of *LA*, because it occurs after *a* (6.1.183 *tāsyānudāten* . . .). Our present rule offers *udātta* to the *a* of *ka* of *cīkara*. The *a* of *ra* will be marked *udātta* by affixal accent if the option of this rule is not accepted.

This accentual provision is not available to *mā hi dādhāt*. For, *dadhat* con-

sists of only two vowels and thus the condition of *upottamam* cannot be met here.

### 6.1.216 मतोः पूर्वमात्संज्ञायां स्त्रियाम्

*matoh pūrvam āt samjñāyām striyām*

/matoh 5/1 pūrvam 1/1 āt 5/1 samjñāyām 7/1 striyām 7/1/ (udāttaḥ #156)

*matoh pūrva ākāra udātto bhavati tac cen matvantam strīṅge samjñā bhavati*

An *ā* before *matUP* is marked with *udātta* when the derivate signifies a name in the feminine.

#### EXAMPLES:

*udumbarāvātī* 'name of a city'

*puṣkarāvātī* 'name of a city'

*śārāvātī* 'name of a city'

1. Recall that *matUP* of these derivates is introduced by 4.4.84 *nadyām matup*. The *m* of *matUP* is replaced with *v* (8.2.11 *samjñāyām*). The long *ā* which precedes *matUP* has its source in the application of 6.3.119 *matau bahvaco*. . . . The long of *śārāvātī*, however, is caused by 6.1.120 *śarādīnām ca*. These derivates of *ÑiP* are all marked *anudātta* at the end. For, *ÑiP* is an affix marked with *P* as an *it* (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*). Our present rule offers *udātta* to the *ā* which precedes *matUP*.

2. Counter-examples, such as *ikṣumatī* and *drumavatī*, illustrate how the absence of a long *ā* before *matUP* makes this rule inapplicable. A counter-example for *samjñāyām* is offered in *khaṭvāvātī* 'a place with many cots'. A counter-example for *striyām* is offered as *śārāvān*. Finally, *gavādīnī* is offered as a counter-example for the condition of *matoh*.

### 6.1.217 अन्तोऽवत्याः

*anto' vatyāḥ*

/antah 1/1 avatyāḥ 6/1/

(udāttaḥ #156 samjñāyām #218)

*avatiśabdāntasya samjñāyām anta udātto bhavati*

The final of that which ends in *avati* is marked *udātta* when the signification is a name.

#### EXAMPLES:

*ajiravati* 'name of a place'

*khadīravati* 'name of a place'

*hamsavati* 'name of a place'

*kāraṇḍavati* 'name of a place'

1. A word-form ending in *avatī* is here offered *udātta* at the end. This accentual provision is made against the final *anudātta* of the feminine affix *ÑiP* (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*). Here again we get the *m* of *matUP* replaced with *v* (8.2.11 *saṃjñāyām*). A long replacement for the short *a* before *matUP* is again accomplished by 6.3.120 *śarādīnām ca*.

#### 6.1.218 ईवत्याः

*īvatyāḥ*

/īvatyāḥ 5/1/

(*udāttaḥ* #156 *saṃjñāyām* #218 *antaḥ* #219)

*īvatiśabdāntasyānta udātto bhavati striyām saṃjñāyām viṣaye*

The final of that which ends in *īvatī* is marked with *udātta* when the signification is a name.

#### EXAMPLES:

*āhīvatī* 'name of a place'

*kṛṣīvatī* 'name of a place'

*munīvatī* 'name of a place'

1. The *v* of these examples is a replacement of *m* of *matUP*. The long *ā* has its source in the application of 6.3.120 *śarādīnām ca*. Our present rule offers *udātta* against affixal *anudātta* of *ÑiP*.

#### 6.1.219 चौ

*cau*

/cau 7/1/

(*udāttaḥ* #156 *antaḥ* #217)

*cau parataḥ pūrvasyānta udātto bhavati*

That which occurs in construction before *cu* is marked *udātta* at the end.

#### EXAMPLES:

*dadhīcāḥ*

*dadhīcā*

*dadhīcé*

*mādhūcāḥ*

*mādhūcā*

*mādhūcé*

1. Note that *cau*, a locative singular form of *cu*, refers to verbal root *añcU* with its *it*-elements deleted. A specification with *cu* is made after deleting the nasal of *añcU*. Consider *dadhīc* where affix *KuIN* (3.2.59 *ṛtvigdadhr̥g* . . .) is introduced after *añcU* to form an *upapada-samāsa* 'conjoined compound',

under the cooccurrence condition of *dadhi* + *am*. Recall that affix *KvIN* goes through total deletion. Given *dadhi* + (*am*→ $\emptyset$ ) + *añc*, where deletion of *am* is due to compound formation, 6.4.24 *aniditām hal* . . . deletes *ñ* of *añc*. The *a* of *dadhi* + *ac* is also deleted (6.4.138 *acah*). The preceding *i* is then replaced with its long counterpart (6.3.138 *cau*). Thus, *dadhīcāh*, an accusative plural with *Śas*. Note that *a* of *añcU* is *udātta* by 6.2.130 *gatikārapapadāt*. . . . The nominal ending *Śas* was *anudātta* to start with (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*). Rule 6.1.158 *anudāttasya* . . . then offered *udātta* to *Śas*, because it occurred after a deleted *udātta*, i.e., *a*. Our present rule made the proposal of *udātta* to *i* which precedes. Other examples follow similar derivational details.

### 6.1.220 समासस्य

*samāsasya*

/ *samāsasya* 6/1/

(*udāttaḥ* #156 *antaḥ* #219)

*samāsasyānta udātto bhavati*

The final constituent of a compound is marked with *udātta* at the end.

#### EXAMPLES:

*rājapuruṣaḥ* 'king's man'

*brāhmaṇakambalaḥ* 'brāhmaṇa's blanket'

*kanyāśvanah* 'girl-noise'

*paṭaḥśabdaḥ* 'noise of the Paṭaha (war) drum'

*naḍīghoṣaḥ* 'river-noise'

*rājapṛṣat* 'royal-seal'

*brāhmaṇasamit* 'assembly of brāhmaṇas'

1. This rule assigns final *udātta* accent to a compound. Recall that a compound is formed by integrating two or more syntactically related nominals (2.1.4 *saha supā*). Constituents of a compound bring their own individual accents. Our present rule assigns a single final *udātta* accent to the compound as a whole. Thus, the final of *brāhmaṇasamit* will be marked *udātta*. Since vowels alone have the characteristic ability to carry accents we get *i* of *brāhmaṇasamit* to be marked *udātta*. More explanations, especially in relation to accentual interaction, will be offered under rules of the next quarter (*pāda*). For, rules of the second quarter of *adhyāya* six form an exception to this rule.

## PĀDA TWO

### 6.2.1. बहुव्रीहौ प्रकृत्या पूर्वपदम्

*bahuvrīhau prakṛtyā pūrvapadam*

/ *bahubrīhau* 7/1 *prakṛtyā* 3/1 *pūrvapadam* 1/1/

*bahuvrīhau samāse pūrvapadasya yaḥ svarah sa prakṛtyā bhavati*

The accent of an initial constituent in a *bahuvrīhi* compound remains as it originally was.

EXAMPLES:

*kārṣṇōttarāsāṅgaḥ* 'men who cover themselves with the hide of a black deer'

*yūvalajaḥ* 'that (a city) which has its entry point marked by a ritual post'

*brahmacārīpariskandaḥ* 'a place where a celibate is the protector'

*snātākapaṭtraḥ* 'he whose son is a scholar'

*adhyāpākapaṭtraḥ* 'he whose son is a teacher'

*śrotrīyapaṭtraḥ* 'he whose son is a presiding ritualist'

*manuṣyānāthaḥ* 'he whose lord is a man'

1. This rule marks the beginning of exceptions to provisions of the last *sūtra* of the preceding quarter. Rule 6.1.220 *samāsasya* requires the final constituent of a compound to be marked *udātta* at the end. Rule 6.1.155 *anudāttaṃ padam ekavarjam* demands that all vowels, except for one, be marked *anudātta* in a compound. Thus, in view of the preceding, a compound will be marked *udātta* at the end. The remaining syllables of a compound will then have to be marked *anudātta*. It is here that our present rule intervenes. It offers the initial constituent of a compound to retain its original accent. That is, it does not have to conform to provisions of rule 2.1.220 *samāsasya*, read also in view of 6.1.155 *anudāttaṃ padam*. . . . The original accent referred to here by *prakṛtyā* must then be an *udātta* or *svārīta*. For, it cannot be one offered by the blanket *anudātta* of 6.1.155 *anudāttaṃ padam*. . . .

2. Consider *kārṣṇōttarāsāṅgaḥ*, a *bahuvrīhi* compound, where its initial constituent *kārṣṇa* is a derivate of *añ*, introduced after *kṛṣṇa* + *ñas* (4.3.154 *prāṇirajatādibhyo'ñ*) with the signification of *vikāra* 'modification, product'. Rule 6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam* assigns initial *udātta* to *kārṣṇa*, obligatorily, at the strength of *ñ* as an *it* in *añ*. Our present rule requires that this initial *udātta* accent be retained in the compound. A similar retention of initial *udātta* is witnessed in *yūpavalajaḥ* 'a city where a ritual post marks its entry point', parallel to *yūpaḥ valajaḥ yasya*. The word *yūpa* is a derivate of affix *pa*, introduced after *yu* 'join, unite, mix' (*Uṇādi* III:27: *kusuyubhyaś ca*). The lengthening of *u* is gotten from *Uṇādi* III:25: *stuvo dīrghaś ca*. Affix *pa* is treated as marked with *N* as an *it* (*Uṇādi* III:26: *suśr̥bhyām nic ca*).

A *bahuvrīhi* such as *brahmacārīpariskandaḥ*, parallel to *brahmacārī pariskandaḥ yasya yasmin vā* 'he of whose (or a place where) a celibate is the protector'. The word *brahmacārī* is a derivate of affix *ñinI* (3.2.80 *vrate*), used with the signification of an *upamāna* 'standard of comparison'. This

derivate of *kṛt* is marked *udātta* at the end (6.2.139 *gatikārapapadāt kṛt*). The word *snātaka*, in *snātakaputraḥ* ‘he whose son is a scholar’, is a derivate of *kaN* and is marked *udātta* at the beginning. The *adhyāpaka* ‘teacher’, of *adhyāpakaputraḥ* ‘he whose son is a teacher’, is marked *udātta* in the middle (*madhyodātta*) because it is a derivate of *NvuL* marked with *L* as an *it* (6.1.190 *liti*). The *śrotriya*, of *śrotriyaḥ* ‘he whose son is presiding retualist’, is a derivate of *ghaN*, via *nipātana*. It is marked *udātta* at the beginning because of *N* as an *it* in *ghaN* (5.2.84 *śrotriyaś chando’ adhīte*). The *manuṣya*, of *manuṣyanāthaḥ* ‘he of whose lord is a man’, is a derivate of *yaT* (4.1.161 *manorjātāv . . .*) with an additional provision of §UK. Rule 6.1.182 *tit svaritam* assigns *svarita* to the affix. Consequently, *manuṣya* carries a *svarita* at the end.

It has been stated that *udātta* and *svarita* are understood here. Consequently, this rule will not apply where the initial constituent of the compound is all *anudātta* (*sarvānudātta*). An example is *samābhāgaḥ* ‘a thing with equal parts’ where *sama* is marked *anudātta* on both syllables. The compound will thus be marked *udātta* at the end (6.1.220 *samāsasya*).

### 6.2.2 तत्पुरुषे तुल्यार्थतृतीयासप्तम्युपमानाव्ययद्वितीयाकृत्याः

*tatpuruṣe tulyārthatrītiyāsaptamyupamānāvayadvitīyākṛtyāḥ*  
/ *tatpuruṣe 7/1 tulyārtha-trītiyā-saptamy-upamāna-avyaya-dvitīyā-kṛtyāḥ 1/3 = tulyo’ rtho yasya (bv.); tulyārthaṃ ca trītiyā ca saptamī ca upamānaṃ ca avyayaṃ ca dvitīyā ca kṛtyāś as (itar. dv.) /*  
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1*)

*tatpuruṣe samāse tulyārthaṃ trītiyāntaṃ saptamyantaṃ upamānavāci avyayaṃ dvitīyāntaṃ kṛtyāntaṃ ca yat pūrvapadam tat prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati*  
An initial constituent which, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, either denotes the sense of *tulya* ‘equal, similar’ or ends in *trītiyā* and *saptamī* or is an indeclinable denoting an *upamāna* ‘standard of comparison’ or ends in *dvitīyā*, or else, ends in a *kṛtya* suffix, retains its original accent.

#### EXAMPLES:

*tulyāśvetāḥ* ‘equally white’  
*tulyālohitāḥ* ‘equally red’  
*sadrkchvētāḥ* ‘similar white’  
*sadrglōhitāḥ* ‘similar red’  
*sadrśāśvetāḥ* ‘similar white’  
*sadrśālohitāḥ* ‘similar red’  
*śaṅkulākhāṇḍaḥ* ‘split by an axe’  
*kīrikāṇaḥ* ‘made one-eyed by a boar’  
*akṣaśaúṇḍaḥ* ‘skilled at the game of dice’  
*pānāśauṇḍaḥ* ‘addicted to drinking’



*śastrīśyāmā* 'black as a little knife'  
*kumūdaśyenī* 'lily-white'  
*haṃsagādgadā* 'swan-like sweet-speaking woman'  
*dūrvākāṇḍāśyāmā* 'black as a blade of grass'  
*śarakāṇḍāgaurī* 'fair as a piece of reed'  
*abrāhmaṇaḥ* 'non-brāhmaṇa'  
*kubrāhmaṇaḥ* 'bad brāhmaṇa'  
*muhūrttasúkham* 'momentary pleasure'  
*sarvarātrakālyānī* 'entire night as auspicious'  
*bhojyóṣṇam* 'warm food'  
*bhojyálavaṇam* 'salty food'

1. The first six examples are compounds termed *karmadhāraya* (2.1.68 *kṛtyatulyākhyā ajātyā*). The initial constituent of the first two, i.e., *tulya*, is a derivate of *yaT*. It is marked with *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.210 *yato' nāvaḥ*). The *sadṛk* of *sadṛkchvetaḥ* ends in *KvIN* (*vt.*: *samānānyayoś ceti* . . .; ad 3.2.60 *tyadādiṣu* . . .), and, hence, is marked *udātta* at the end (6.2.139 *gatikāraḥkopapadāt* . . .). Affix *KvIN*, as usual, goes through total deletion. This preceding *vārttika* proposal also derives *sadṛśa* of *sadṛśaśvetaḥ* with affix *KaṆ*. The *sa* as a replacement for *samāna* comes from 6.3.89 *dr̥gdṛśa-vatuṣu* . . . *gatikāraḥkopapadāt* . . . The word *sadṛśa*, a derivate of *kaṆ* introduced after *dr̥ś*, is marked *udātta* in the middle (*madhya*).

The word *śaṅkulā* derives with affix *Ka* used with the signification of *GHAṆ* (*vt.*: *ghaṇarthe kavidhānam*; ad 3.3.58 *grahavidṛṇśicigamaś ca*). The instrumental compound (*ṭṭīyā-tatpuruṣa*) is formed by 2.1.29 *ṭṭīyā-tatkr̥tārthena* . . . Thus, *śaṅkulā* is marked with affixal *udātta* at the end. The word *kiri* of *kirikāṇaḥ* is a derivate of *i* (*Uṇādi* 4.143 *kr̥gr̥śr̥* . . .) which is treated as marked with *K*. It is also marked *udātta* at the end.

The *akṣa* of *akṣaṣaunḍaḥ* is a derivate of *sa* (*Uṇādi* 3.45 *aṣer devane*). The *ṣ* as a replacement for *ś* of verbal root *aś*, and *k* for the resultant *ṣ* as well, are gotten from the applications of 8.2.36 *var̥scabhrasjasṛ* . . . and 8.2.41 *kaḥ si*. The *ṣ* as a replacement for affixal *s*, is gotten from 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayaḥ*. Here again, *akṣa* is marked with affixal *udātta* at the end. The *pāna* of *pānaṣaunḍaḥ* has verbal root *pā* marked with *udātta*. For, it ends in *LyuT*, an affix marked with *L* as an *it* (6.1.184 *liti*). The compound in these examples is formed by 2.1.39 *saptamī ṣaunḍaiḥ*.

Compounds such as *śastrīśyāmā*, *kumudaśyenī*, *haṃsagādgadā* and *dūrvākāṇḍāśyāmā* are all formed by 2.1.55 *upamānāni sāmānyavacanaiḥ*. The word *śastrī* ends in *ṆiṢ*. It is marked *udātta* at the end. The word *kumuda* is a derivate of *Ka*, paraphrased as *kau modate* 'blossoms on earth' (*vt.*: *kap-rakaraṇe mūlavibhujādibhya upasaṃkhyānam*; ad 3.1.5 *tundaśokayaḥ* . . .). This again is marked *udātta* at the end. The *haṃsa* of *haṃsagādgadā* is a derivate of *sa* (*Uṇādi* III:62: *vṛtrvadivaci* . . .). Here again, we get final *udātta* by affixal accent. The next compound constituents, i.e., *dūrvākāṇḍa* and *śarakāṇḍa*,

are both genitive *tatpuruṣa*. The *ā* of their *kāṇḍa* is marked *udātta* by 6.2.134 *saṭ ca kāṇḍādīni*.

The negative *tatpuruṣa* compounds (2.2.6 *nañ*), i.e., *abrāhmaṇaḥ*, etc., illustrate accentual provisions for indeclinables (*avyaya*). They are all marked *udātta* at the beginning (*Phitsūtra* 79: *nīpātā ādyudāttaḥ*). The accusative (*dvitīyā*) *tatpuruṣa* of *muhūrtasukham*, where *muhūrta* is marked *udātta* at the end (6.3.107 *pr̥sodarādīni* . . .), is formed by 2.1.28 *atyantasamyoge ca*. The *sarvarātra* of *sarvarātrakalyāṇī* ends in affix *ṬaC* (5.4.87 *ahaḥ sarvaikadeśa* . . .). It is marked *udātta* at the end in view of affixal accent.

The last two examples, *bhojyoṣṇam* and *bhojyalavaṇam*, contain *bhojya*, a derivate of *NyaT* (3.1.124 *ṛhalor n̄yat*). It is marked *svārīta* at the end by 6.1.182 *tī svaritam*.

These derivates are all exceptions to 6.1.120 *samāsasya*. Since our rule restores original accent of initial constituents, derivational details of only those constituents is offered. Refer to compound section of rules (vol. III) for further details.

### 6.2.3 वर्णो वर्णोच्चनेते

*varṇo varṇeṣu anete*

/ *varṇaḥ* 1/1 *varṇeṣu* 7/3 *anete* 7/1 = *na etaḥ* = *anetaḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmin*/  
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *tatpuruṣe* #2)

*varṇavāci pūrvapadam varṇavāciṣu evottarapadeṣu etaśabdavarjiteṣu paratas*  
*tatpuruṣe samāse prakṛtisvaram bhavati*

An initial constituent which, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, signifies *varṇa* 'color' and combines with a following constituent signifying *varṇa*, though not constituted by *eta*, retains its original accent.

#### EXAMPLES:

*kṛṣṇasāraṅgaḥ* 'variegated black'

*lohitāsāraṅgaḥ* 'variegated red'

*kṛṣṇakālmāṣaḥ* 'spotted black'

*lohitakālmāṣaḥ* 'spotted red'

1. Note that *kṛṣṇa* is a derivate of affix *naK* (*Uṇādi* III:4: *kṛṣer varṇe*). Thus, it is marked with *udātta* at the end by affixal accent. The *lohita* of *lohitāsāraṅgaḥ* is a derivate of affix *taN* (*Uṇādi* III:94: *ruhe raś ca lo vā*). Rule 6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam* will thus mark it *udātta* at the beginning. All these examples involve an initial constituent denoting 'color' (*varṇa*). Elsewhere, in *paramakṛṣṇaḥ* 'absolutely black' and *kṛṣṇatilāḥ* 'black sesame', this rule does not apply. For, *parama* is not a word denoting 'color' in the first, and *kṛṣṇa*, with the signification of 'color' in the second, is not a following constituent. Finally, *kṛṣṇaitaḥ* 'variegated black' is also excluded since *etaḥ* 'variegated', a word denoting color, follows.

## 6.2.4 गाधलवणयोः प्रमाणे

*gādhalavaṇayoḥ pramāṇe*

/ *gādha-lavaṇayoḥ* 7/2 *pramāṇe* 7/1/

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *tatpuruṣe* #2)

*pramāṇavācīni tatpuruṣe samāse* 'gādha, lavaṇa' *ity etayor uttarapadayoḥ pūrvapadam prakṛtisvaram bhavati*

The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound retains its original accent when *gādha* and *lavaṇa* combine to follow and the signification is *pramāṇa* 'standard of measure'.

## EXAMPLES:

*śambāgādham udakam* 'as deep as iron-head length of a pestle'

*aritrāgādham udakam* 'as deep as the length of an ore'

*golāvaṇam* 'as much salt as can be given to a cow'

*aśvālavaṇam* 'as much salt as can be given to a horse'

1. Note that *śamba* 'iron-head of a pestle' is a derivate of affix *baN* (*Uṇādi* IV:94: *śamer ban*) and hence, because of its *N* as an *it*, it is marked *udātta* at the beginning. The next example has *aritra* 'an ore', a derivate of *itra* (3.2.184 *arttilūdhū . . .*), as its initial constituent. It is marked *udātta* in the middle by affixal accent (3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*). The *go* of *golavaṇam* is a derivate of *Do* (*Uṇādi* II:62: *gamer doḥ*). This again is *udātta* by affixal accent. The *aśva* of *aśvalavaṇam* is a derivate of affix *KvaN* (*Uṇādi* I:151: *aśupruṣilaṭi . . .*). It is marked *udātta* at the beginning in view of 6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*. The original accent of all preceding constituents is retained.

## 6.2.5 दायार्द्यं दायदे

*dāyādyam dāyāde*

/ *dāyādyam* 1/1 *dāyāde* 7/1/

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *tatpuruṣe* #2)

*tatpuruṣe samāse dāyādaśabda uttarapade dāyādyavāci pūrvapadam prakṛtisvaram bhavati*

An initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound with the signification of *dāyādyā* 'inheritance' retains its original accent when *dāyāda* 'inheritor' follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*vidyādāyādaḥ* 'he who inherits knowledge'

*dhanadāyādaḥ* 'he who inherits wealth'

1. Note that *vidyā* 'knowledge' is a derivate of *KyaP* (3.3.99 *saṃjñāyām samajanī . . .*), marked *udātta* at the end. Since it ends in *TāP*, it should be marked *anudātta* at the end (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*). This, however, is

not accepted. The final *ā* of *vidyā* remains *udātta* because it is a single replacement involving an *udātta*. The word *dhana* 'wealth' is a derivate of *Kyu* (*Uṇādi* II:81: *kr̥p̥r̥v̥r̥ji* . . .), introduced after *dhāñ*. The *ā* of *dhāñ* is deleted (6.4.68 *āto lopa* . . .) and its *yu* is replaced with *ana* (7.1.1 *yuvor anākau*). Incidentally, the word *dāyāda* is explained as *dātavyo dāyaḥ* = *bhāgaḥ*, *dāyam ādatte dāyādaḥ* 'one who receives a share of inheritance'.

The genitive of the example compounds has been questioned. If one accepts it as introduced in consonance with rule 2.3.39 *svāmīśvarādhipati* . . ., the formation of these compounds will be blocked. For, a genitive introduced by enumerating individual bases (*pratīpadavidhāna*) cannot be combined in a compound (cf. *vt. ad* 2.2.9 *yājakādibhiś ca: pratīpadavidhāna ca śaṣṭhī na samasyate*). It must then be accepted as a case of residual genitive (*śeṣalakṣaṇā*) of 2.3.50 *śaṣṭhī śeṣe*. That is, the genitive of these compounds will no longer be a genitive characterized with enumeration of individual bases (*pratīpadavidhāna*). But why is the genitive offered in relation to *dāyāda*, etc., in 2.3.39 *svāmīśvarādhipati* . . .?. Note that 2.3.39 offers genitive along with an optional locative (*saptamī*). If genitive was not specified in 2.3.39, then its locative, because of being a special provision, would have blocked the genitive of 2.3.50, as far as *dāyāda*, etc., were concerned. The genitive of 2.3.39 can still be accepted as residual genitive. This way, the compounds can be interpreted as genitive (*śaṣṭhī*) and locative (*saptamī*) *tatpuruṣa*, both.

### 6.2.6 प्रतिबन्धचिरकृच्छ्रयोः

*pratibandhi cirakṛcchrayoḥ*

/pratibandhi 1/1 cirakṛcchrayoḥ 7/2 (itar. dv.)/

(prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 tatpuruṣe #2)

*tatpuruṣe samāse cirakṛcchrayor uttarapadayoḥ pratibandhivācīpūrvapadam prakṛtisvaram bhavati*

The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound which signifies *pratibandhi* 'obstacle' retains its original accent when *cira* 'long, protracted' and *kṛcchra* 'difficult' combine to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*gamānaciram* 'delayed departure'

*gamānakṛcchram* 'difficult departure'

*vyāharānaciram* 'delayed response'

*vyāharākṛcchram* 'difficult response'

1. This rule allows the initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound to retain its original accent provided it is used with the denotatum of *pratibandhi* 'obstacle'. Thus, *gamana* 'going' and *vyāharaṇa* 'talking', both derivatives of *Lyuṭ*→*ana* marked with *udātta* at the end (6.1.190 *litā*), retain their original accent. These *karmadhāraya-tatpuruṣa* compounds can be formed by 2.1.72

*mayūravyaṃsakādayaś ca*. Their initial constituents, i.e., *gamana* and *vyāharaṇa*, are viewed here as obstacles to realization of desired results.

### 6.2.7 पदेऽपदेशे

*pade' padeśe*

/pade 7/1 apadeśe 7/1/

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 tatpuruṣe #2*)

*apadeśe vācīni tatpuruṣe samāse padaśabda uttarapade pūrvapadam prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati*

The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound retains its original accent when *pada* 'place, excuse' combines to follow and *apadeśa* 'pretext' is denoted.

#### EXAMPLES:

*mūtrāpadena prasthitah* '... left on the pretext of urinating'

*uccārapadena prasthitah* '... left on the pretext of defecating'

1. Note that *mūtra* is a derivate of *ṢtraN* (*tra*; *Uṇādi* IV:163: *sivimucyo* . . .). It is marked *udātta* at the beginning because of its *N* as an *it* (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*). The word *uccāra* is a derivate of *GHaÑ* and is marked *udātta* at the end (6.2.144 *thāthaghañ* . . .). Incidentally, *apadeśa* and *uccāra* are explained as *vyāja* 'pretext' and *puṇṇsakriyā* 'defecating', respectively. That is why, *viṣṇoḥ padam* = *viṣṇuḥ padam* 'place of Viṣṇu' does not qualify for this accentual provision.

### 6.2.8 निवाते वातत्राणे

*nivāte vātatrāṇe*

/nivāte 7/1 vātatrāṇe 7/1 = vātāt trāṇam (*pañc. tat.*), *tasmin*/

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 tatpuruṣe #2*)

*nivātaśabde uttarapade vātatrāṇavācīni tatpuruṣe samāse pūrvapadam prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati*

The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound retains its original accent when *nivāta* combines to follow and *vātatrāṇa* 'protection from wind' is signified.

#### EXAMPLES:

*kuṭṭīnīvātam* 'hut alone as a shelter from winds'

*śāminīvātam* 'Śamī tree alone as a shelter from winds'

*kuḍyānīvātam* 'wall alone as a shelter from winds'

1. Note that *nivāta* denotes 'absence of wind' (*vātābhāva*). It can be interpreted as an indeclinable (*avyayibhāva*) compound formed by 2.1.6 *avyayaṃ vibhakti*. . . . One can also form a *bahuvrīhi*, paraphrased as *niruddhaḥ*

*vātaḥ asmin* ‘that in which the wind is blocked out’. A constituent such as *kuṭī* which may serve as a cause for blocking winds can be combined with *nivāta*, a coreferential (*samānādhikaraṇa*) *pada*. The words *kuṭī* and *śamī* both end in *ÑṢ* and have been enumerated in the list headed by *gaura*, i.e., *gaurādi* (4.1.41 *śid gaurādibhyaś ca*). These are all marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent. The word *kuḍya* ‘wall’ ends in affix *ḍyaK*, or *ḍyakI* (*Uṇādi* VIII:20: *kavater ḍyakic ca*). It is thus marked *udātta* at the end. Some even consider it as a derivate of *yaT*, marked *udātta* at the beginning (*ādyudātta*; 6.1.210 *yato’ nāvah*).

Note that *nivāta* must denote *vātatrāṇa* ‘wind-protection’. For, elsewhere, in *rājanivāte vasati* ‘stays near the king’ and *sukhaṁ mātṛnivātam* ‘happiness where the mother is’, this accentual provision will be blocked. The word *nivāta* is used here in the sense of ‘proximity, side’.

### 6.2.9 शारदेऽनार्तवे

*śārade’ nārtave*

/śārade 7/1 anārtave 7/1 = ṛtau bhavam = ārtavam; na ārtavam (nañ. tat.)/

(prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 tatpuruṣe #2)

*anārtavavācīni śāradaśabde uttarapade tatpuruṣe samāse pūrvapadam prakṛtisvaram bhavati*

The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound retains its original accent when *śārada* ‘autumnal’ signifying something not pertaining to a season (*anārtava*) follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*rajjūśāradam udakam* ‘rope-fetched fresh water’

*dṛṣatśāradaḥ saktavaḥ* ‘freshly stone-ground saktu (parched gram-flour)’

1. Note that *ārtavam*, of the negative *anārtave*, is explained as that which is found in its season (*ṛtau bhavam*). The word *śārada* is here used in the sense of *pratyagra* ‘new, fresh’. Elsewhere, it can mean autumnal. The word *rajjū* is a derivate of affix *u* (*Uṇādi* I:15: *ṣṭer asum ca*), introduced after verbal root *ṣṛj* ‘to ceate’. Augment *asUM* is also introduced here before the root-final consonant. Thus, *ṣṛ + asUM + j + u* → *ṣṛ + as + j + u*. The root-initial *s* of the string also goes through deletion, and *ṛ* goes through a replacement in *yaN*. Thus, (*s* →  $\phi$ ) *ṛ + as + j + u* → (*ṛ* → *r*) + *as + j + u*. Rule 8.4.52 *jhalām jaś jhaśi* then replaces *s* with *d*, which, by application of 8.4.50 *stoś cunā ścuḥ*, becomes *j*. Thus, *r + a(s* → *d* → *j*) + *j + u* = *rajjū*. This word is marked *udātta* at the beginning since *u* is qualified as *nī* (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*). The word *dṛṣad* ‘pebble, rock’ is a derivate of *adIK* (*Uṇādi* I:131: *dṛṇāteḥ ṣug hrasvaś ca*). It is thus marked *udātta* at the end. Verbal root *dṛ* ‘to tear, rip’ goes through shortening of its *ṛ*, subsequently to which augment *ṣUK* is added.

The final *d* of *dṛṣad* is replaced with *t* (8.4.54 *khari ca*). These compounds are both obligatory (*nitya*). A paraphrase with their individual constituents (*svapadavigraha*) is thus not possible.

#### 6.2.10 अध्वर्युक्काययोजातौ

*adhvaryukaṣāyayor jātau*

/adhvaryu-kaṣāyayoh 7/2 (itar. dv.); jātau 7/1/

(prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 tatpuruṣe #2)

'adhvaryu, kaṣāya' ity etayor jātivācini tatpuruṣe samāse pūrvapadam prakṛtisvaram bhavati

The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound retains its original accent when *adhvaryu* and *kaṣāya* combine to follow and *jāti* 'class' is signified.

#### EXAMPLES:

*prācyādhvaryuḥ* 'a priest from the east'

*kaṭhādhvaryuḥ* 'a priest who is a Kaṭha'

*kalāpādhvaryuḥ* 'a priest who is a Kalāpa'

1. Note that compounds such as *prācyādhvaryuḥ*, etc., are formed with coreferential constituents where their denotational scope (*viśaya*) is also fixed (*niyata*) as *jāti* 'class'. The word *prācyā* is a derivate of *yaT* (4.2.100 *dyuprāgapāgu* . . .), and hence, is marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.210 *yato' nāvah*).

Note that *kaṭha* is accepted as a derivate of *aC* (3.1.134 *nandigrahi* . . .), introduced after verbal root *kaṭhA* 'to live with difficulty'. Affix *ṆinI*, with the signification of *kaṭhena proktam* (3.4.101 *tena proktam*), is then introduced after a syntactically related *kaṭha* (3.4.104 *kalāpivaiśampā* . . .). This affix is subsequently deleted by 3.4.107 *kaṭhacarakāl luk*. The word *kalāpa* is derived with affix *aN* (4.3.108 *kalāpino'ṇ*). These derivates of *ṆinI* and *aN* are both marked *udātta* at the end (*antodātta*). Refer to my notes under 4.3.107 *kaṭhacarakāl luk* and 4.3.108 *kalāpino'ṇ* for additional details.

#### 6.2.11 सदृशप्रतिरूपयोः सादृश्ये

*sadṛśapratirūpayoh sādṛśye*

/sadṛśa-prtirūpayoh 7/2 (itar. dv.); sādṛśye 7/1/

(prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 tatpuruṣe #2)

'sadṛśa, pratirūpa' ity etayor uttarapadayoh sādṛśyavācini tatpuruṣe samāse pūrvapadam prakṛtisvaram bhavati

The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound retains its original accent when *sadṛśa* 'same, similar' and *pratirūpa* 'identical' combine to follow and *sādṛśya* 'similarity' is signified.

## EXAMPLES:

*pitṛśadrśaḥ* 'like (his) father'  
*mātṛśadrśaḥ* 'like (his) mother'

1. Note that *mātṛ* and *pitṛ*, both derivatives of *tṛC* (*Uṇādi* II:95: *nap-tṛneṣṭṛvaṣṭṛ* . . .), are marked *udātta* at the end via *nīpātana*. Their compounds with *sadrśa* and *pratirūpa* are formed when the constituents end in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive' and *trītiyā* 'instrumental', respectively.

Why mention *sadrśa* in this rule when an instrumental *tatpuruṣa* compound formed under 2.1.30 *pūrvasadrśa* . . . with *mātṛ* and *pitṛ* in the instrumental (2.3.72 *tulyārthair* . . .) can be accounted for by 6.2.2 *tatpuruṣe tulyārtha* . . . Recall that 2.3.72 *tulyārthair* . . . introduces instrumental, optionally, with the genitive. The word *sadrśa* is used here to indicate that our present rule applies only when the compound is a genitive *tatpuruṣa*. That is, even when no deletion of genitive (6.3.21 *ṣaṣṭhyāḥ ākrośe*) takes place. It is important so that non-deletion of genitive, as in *dāsyāḥsadrśaḥ*, could further avail accentual provision of 6.1.171 *udāttayaṇo halpūrvāt*.

Since as instrumental *tatpuruṣa* is expressly formed by 2.1.30 *tulyārthair* . . ., and also since there is no rule that allows a parallel genitive *tatpuruṣa*, a *ṣaṣṭhī* interpretation characterized with *sadrśa* does not make sense. Nevertheless, a genitive *tatpuruṣa* is needed, as is indicated by non-deletion of genitive in compounds such as *dāsyāḥsadrśaḥ* 'maid-like'. If a constituent ending in the genitive is accepted to form a compound with *sadrśa*, *sadrśa* should not be used in a rule which allows formation of instrumental *tatpuruṣa* (2.1.30 *pūrvasadrśa* . . .). That may be needed where a genitive *tatpuruṣa* could not be formed with *sadrśa*. Consider *vidyayā (hetunā) sadrśaḥ = vidyāsadrśaḥ* 'similar for reasons of scholarship' as an example.

## 6.2.12 द्विगौ प्रमाणे

*dvigau pramāṇe*  
 / *dvigau* 7/1 *pramāṇe* 7/1/  
 (*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *tatpuruṣe* #2)  
*dvigāv uttarapade pramāṇavācīni tatpuruṣe samāse pūrvapadam prakṛtisvaram bhavati*

The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound termed *dvigu* retains its original accent when the signification is *pramāṇa* 'standard of measure'.

## EXAMPLES:

*prācyāsaptasamaḥ* 'seven year old easterner'  
*gāndhārisaptasamaḥ* 'seven year old Gandharan'

1. Note that *saptasama*, a compound termed *dvigu* (2.1.51 *saṃkhyāpūrvō*



*dviguh*), is combined after *prācya* which, in turn, is marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.2.10 *adhvaryukaśāya* . . .). Incidentally, affix *mātraC* has been deleted after *saptasama* (5.2.37 *pramāṇe dvayasajdaghnac* . . .; *vt.*: *pramāṇe lo vaktavyam*; *dvigor nityam*). The word *gāndhāri*, because of its enumeration in the *kardamādi* class, is marked *udātta* at the beginning, or at the middle (*Phitsūtra* 111:10).

Compounds such as *br̥hiṣṭasthaḥ* and *paramasaptasamaḥ* cannot qualify for this accentual provision since the first is not a *dvigu* and the second does not denote *pramāṇa*.

### 6.2.13 गन्तव्यपण्य वाणिजे

*gantavyapaṇyam vāṇije*

/ *gantavya-paṇyam* 1/1 (*itar. dv.*); *vāṇije* 7/1/

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *tatpuruṣe* #2)

*vāṇijaśabda uttarapade tatpuruṣe samāse gantavyavāci paṇyavāci ca pūrvapadam prakṛtisvaram bhavati*

The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound with the signification of *gantavya* 'road, destination' and *paṇya* 'that which is bartered' retains its original accent when *vāṇija* 'trading' combines to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*mādravāṇijaḥ* 'a trader on way to Madra'

*kāśmīravāṇijaḥ* 'a trader on way to Kāśmīra'

*govāṇijaḥ* 'cow-trader'

*aśvavāṇijaḥ* 'horse-trader'

1. The initial constituent of these example compounds retain their original accent. Thus, *madra* ends in affix *raK* (*Unādi* II:13: *sphāyitañci* . . .) and is marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent (*pratyayasvara*; 3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*). The word *kāśmīra* is marked *udātta* at the middle (6.3.109 *pr̥ṣodarādīni yathopadiṣṭam*). Refer to notes under 6.2.4 *gādhalavanayoh pramāṇe* for deriving *go* and *aśva*. They are marked *udātta* at the end and at the beginning, respectively.

### 6.2.14 मात्रोपज्ञोपक्रमच्छाये नपुंसके

*mātropajñopakramacchāye napuṃsake*

/ *mātropajñopakramacchāye* 7/1 (*sam. dv.*); *napuṃsake* 7/1/

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *tatpuruṣe* #2)

'*mātrā*, *upajñā*, *upakrama*, *chāyā*' *eteṣūttarapadeṣu napuṃsakavācīni tatpuruṣe samāse pūrvapadam prakṛtisvaram bhavati*

The initial constituent of a neuter *tatpuruṣa* compound retains its original constituent when *mātrā* 'measure', *upajñā* 'ingenuity', *upakrama* 'initiative' and *chāyā* 'shade' combine to follow.

## EXAMPLES:

*bhikṣāmātraṃ na dadāti yācitaḥ* ‘when asked, he does not even give an appropriate measure of alms’

*saṃudramātraṃ na saro*’ *sti kiṃcana* ‘there is no pond equal to the size of an ocean’

*pāṇinopāñnam akālakaṃ vyākaraṇam* ‘a grammar with no notion of *kāla* ‘time’ is Pāṇini’s ingenuity’

*vyādyūpajñam duṣkaraṇam* ‘Vyāḍi’s ingenuity is hard to match’

*ādhyōpakramaṃ prāsādaḥ* ‘a mansion begun by Āḍhya; . . . begun by someone rich’

*darśanīyōpakramam* ‘a beautiful start’

*iśucchāyam* ‘shadow of a mass of arrows’

*dhanūschāyam* ‘shadow of a bow’

1. The word *mātrā* is used here in the sense of *pramāṇa* ‘measure’, relative to the integration (*vytti*) of nominals in a compound. Our compound *bhikṣāpramāṇam* is a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound paraphrased as: *bhikṣāyās tulyapramāṇam* ‘a measure equal to the measure of alms (desired)’. Recall that *bhikṣā* is derived with affix *a* introduced after *bhikṣ* (3.3.103 *guroś ca halaḥ*). It is marked *udātta* at the end (3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*). Rule 4.1.4 *ajādyataḥ tāp* introduces *TāP*, subsequently. The word *samudra* is also marked *udātta* at the end (*Phitsūtra* I:2: *pāṭalāpāla* . . .).

The next four examples of *upajñā* and *upakrama* are genitive *tatpuruṣa* (2.4.24 *upajñōpakramam* . . .) compounds. The word *pāṇina* (*Kāśikā* does not use *Pāṇina* here) is a derivate of *aN* signifying *paṇinah apatyam* ‘male offspring of Paṇin’. It is marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent.

The word *ādhyā* is a derivate of affix *Ka*, introduced after *dhyā* with the preverb *ā*. The initial *dh* of the root is replaced with *ḍh*, due mainly to its membership in the *prṣodarādi* group (6.3.109 *prṣodarādini* . . .) of nominals. The *ā* of *dhyā* goes through deletion. The derivate itself is marked *udātta* at the end (6.2.144 *thāthaghañ* . . .). The word *darśanīya* ‘worth seeing’, a derivate of *anīyaR*, is marked *udātta* at *nī* (6.1.214 *upottamam riti*). The final of *sukumāra* ‘tender’ is similarly marked *udātta* (6.2.172 *nañsubhyām*).

Examples with *chāyā* as a constituent are also interpreted as genitive *tatpuruṣa* compounds. Affix *u* (*Uṇādi* I:13), in *iṣ + u* → *iṣu*, is treated as marked with *N* as its *it* (*Uṇādi* I:9: *dhānye nit*). We thus get its initial vowel marked with *udātta* (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*). The initial of *dhanuṣ* ‘bow’ is also marked with *udātta* (*Phitsūtra* II:3: *nabviṣayasyānisantasya*). Note that the neuter of these last two examples is in consonance with 2.4.22 *chāyā bāhulye*. Recall that this accentual provision will be blocked in *kudyacchāyā* ‘hut’s shade’. For, the compound is not a neuter.

## 6.2.15 सुखप्रिययोर्हिते

*sukhapriyayor hite*

/sukha-priyayoh 7/2 hite 7/1/

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 tatpuruṣe #2*)

'*sukha*, *priya*' *ity etayor uttarapadayor hitavācini tatpuruṣe samāse pūrvapadam prakṛtisvaram bhavati*

The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound retains its original accent when *sukha* 'comfort' and *priya* 'dear' combine to follow and the signification is *hita* 'beneficial; source of pleasure'.

## EXAMPLES:

*gamānasukham* 'going will be a pleasure'

*vacānasukham* 'talking will be a pleasure'

*gamānapriyam* 'going will be dear'

*vacānapriyam* 'speaking will be dear'

1. These examples all entail *karmadhāraya* (1.2.42 *tatpuruṣaḥ* . . .). Their initial constituents are derivatives of *LyuT* and hence, are marked *udātta* before the affix (6.1.190 *lit*).

Note that this accentual provision will be blocked outside the meaning of *hita* 'benefic'. Consider *paramasukham* 'best comfort' and *paramapriyam* 'most dear' where *sukha* 'comfort' and *priya* 'dear' do not denote *hita*. They are used here with the denotatum of 'excellence' (*utkr̥ṣṭa*). The word *sukha* and *priya* of this rule are used with the signification of 'beneficial (to happiness, etc.)', where 'happiness, etc., are seen as *bhāvin* 'that which will happen in the future'.

## 6.2.16 प्रीतौ च

*prītau ca*

/prītau 7/1 ca φ/

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 tatpuruṣe #2 sukhapriyayoh #15*)

*prītau gamyamānāyām* '*sukha*, *priya*' *ity etayor uttarapadayos tatpuruṣe samāse pūrvapadam prakṛtisvaram bhavati*

The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound retains its original accent, also when *sukha* and *priya* combine as following constituents and *prīti* 'pleasure' is signified.

## EXAMPLES:

*brāhmaṇasúkham pāyasam* 'a brāhmaṇa finds extreme pleasure in eating rice-pudding'

*chātrapriyo* '*nadhyāyah*' 'a student finds extreme pleasure in non-study days'

*kanyāpriyo mṛdaṅgaḥ* ‘a girl finds pleasure in playing the Mṛdaṅga drum’

1. Note that the signification of *sukha* and *priya* necessarily includes some sense of *prīti* ‘affection’. Why should we then state *prītau* ‘when affection is denoted’? It is used here to denote its excellence (*atisāya*). The words *brāhmaṇa* and *chātra* are *udātta* at the end by affixal accent. They are derivatives of *aN* (4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*) and *Na* (4.4.62 *chatrādibhyo ṇaḥ*), respectively. The last, *kanyā* ‘girl’, is marked *svarita* at the end (*Phīṣūtra* 76 *tilyasikya* . . .).

### 6.2.17 स्वं स्वामिनि

*svaṁ svāmini*

/ *svaṁ* 1/1 *svāmini* 7/1/

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *taṭpuruṣe* #2)

*svāminśabda uttarapade taṭpuruṣe samāse pūrvapadam prakṛtisvaram bhavati*

The initial constituent of a *taṭpuruṣa* compound with the signification of *sva* ‘one’s own’ retains its original accent when *svāmin* combines to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*gosvāmī* ‘cow-owner’

*aśvāsuvāmī* ‘horse-owner’

*dhanāsuvāmī* ‘owner of wealth’

1. Refer to derivational details of *go* ‘cow’, *aśva* ‘horse’ and *dhana* ‘wealth’ which have already been discussed (6.2.4 *gādhalavaṇayoh* . . . ; 6.2.5 *dāyā-dyam* . . .). The initial *udātta* of *aśva* and *dhana*, and the final *udātta* of *go* as well, is retained. This accentual provision will be blocked where *sva* ‘one’s own’ is not denoted. Consider *paramasvāmī*, where *parama* denotes *svāmin* by way of being a qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*).

### 6.2.18 पत्यावैश्वर्ये

*patyāu aiśvare*

/ *patyau* 7/1 *aiśvare* 7/1/

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *taṭpuruṣe* #2)

*patiśabda uttarapade aiśvaryaṇīni taṭpuruṣe pūrvapadam prakṛtisvaram bhavati*

The initial constituent of a *taṭpuruṣa* compound formed with the signification of *aiśvarya* ‘affluence’ retains its original accent when *pati* ‘lord, husband’ combines to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*gṛhapātiḥ* ‘householder’

*senāpatiḥ* ‘commander’

*narāpatiḥ* 'king'

*dhānyāpatiḥ* 'master of wealth'

1. The *senā* 'army' of *senāpatiḥ* is a *bahuvrīhi* compound, paraphrased as *saha inena vartate* 'that which exists with might'. It is marked *udātta* at the beginning (*Phīṣūtra* 80: *nipātā ādyudātātāḥ*). The word *nara* 'man' is a derivate of affix *aP* (3.3.57 *ṛdor ap*), introduced after *nṛ*. It is marked *udātta* at the beginning because of the root-accent (*dhātu-svara*; 6.1.159 *dhātoḥ*). The affix, of course, is marked with *anudātta* (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*). The word *dhānya*, a derivate of *NyaT*, is marked with *svarita* (6.1.182 *titsvaritam*) at the end.

### 6.2.19 न भूवाङ्निदिदधिषु

*na bhūvākciddidhiṣu*

/ *na*  $\phi$  *bhū-vāk-cid-didhiṣu* 7/3 (*sam. dv.*)/

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *tatpuruṣe* #2) *patyāu aiśvarye* #18)

*patīśabda uttarapade aiśvaryavācīni tatpuruṣe samāse* 'bhū, vāk, cit, didhiṣu'  
*ity etāni pūrvapadāni prakṛtisvarāṇi na bhavanti*

The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound formed with the signification of *aiśvaryā* 'affluence' does not retain its original accent when *pati* 'husband, lord' combines to follow *bhū* 'earth', *vāk* 'speech', *cit* 'mind, consciousness' and *didhiṣu* 'a woman who remarried'.

#### EXAMPLES:

*bhūpatiḥ* 'lord of the land'

*vākpatiḥ* 'master of speech'

*citpatiḥ* 'master of mind'

*didhiṣūpatiḥ* 'husband of a widowed woman'

1. This is an exception to the preceding rule. The preceding rule itself is an exception to 6.1.220 *samāsasya*. Thus, a negation of retention will reinstate final *udātta* of 6.1.220 *samāsasya*. The examples are all genitive *tatpuruṣa* compounds. The initial constituents of the first three compounds, i.e., *bhū*, *vāk*, *cit*, are derivatives of *KvIP* (3.2.179 *bhuvah samjñāntarayoh*; 3.2.117 *anyebhyo* 'pi *drśyate*; *vt.*: *kvi vaci pracchi* . . .), respectively. The initial constituent of the last compound, i.e., *didhiṣū*, is derived with *Kū* (*Uṇādi* I:176: *andūḍṛmbhūjambū* . . .), via *nipātana*, and is marked *anudātta*. The compound is, of course, marked with *udātta* at the end (6.1.220 *samāsasya*).

### 6.2.20 वा भुवनम्

*vā bhuvanam*

/ *vā*  $\phi$  *bhuvanam* 1/1/

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *tatpuruṣe* #2 *patyāu aiśvarye* #18)

*patiśabda uttarapade aiśvaryavācīni tatpuruṣe samāse bhuvanaśabdah  
pūrvapadam vā prakṛtisvaram bhavati*

An initial constituent, namely *bhuvana*, of a *tatpuruṣa* compound formed with the signification of *aiśvarya*, optionally retains its original accent.

EXAMPLES:

*bhuvanapatiḥ* 'lord of the universe'  
*bhuvānapatiḥ*

1. The word *bhuvana* 'universe' is a derivate of *KyūN* (*Uṇādi* II:80: *bhūsūdhūbhrasji* . . .). Thus, *bhū* + (*yu*→*ana*) = *bh(u*→*v*) + *ana* = *bhuvana*. It is marked *udātta* at the beginning because of *N* as an *it* in *Kyūn*. This retention of the original accent of *bhuvana* is here made optional to the final *udātta* of 6.1.220 *samāsasya*.

6.2.21 आशङ्काबोधनेदीयसु सम्भावने

*āśaṅkābādhanedīyassu sambhāvane*  
*/āśaṅka-ābādha-nedīyassu 7/3 (itar. dv.); sambhāvane 7/1/*  
*(prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 tatpuruṣe #2)*  
'*āśaṅka*, *ābādha*, *nedīyas*' *ity eteṣūttarapadeṣu sambhāvanavācīni tatpuruṣe  
samāse pūrvapadam prakṛtisvaram bhavati*

The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound formed with the signification of *sambhāvana* 'assumption, supposition' retains its original accent when *āśaṅka* 'fear, apprehension', *ābādha* 'impediment' *nedīyas* 'proximate' combine to follow.

EXAMPLES:

*gamānāśaṅkam* 'apprehension about going'  
*vacānāśaṅkam* 'apprehension about speaking'  
*gamānābādham* 'possible departure'  
*vacānābādham* 'possible speaking'  
*gamānanedīyaḥ* 'imminent departure'  
*vyāharānanedīyaḥ* 'imminent speaking'

1. Note that *āśaṅka* and *ābādha* are derivatives of *GHaN̄*, introduced after *śaṅk* and *bādḥ* conjoined with the preverb *āN̄*. They both are marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*). Their compounds with *gamana* and *vacana* are formed by 2.1.56 *viśeṣaṇam viśeṣyeṇa* . . . Since *gamana* and *vacana* are derivatives of *LyuT̄*, their accent will be determined in view of 6.1.190 *liti*.

Commentators explain *nedīyaḥ* as *atiśayena antikaḥ* 'extremely closeby', where *antika* is replaced with *ned* before *īyasUN* (5.3.63 *antikabādḥayor* . . .).

## 6.2.22 पूर्व भूतपूर्वे

*pūrvē bhūtapūrvē*

/ *pūrvē* 7/1 *bhūtapūrvē* 7/1 = *pūrvam bhūtaḥ, tasmin/*

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *tatpuruṣe* #2)

*pūrvasabde uttarapade bhūtapūrvavācīni tatpuruṣe samāse pūrvapadam prakṛtisvaram bhavati*

The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound formed with the signification of *bhūtapūrvā* 'former; that which existed before' retains its original accent when *pūrvā* 'prior, earlier' combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

*ādhyapūrvāḥ* 'formerly rich'

*darśanīyāpūrvāḥ* 'formerly handsome'

*sukumārapūrvāḥ* 'formerly tender'

1. Refer to notes under 6.2.14 *mātropajñopakrama* . . . where *ādhyā* 'rich', *sukumāra* 'tender' and *darśanīya* 'worth seeing' are discussed. The example compounds can be formed by 2.1.56 *viśeṣaṇam viśeṣyena*. . . Or else, one can resort to 2.1.72 *mayūravyaṁsakādayaś ca*. These compounds are formed with the sense of *bhūtapūrvā* 'that which existed before'. The word *pūrvā*, insofar as integration (*vytti*) is concerned, is used in the sense of *bhūtapūrvā* 'existed before'.

Why do we have to state the condition of *bhūtapūrvē* 'when existed before'? Consider *paramapūrvāḥ* 'that which is best and is also prior' and *uttamapūrvāḥ* 'ibidem' where the compounds are paraphrased as *paramaś cāsau pūrvāś ca* and *uttamaś cāsau pūrvāś ca*, respectively. They are not formed with paraphrases such as *paramo bhūtapūrvāḥ* 'formerly excellent' and *uttamo bhūtapūrvāḥ* 'formerly best' (*Kāś: atra paramaś cāsau pūrvāś ca iti samāso na tu paramo bhūtapūrvāḥ iti*).

## 6.2.23 सविधसनीडसमर्यादसवेशसदेशेषु सामीप्ये

*savidhasanīḍasamaryādasaveśasadeśeṣu sāmīpye*

/ *savidha-sanīḍa-samaryāda-saveśa-sadeśeṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*); *sāmīpye* 7/1/

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *tatpuruṣe* #2)

'*savidha, sanīḍa, samaryāda, saveśa, sadeśa*' *ity eteṣūttarapadeṣu sāmīpya-vācīni tatpuruṣe samāse pūrvapadam prakṛtisvaram bhavati*

The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound formed with the signification of *sāmīpya* 'proximity' retains its original accent when *savidha, sanīḍa, samaryāda, saveśa* and *sadeśa* combine to follow.

EXAMPLES:

*maḍrasāvidham* 'close to the country of the Madras'

*kāśmīrāsavidham* 'close to Kāśmīra'

*mādrasānīdam* 'in the vicinity of . . .'

*kāśmīrasānīdam* 'in the vicinity of . . .'

*mādrasāmaryādam* 'close to . . .'

*kāśmīrasāmaryādam* 'close to . . .'

*mādrasāveśam* 'close to . . .'

*kāśmīrasāveśam* 'close to . . .'

*mādrasādeśam* 'in the vicinity of . . .'

*kāśmīrasādeśam* 'in the vicinity of . . .'

1. Note that *savidha*, etc., are neuters and denote *sāmīpya* 'proximity'. One should not here interpret *vidhi*, *nīda* and *veśa*, etc., as used in the instrumental governed by *saha* 'with, accompaniment' (2.2.23 *tena saheti* . . .). The accent of initial constituents of these compounds has been discussed under 6.1.13 *gantavyapanyam*. . . Their original accent is thus retained.

#### 6.2.24 विस्पष्टादीनि गुणवचनेषु

*vispaṣṭādīni guṇavacaneṣu*

/ *vispaṣṭādīni* 1/3 = *vispaṣṭa ādir yeśām* (bv.), *tāni*; *guṇavacaneṣu* 7/3 = *guṇān uktavantaḥ* (upa. tat.), *teṣu*/

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *tatpuruṣe* #2)

*vispaṣṭādīni pūrvapadāni guṇavacaneṣūttarapadeṣu prakṛtisvarāṇi bhavanti*

The initial constituents, namely *vispaṣṭa* 'apparent', etc., of a *tatpuruṣa* compound retain their original accent when a constituent with the denotation of *guṇa* 'quality' (*guṇavacana*) combines to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*vispaṣṭakaṭukam* 'evidently sour'

*vicītrakaṭukam* 'variously sour'

*vyāktakaṭukam* 'clearly sour'

*vispaṣṭālavāṇam* 'evidently salty'

*vicītralavāṇam* 'distinctly salty'

*vyāktālavāṇam* 'clearly salty'

1. Note that *vispaṣṭa* is marked *udātta* at the beginning, where its *vi* is also termed *gati* (1.4.60 *gatiś ca*; 6.2.49 *gatiṃ anantarah*). Rule 6.2.2 *tatpuruṣe* . . . also offers initial *udātta* to *vicitra*, where *vi* itself is marked *udātta* (*Phīṣūtra* 80: *nīpātā ādyudāttaḥ*). The word *vyakta* 'clear, manifest' ends in the *niṣṭhā* suffix *Kta* which, in turn, is introduced after *añjŪ* used with the preverb *vi*. It is marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.2.49 *gatiṃ anantarah*). The *a* of *vya*, in *vyakta*, is *svarita* (8.2.4 *udāttaśvaritayor* . . .). For, given *vi* + *ak* + *ta*, we get *vi* and *ak* marked with an *udātta* and *anudātta* respectively. That is, before a replacement in *yaN* for *i* of *vi* is accomplished. The *a* of *vya*, an *anudātta*, which now occurs after *y*, a replacement for *i* of *vi*, is to be replaced with a *svarita*.



Compounds such as *viśpaṣṭakatukam*, etc., are formed under the condition of 2.1.4 *saha supā*, parallel to *viśpaṣṭam katukam*. These compounds should not be formed by 2.1.56 *viśeṣaṇam viśeṣyeṇa*. . . . For, a *karmadhāraya* will require syntactic coordination between *viśpaṣṭa* and *katuka*, where *viśpaṣṭa* 'evidently, obviously' is a qualifier to *katukatva* 'acidity'. This qualifier here constitutes the basis for usage (*pravṛttinimitta*) of *katuka*. The word *katuka*, in turn, denotes a 'thing' (*dravya*) so qualified. Syntactic coordination is thus impaired. As a result, we cannot form a *karmadhāraya*.

Among the other words which are cited here, *sampanna* 'rich, prosperous' is marked with *udātta* at the end by 6.2.144 *thāthaghañktāḥ*. . . . The words *paṭu* 'clever' and *paṇḍita* 'wise' are marked with *udātta* at the end by affixal accent (3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*). The word *kuśala* is a derivate of the *kṛt* affix *Ka*. Consequently, it is marked with *udātta* at the end by 6.2.139 *gatikāraṇakopapadāt kṛt*. Similar accentual provisions are made available for other words.

Note that, because of the condition of *viśpaṣṭādini*, *paramaḥlavāṇam* 'excellent salt' and *uttamaḥlavāṇam* 'best salt' fall outside the scope of this accentual provision. One must also exclude *viśpaṣṭabrāhmaṇaḥ* 'clearly a brāhmaṇa by caste' since *viśpaṣṭa* here denotes a class (*jāti*) of *brāhmaṇas*. It does not denote quality (*guṇavacana*).

#### 6.2.25 श्रज्यावमकन्यापवत्सु भावे कर्मधारये

*śrajyāvamakanpāpavatsu bhāve karmadhāraye*  
/ *śra-jya-avam-kan-pāpavatsu* 7/3 = *sraś ca jyaś ca avamaś ca pāpavāṁś ca*  
(*itar. dv.*), *teṣu; bhāve* 7/1 *karmadhāraye* 7/1/  
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1)

'*śra, jya, avam, kan*' *ityeṣu pāpaśabdavati cottarapade karmadhāraye samāse bhāvavāci pūrvapadam prakṛtisvaram bhavati*

The initial constituent of a compound termed *karmadhāraya* retains its original accent when it signifies *bhāva* 'root-sense, state' and *śra, jya, avam, kan*, and a constituent containing *pāpa*, combine to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*gamānaśreṣṭham* 'auspicious departure'  
*gamānaśreyaḥ* 'ibidem'  
*vacānaśreṣṭham* 'auspicious talk'  
*vacānaśreyaḥ* 'ibidem'  
*gamānāvamam* 'final departure'  
*vacānāvamam* 'final words'  
*gamānakaniṣṭham* 'short departure'  
*gamānakaniyaḥ* 'shorter departure'  
*gamānapāpiṣṭhaḥ* 'a rather wicked departure'  
*gamānapāpiyaḥ* 'most wicked departure'

1. Recall that *gamana* and *vacana* which are used here as initial constituents are derivatives of *LyuT*. They are marked *udātta* at the beginning, mainly because of *L* as an *it* (6.1.190 *lit*).

2. Note that *śra*, *jya* and *kan* specify compound constituents which follow. They are primarily replacements. Thus, *śra* and *jya* are replacements of *praśasya* when vowel-initial affixes *iṣṭhaN* and *īyasUN* follow (5.3.60 *praśasyasya śraḥ*; 5.3.61 *jay ca*). Rule 5.3.64 *yuvālpayoh kan anyatarasyām* introduces *kan* as an optional replacement after *yuvan* and *alpa*. A specification with these replacements obviously refers to forms which contain them. The following constituents, as examples of *pāpavat*, etc., are given as *pāpiṣṭha* and *pāpiya*. Their *matUP* is deleted (5.3.65 *vinmator luk*) before *iṣṭhaN* and *īyasUN*.

3. Since this accentual provision applies only when we find *śra*, etc., as replacements, *gamanaśobhanam* 'nice going' will be treated as a counter-example. The denotatum of *gamana* must also be *bhāva* 'root-sense'. It is for this reason that *gamanaśreyaḥ* 'going is good fortune', a *karmadhāraya* paraphrased as *gamanam ca tat śreyaś ca* is a counter-example. The word *gamana* is here interpreted as denoting 'means' (*karaṇa*): *gamyate anena* 'that by means of which one goes'. This counter-example can also be interpreted as a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound, as against the *karmadhāraya*. Thus, *gamanasya śreyaḥ* = *gamanaśreyaḥ* 'the best of going'.

## 6.2.26 कुमारश्च

*kumāraś ca*

/ *kumārah* 1/1 *ca* φ /

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *karmadhāraye* #25)

*kumāraśabdah pūrvapadam karmadhāraye samāse prakṛtisvaram bhavati*

An initial constituent, namely *kumāra*, of a compound termed *karmadhāraya* retains its original accent.

### EXAMPLES:

*kumāraśrāmaṇā* 'young female ascetic'

*kumārakūlatā* 'young female mendicant'

*kumārātāpasi* 'young female ascetic'

1. Note that *kumāra*, when paraphrased with *śramana* 'ascetic' and *tāpasi* 'ascetic', is construed as *kumārī* 'girl', its feminine counterpart. That is, *kumara* is gotten via masculine transformation (*pūrvadbbhāva*) of *kumārī* (*Paribhāsa* (72): *prātipadikagrahāṇe liṅgavistasyāpi grahaṇam*). The word *kumāra* is a derivative of *aC* (3.1.134 *nandigrahipacādy...*) introduced after verbal root *kumār* 'to play, sport'. Since affix *aC* is marked with *C* as an *it*, its derivative, here *kumāra*, is supposed to be marked *udātta* at the end (6.1.160 *citah*).

## 6.2.27 आदिः प्रत्येनसि

*ādiḥ pratyenasī*

/ādiḥ 1/1 pratyenasī 7/1 = pratigatam enaḥ

yasya (bv.), tasmīn/

(prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 karmadhāraye #25 kumāraḥ #26)

pratyenasī uttarapade karmadhāraye kumārasyādir udātto bhavati

The initial constituent of a karmadhāraya compound, namely kumāra, is marked udātta at the beginning when pratyenas combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

*kumārāpratyenāḥ* ‘an innocent prince’

1. Note that this section of rules deal with retention of original accents. A constituent such as *kumāra* is allowed to retain its final *udātta* in the earlier rule. Our present rule does not make any explicit provision of *udātta* at the beginning (*ādiḥ*). Its provision can at best be interpreted as retention of original accent of *kumāra* at its beginning. That is, *ādiḥ* has to be interpreted as *kumārasya ādiḥ* ‘the initial of *kumāra*’. Since the original accent of *kumāra* is *udātta* at the end, it will be retained. However, this retention, as is specified by *ādiḥ*, must take place at the beginning. Thus, the final *udātta* of *kumāra* is hereby restored to its initial position. The word *udāttaḥ* thus must be inferred here. For, otherwise, this *sūtra* would not make any sense. That is, this rule offers retention of original accent of an initial compound constituent, namely *kumāra*. This is based on interpreting *ādiḥ* as *kumārasya ādiḥ* ‘the initial of *kumāra* . . .’. We must supply *udāttaḥ* to complete the sense: *udāttaḥ bhavati* ‘becomes *udātta*’. What was *udātta* at the end thus becomes *udātta* at the beginning. The word *ādi* ‘beginning’ is used here to replace what, in the earlier context, was *anta* ‘end’.

## 6.2.28 पूगेष्वन्यतरस्याम्

*pūgeṣu anyatarasyām*

/pūgeṣu 7/3 anyatarasyām 7/1/

(prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 karmadhāraye #25 kumāraḥ #26 ādiḥ #27)

pūgavācīny uttarapade karmadhāraye samāse kumārasyānyatarasyām ādir udātto bhavati

The initial of *kumāra*, in a tatpuruṣa compound termed karmadhāraya, is optionally marked with *udātta* when a constituent denoting *pūga* ‘group’ combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

*kumārācātakāḥ* ‘a group of youths whose leader is Cātaka’

*kumārācātakāḥ* ‘ibidem’

*kūmāralohadhvajāḥ* 'a group of youths whose leader is Lohadhvaja'

*kūmāralohadhvajāḥ* 'ibidem'

*kūmārabalāhakāḥ* 'a group of youths whose leader is Balāhaka'

*kūmārabalāhakāḥ* 'ibidem'

1. Refer to notes under 5.3.112 *pūgāñ* . . . for an explanation of *pūga*. An optional *udātta* at the beginning is offered against the option of *udātta* at the end. This, of course, is in accord with the *pratipadokta* 'nominals specified via individual enumeration' rule of interpretation (*Paribhāṣā* 114: *lakṣaṇapratipadoktayoh pratipadoktasya* . . .). Recall that *kumāra* is being assigned accent by way of specific enumeration (*pratipadokta*). Outside of this *pratipadokta* consideration, a compound such as *kumāracātaka* can be either marked *udātta* at the end (of its initial constituent *kumāra*), or at the end of the compound (6.1.220 *samāsasya*) itself. Note that *cātaka*, etc., are derivatives of affix *Nya* (5.3.112 *pūgāñ* . . .) where *LUK* causes affixal deletion (2.4.62 *tadrajasya bahuṣu* . . .).

#### 6.2.29 इगन्तकालकपालभगालशरावेषु द्विगौ

*igantakālakapālabhagālāśarāveṣu dvigau*

/iganta-kāla-kapāla-bhagāla-śarāveṣu 7/3 (itar. dv.; igantaḥ = ig ante yasya (bv.)); dvigau 7/1/

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1)

'iganta uttarapade kālavācini kapāla bhagāla śarāva' ity eteṣu dvigau samāse pūrvapadam prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati

The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound termed *dvigu* retains its original accent when a constituent which either ends in a vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term *iK*, or denotes *kāla* 'time', or else, is constituted by *kapāla* 'bowl', *bhagāla* 'skull' and *śarāva* 'tray, (clay) cups', follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*pañcāratniḥ* 'a measure of five cubits (7.05 feet)'

*daśāratniḥ* 'a measure of ten cubits (15 feet)'

*pañcāmāsyah* 'five months old'

*daśāmāsyah* 'ten months old'

*pañcākapālah* 'a ritual oblation prepared in five bowls'

*daśākapālah* 'a ritual oblation prepared in ten bowls'

*pañcābhagālah* 'a ritual oblation prepared in five skulls'

*daśābhagālah* 'a ritual oblation prepared in ten bowls'

*pañcāśarāvah* 'a ritual oblation prepared in five cups'

*daśāśarāvah* 'a ritual oblation prepared in ten cups'

1. Note that *pañcan* 'five' and *daśan* 'ten' are marked *udātta* at the be-

ginning (*Phīṣūtra* 28: *nraḥ saṃkhyāyāḥ*). Refer to derivational details of *pañcakapālaḥ* (appendix, 2.1.50 *taddhitārtho* . . .). Similar rules apply in deriving *pañcaśarāvah* and *pañcabhagālaḥ*. Their *dvigu* is formed under the condition of *taddhitārtha* (2.1.51 *taddhitārthottarapda* . . .). Their *aN* (4.2.17 *saṃskṛtaṃ bhakṣāḥ*) is deleted by 4.1.88 *dvigor lug anapatye*.

Examples of *iganta* 'that which ends in an *iK*' involve *aratni* 'a measure of eighteen inches' as a following constituent. We thus get the *dvigu* compound: *pañcāratniḥ*, parallel to *pañcāratnayah* *pramāṇam asya*. Affix *mātraC* (5.2.37 *pramāṇe dvyasac* . . .) of these compounds has been deleted by a *vārttika* (ad 5.2.12 *dvigau pramāṇe, pramāṇe lo dvigor nityam*). Examples of *kāla* 'time', i.e., *pañcamāsyah* and *daśamāsyah*, involve deletion of *yaP* (5.1.81 *dvigor yap*). Finally, derivatives with *varṣa* involve deletion of affix *thaN̄* (5.1.88 *varṣāl luk*).

2. The condition of *iganta* is necessary so that *pañcāśvah* 'purchased for five horses' and *daśāśvah* 'purchased for ten horses', etc., can be excluded. It is observed that this condition of *iganta* is still met in compounds where *iK* goes through modification by *guṇa* and *yaN̄*. Thus, *pañcāratnayah/daśaratnayah* and *pañcāratnayah* and *daśaratnayah*. The first two involve *yaN̄* and the next two *guṇa*. Since these modifications take place with reference to nominal endings, they are externally conditioned (*bahiraṅga*). The assignment of accent is comparatively internal (*antaraṅga*). That is, externally conditioned modifications become suspended (*asiddha*) and the concerned bases remain *iganta* (*Kās*: *pañcāratnyo daśaratnya iti pañcāratnyo daśaratnya iti ca yanguṇayor bahiraṅgalakṣaṇayor asiddhatvāt sthānivadhbhāvād vā dvigusvara igantalakṣaṇaḥ pravartate*). One can even take recourse to *sthānivadhbhāva* 'treating x as what it replaced' for getting these bases to end in *iK*.

## 6.2.30 बह्वन्यतरस्याम्

*bahu anyatarasyām*

/bahu 1/1 anyatarasyām '7/1/

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 igantakālakapālabhagāla-śarāveṣu dvigau #29*)  
*bahuśabdaḥ pūrvapadam igantādiṣūttarapadeṣu dvigau samāse nyatarasyām*  
*prakṛtisvaram bhavati*

The initial compound constituent, namely *bahu* 'many', of a *tatpuruṣa* termed *dvigu*, retains its original accent optionally, when a constituent which ends in *iK*, or denotes *kāla* 'time', or else, is constituted by *kapāla*, *bhagāla* and *śarāva*, follows.

### EXAMPLES:

*bahvāratniḥ* 'that of which many aratnis are a measure'

*bahvaratniḥ* 'ibidem'

*bahúmāsyah* 'he who is many months old'  
*bahumāsyah* 'ibidem'  
*bahukāpālah* 'that which is prepared in many bowls'  
*bahukapālah* 'ibidem'  
*bahubhāgālah* 'that which is prepared in many skulls'  
*bahubhagālah* 'ibidem'  
*bahuśārāvah* 'that which is prepared in many cups'  
*bahuśarāvah* 'ibidem'

1. An initial constituent, namely *bahu*, retains its original accent only optionally. Recall that *bahu* ends in *Ku* (*Uṇādi*: I:29: *laṃghibahyor* . . .) and is marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent (*pratyayasvara*). This accent, a *svārita* in view of 8.4.65 *udāttasvaritayor* . . ., will be retained by *hva* after *u* of *bahu* gets replaced with *v*. Rule 6.1.220 *samāsasya* will assign final *udātta* if an option to retain *svārita* is not accepted.

### 6.2.31 दिष्टिवितस्त्योश्च

*diṣṭivitatstyoś ca*  
 / *diṣṭi-vitastyoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tayoh;* *ca*  $\phi$  /  
 (*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *dvigau* #29 *anyatarasyām* #30)  
 'diṣṭi, vitasti' ity etayor uttarapadayor *dvigau samāse pūrvapadam anyatarasyām prakṛtisvaram bhavati*  
 The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound termed *dvigu*, optionally, retains its original accent when *diṣṭi* and *vitasti* combine to follow.

EXAMPLES:

*pañcādiṣṭih* 'a length equal to five *diṣṭis*'  
*pañcadīṣṭih*  
*pañcāvitastih* 'a length equal to five *vitastis*'  
*pañcavīṣṭih*

1. Note that *diṣṭi* 'a measure of length' and *vitasti* 'a measure of length' denote *pramāṇa* 'measure'. Their compounds also involve deletion of *mātraC* (see *ut* ad 5.2.12). Here again, we get the option of retention against final *udātta* (6.1.220 *samāsasya*).

### 6.2.32 सप्तमी सिद्धशुष्कपक्वबन्धेष्वाकालात्

*saptamī siddhaśuṣkapakvabandheṣv akālāt*  
 / *saptamī* 1/1 *siddha-śuṣka-pakva-bandheṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*) *akālāt* 5/1 (*na kālāt (nañ. tat.)*) /  
 (*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1)  
 'siddha, śuṣka, pakva, bandha' ity etayor uttarapadayor *dvigau samāse pūrvapadam anyatarasyām prakṛtisvaram bhavati*

The initial constituent of a compound which signifies something other than *kāla* ‘time’ and ends in *saptamī* ‘seventh triplet’, retains its original accent when *siddha* ‘accomplished’, *śuṣka* ‘dried’, *pakva* ‘cooked, ripe’ and *bandha* ‘yoked, tied’ combine to follow.

EXAMPLES:

*sāṅkāśyasiddhaḥ* ‘made in Sāṅkāśya’

*sāṅkāśyasiddhaḥ*

*ūkaśūṣkaḥ* ‘sun-dried’

*nīdhanāśuṣkaḥ* ‘dried in the eighth lunar month’

*kumbhīpākvaḥ* ‘cooked in a clay pot’

*kālāśīpākvaḥ* ‘cooked in a pitcher’

*cakra-bandhaḥ* ‘tied with a wheel’

*cārakabandhaḥ* ‘caught in a wrestling move named cāraka’

1. Note that *sāṅkāśya* and *kāmpilya* are derivatives of *Ṇya* (4.2.79 *vuñchanakātha* . . .). They are marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent (3.1.3 *ādy udāttaś ca*). A *phīṣūtra* (65) considers *sāṅkāśya* and *kāmpilya* optionally *udātta* in the middle. This too can be accepted as optionally retained. The word *ūka* is derived with *kaK* (*Uṇādi* III:40: *sybhūṣuṣi* . . .) introduced, variously (*bahulam*), after verbal root *av* ‘to protect, assist’. The root, when replaced with *ūTH* (6.4.20 *jvaratvarasrivavi* . . ., will produce (*av*→*ūTH*) + *ka*(*K*) = *ūka*. This too is *udātta* by affixal accent. The word *nīdhana* is a derivative of *Kyu* (*Uṇādi* II:81: *kyprvri* . . .), introduced after *dhāN*, where *ā* of *dhā* gets deleted (6.4.64 *āto lopa* . . .). The *yu*, of course, will get replaced with *ana* (7.1.1 *yuvor anākau*). The word itself is marked *udātta* in the middle by affixal accent. Derivates such as *kumbhī* and *kālāśī*, because they end in *Ṇṣ* (4.1.41 *śidgaurādibhyaś ca*), are marked *udātta* at the end. The word *bhrāṣṭra*, being a derivative of *ṣṭraN* (*Uṇādi* IV:160: *bhrasjigami* . . .), is marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*). The word *cakra* is treated as marked *udātta* at the end. But, *cāraka*, as a derivative of *ṆvuL*, is marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.190 *liti*).

2. Why is this provision not applicable to *pūrvāhṇasiddhaḥ* ‘made in the morning’ and *aparāhṇasiddhaḥ* ‘made in the afternoon’? Because their initial constituent denotes ‘time’ (*kāla*). Note that these are locative *taṭpuruṣa* compounds. The retention of their original accent, per 6.2.2 *taṭpuruṣe tulyārtha* . . ., is, however, blocked by the final *udātta* of 6.2.144 *thāthaghañ*. . . . This rule blocks the final *udātta* of 6.2.144 and restores the accentual provision of 6.2.2 *taṭpuruṣe tulyārtha*. . . .

### 6.2.33 परिप्रत्युपापा वर्ज्यमानाहोरात्रावयवेषु

*paripratyupāpā varjyamānāhorātrāvayaveṣu*

/ *paripratyupāpāḥ* 1/3 (*itar. dv.*); *varjyamānāhorātrāvayaveṣu* 7/3 = *ahas*

*ca rātriś ca = ahorātrav; ahorātrayor avayavāḥ* (śaṣ. tat. with int. dv.) /  
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1)

'*pari, prati, upa, apa*' ity ete pūrvapadabhūtā varjyamānavācīni ahara-  
vayavavācīni rātryavayavavācīni cottarapade prakṛtisvarā bhavanti

The initial compound constituents, namely *pari, prati, upa* and *apa*, retain their original accent when a constituent with the signification of *varjyamāna* 'that which is to be excluded', *aharavayava* 'part of day', or *rātryavayava* 'part of night', combines to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*parītrigarttaṃ vṛṣṭo devaḥ* 'it rained around (but not in) Trigartta'

*parīsauvīram . . .* 'it rained around (but not in) Sauvīra'

*pratīpūrvāhṇam* 'each forenoon'

*pratīpārāhṇam* 'each afternoon'

*pratīpūrvārātram* 'around the first quarter of every night'

*pratīpārārātram* 'around the last quarter of every night'

*upāpūrvāhṇam* 'close to forenoon'

*upāpūrvārātram* 'around the first quarter of the night'

*apātrigarttaṃ vṛṣṭo devaḥ* 'it rained away from Trigarta'

*apāsauvīram* 'it rained away from Sauvīra'

1. Note that *pari, prati, upa* and *apa* are marked *udātta* at the beginning (*Phīṣūtra* 80–81: *nīpātāḥ ādyudātāḥ; upasargās cābhivarjam*). Additionally, *apa* and *pari* are termed *karmapravacanīya* by 1.4.87 *apaparī varjane*. The indeclinable compounds are formed by 2.1.11 *vibhāṣā* 'pāparibahirañcavaḥ'. A following constituent with the signification of *varjyamāna* 'that which is to be excluded' is combined only with *apa* and *pari* as its initial constituents. For, these are the only two which are termed *karmapravacanīya* when *varjana* is the signification. Recall that *prati* and *upa* combine in an indeclinable compound in consonance with 2.1.13 *lakṣaṇenābhipraty ābhimukhye* and 2.1.6 *avyayaṃ vibhaktisamīpa . . .*, respectively.

2. Note that retention of original accent in a *tatpuruṣa* (6.2.2 *tatpuruṣe . . .*) and *bahuvrīhi* (6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau prakṛtyā . . .*) compound is already recommended. This rule offers retention of original accent in an *avyayībhāva* compound.

#### 6.2.34 राजन्यबहुवचनद्वन्द्वेऽन्धकवृष्णिषु

*rājanyabahuvacanadvandve' ndhakavṛṣṇiṣu*

/ *rājanya-bahuvacana-dvandve* 7/1 = *rājanyāni ca etāni bahuvacanāni* (*karm.*); *rājanyabahuvacanānām dvandvaḥ* (śaṣ. tat. with int. *karm.*);

*andhaka-vṛṣṇiṣu* 7/3 = *andhakāś ca vṛṣṇayaś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu/ rājanya-vācīnām bahuvacanāntānām yo dvandvo' ndhakavṛṣṇiṣu varttate tatra pūrvapadam prakṛtisvaram bhavati*



The initial constituent of a *dvandva* compound, namely one which ends in plural with the signification of *rājanya* 'kṣatriya', retains its original accent when the compound is formed with the denotatum of *andhaka* and *vṛṣṇi*.

EXAMPLES:

*śvāphalkacaitrakāḥ* 'many kṣatriya descendants of Śvaphalka and Caitraka in the lineage of Andhaka'

*caitrakakrōdhakāḥ* 'many kṣatriya descendants of Caitraka and Rodhaka in the lineage of Andhaka'

*śinivāsudevāḥ* 'many kṣatriya descendants of Śini and Vasudeva in the lineage of Vṛṣṇi'

1. Note that *śvāphalka* and *caitraka*, as derivatives of *aN* (4.1.144 *ṛṣyandhaka* . . .), are marked *udātta* at the end. The next *śini*, a derivative of *ni* (*Uṇādi* IV:51: *vahiśrīrūyu* . . .), requires the long *i* of *śiN* 'to recline' to be replaced with *i* (*hrasva*). The derivative, in turn, is marked *udātta* at the beginning because of *N* as an *it* in *ni*.

2. Note that this accentual provision is not applicable to *saṃkarṣaṇa-vāsudevau* where the compound denotes dual based on the singular denotatum of its constituents. It can also not be made available to *vṛṣṇikumarāḥ* where the compound is a genitive *tatpuruṣa*. Similarly, we must exclude *kurupañcālāḥ* where compound constituency does not denote the lineage of Andhaka and Vṛṣṇi.

## 6.2.35 संख्या

*saṃkhyā*

/ *saṃkhyā* 1/1/

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *dvandve* #34)

*dvandvasamāse saṃkhyāvāci pūrvapadam prakṛtisvaram bhavati*

The initial constituent of a *dvandva* compound which denotes *saṃkhyā* 'number' retains its original accent.

EXAMPLES:

*ekādaśa* 'eleven'

*dvādaśa* 'twelve'

*trayodāśa* 'thirteen'

*trayodāśa* 'ibidem'

1. Note that *eka* is a derivative of *kaN* (*Uṇādi* III:43: *inbhikāpāsalya* . . .). It is marked *udātta* at the beginning, mainly because of its affixal *N* as an *it*. The word *dvi* is marked *udātta* at the end in view of nominal stem accent (*prātipadikasvara*). The *trayas* replacement of *tri* is marked *udātta* at the

end, via *niṣpātana* (6.3.47 *tres trayah*). A replacement in long *ā* (*ātva*) for the short in *ekādaśa* and *dvādaśa* is accomplished by 6.3.46 *ānmahataḥ* . . . and 6.3.47 *dvyastanaḥ samkhyāyām*, respectively.

### 6.2.36 आचार्योपसर्जनश्चान्तेवासी

*ācāryopasarjanaś cāntevāsī*

/ *ācāryopasarjanaḥ* 1/1 = *ācārya upasarjanam apradhānam yasmin* (bv.); (prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 dvandve #34)

*ācāryopasarjanāntevāsinām yo dvandvas tatra pūrvapadam prakṛtisvaram bhavati*

The initial constituent of a *dvandva* compound retains its original accent when constituents signify *antevāsin* 'student' and *ācārya* 'preceptor, teacher' is used as a qualifier.

#### EXAMPLES:

*āpiśalapāṇinīyāḥ* 'students of Āpiśali and Pāṇini'

*pāṇinīyārauḍhīyāḥ* 'students of Pāṇini and Roḍhi'

1. This rule allows retention of original accent of those initial constituents which may have *antevāsin* 'student' or *ācārya* as an *upasarjana* 'secondary (qualifier)'. Note that *āpiśala-pāṇinīyāḥ* is a *dvandva* compound formed with *āpiśalāś ca pāṇinīyāś ca*, where *āpiśala* and *pāṇinīya* could be derivatives with the signification of *tasyāpatyam* 'male offspring' (with *aN*; *iN* after *āpiśali*), *tena proktam* 'enunciated by him' (4.3.101; *aN*; *iN* after *āpiśali* cf. 4.2.111 *iñāś ca*) and 4.2.59 *tad adhīte tad veda* 'those who study or know' (4.2.59). The *aN* of 4.3.101 *tena proktam* is deleted by 4.2.64 *proktāl luk*. The *aN*-derivate of *āpiśali*, i.e., *āpiśala*, is marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent. The word *pāṇinīya*, a derivate of *cha*, is *udātta* in the middle. Its final *anudātta* becomes *svarita* when the rest of it becomes *anudātta*. This same is also true of *rauḍhīya*.

### 6.2.37 कर्तकौजपादयश्च

*kārtakaujapādayaś ca*

/ *kārtakaujapādayaḥ* 1/3 = *kārtakaujapa ādir*

*yeṣām* (bv.); *ca*  $\phi$ /

(prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 dvandve #34)

*kārtakaujapādayo ye dvandvās teṣu pūrvapadam prakṛtisvaram bhavati*

The initial constituent of a *dvandva* compound formed with *kārta* and *kaujapa* also retains its original accent.

#### EXAMPLES:

*kārtakaujapau* 'male descendants of Kṛta and Kujapa'

*sāvārṇimāṇḍūkeyau* 'male descendants of Savarṇa and Maṇḍūka'  
*avantyāśmakāḥ* 'many descendants of Avanti and Āśmaka'  
*pailāśyāparṇeyāḥ* 'young male descendant of Paila, and young male descendant of Śyāparṇi'

1. Note that *kārtakaujapa* is a *dvandva* compound formed with *kārta* and *kaujapa*, where *kārta* and *kaujapa* are derivatives of *aN* (4.1.114 *ṛsyandhaka* . . .), paraphrased as *kṛtasyāpatyam* 'male offspring of Kṛta' and *kujapasyāpatyam* 'male offspring of Kujapa'. The initial constituent *kārta* is marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent (*pratyayasvara*). Incidentally, *ca* in the *sūtra* is used for carrying the *anuvṛtti* of *dvandve*.

The initial constituent of *sāvārṇimāṇḍūkeyau* is a derivative of *iN̄* (4.1.94 *ata in̄*). Consequently, it is marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.194 *ñmityādir nityam*). It is marked *svarita* at the end (8.4.66 *udāttādanudāttasya svaritaḥ*), after its remainder has become *anudātta* (6.1.155 *anudāttam padaṁ* . . .). Incidentally, *māṇḍūkeya* is a derivative of *ḍhaK* (4.1.119 *ḍhak ca maṇḍūkāt*). Affix *ÑyaN̄* (4.1.171 *vṛddhetkosalājādāññyañ*) is introduced after *avanti* + *Nas* to derive *avantayaḥ*, parallel to *avanter apatyāni bahūni*. This affix is deleted by 2.4.62 *tadrājasya* . . . Affix *aN̄* (4.2.69 *tasya nivāsaḥ*) is then introduced after *avanti* + *ām*, parallel to *avantīnām nivāso janapadaḥ* 'a principality (*janapada*) which is the residence of Avantis'. This affix is also deleted, though by 4.2.81 *janapade lup*. This same also applies to the derivation of *āśmakāḥ* which combines as the following constituent with *avantayaḥ*. Consequently, a final *udātta* (*Phīṣūtra* 21: *ghṛtādīnām ca*) is assigned to *avanti*. The *ya* which results subsequent to *y*-replacement of *i* (of *avanti*) then becomes *svarita* (8.2.4 *udāttasvaritayor* . . .).

Note that *pailāśyāparṇeyāḥ* is a *dvandva* compound with its constituents denoting *yuvan* 'young descendant'. Thus, a son of *pīlā* will be *paila* (4.1.118 *pīlāyā vā*). His young son will also be called *paila*, since affix *phiN̄* (4.1.156 *aṇo dvyacaḥ*) will be deleted (2.4.59 *pailādibhyaś ca*). The word *śyāparṇi* is a derivative of *ÑiṢ* (4.1.15 *īdīḍhāṇaṁ* . . .) introduced after *śyāparṇa*, itself a derivative of *aN̄* (4.1.104 *anṛsyānantarye bidādibhyo' n̄*), parallel to *śyāparṇasyāpatyam* 'male offspring of Śyāparṇa'. A young descendant of *śyāparṇi* will be *śyāparṇeya*, a derivative of *ḍhaK* (4.1.120 *stribhyo ḍhak*; 7.1.2 *āyaneyi* . . .). A *dvandva* compound with *śyāparṇeya* as a following constituent will have *paila*, under the provision of this rule, marked with affixal *udātta* at the end.

#### 6.2.38 महान् ब्रीह्यपराह्णगृष्टीष्वासजाबालभारभारतहैलिहिलरौरवप्रवृद्धेषु

*mahān brīhyaparāhṇagrṣṭīṣvāsajābālabhārabhāratahailihilaraurava-pravṛddheṣu*

/ mahān1/1 brīhy-aparāhṇa-grṣṭīṣvāsa-jābāla-bhāra-bhārata-haili-hilaraurava-pravṛddheṣu 7/3 (itar. dv.)/

(prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1)

'mahān' ity etat pūrvapadam vr̥hi, aparāhṇa, gr̥ṣṭi, iṣvāsa, jābāla, bhāra, bhārata, hailihila, raurava, prabuddha' ity eteṣūttarapadeṣu prakṛtisvaram bhavati

An initial compound constituent, namely *mahān* 'great', retains its original accent when *vr̥hi* 'rice', *aparāhṇa* 'afternoon', *gr̥ṣṭi* 'cow', *iṣvāsa* 'bow, archer', *jābāla* 'name of a sage', *bhāra* 'burden, load', *bhārata* 'Mahābhārata', *hailihila* 'sportsman', *raurava* 'hell' and *pravṛddha* 'very old' combine as following constituents.

#### EXAMPLES:

*māhāvṛhiḥ* 'long-grain rice'  
*māhāpārāhṇaḥ* 'late afternoon'  
*māhāgr̥ṣṭiḥ* 'a pregnant cow'  
*māheṣvāsaḥ* 'great archer'  
*māhājābālaḥ* 'elder Jābāla'  
*māhābhāraḥ* 'heavy load'  
*māhābhārataḥ* 'the great epic'  
*māhāhailihilaḥ* 'a great sportsman'  
*māhārauravaḥ* 'most dreaded hell'  
*māhāpravṛddhaḥ* 'excessively old'

1. Note that *mahat* is marked *udātta* at the end (*Uṇādi* II:84: *vartamāne pr̥ṣadbṛhan . . .*), via *niṣātana*. It combines in a *taṭpuruṣa* compound under provisions of 2.1.61 *sanmahat . . .* That is, this accentual provision applies only to compounds formed with specific bases enumerated (*pratipadokta*) by rule 2.1.61. Elsewhere, in *mahadvṛhiḥ*, a genitive *taṭpuruṣa* compound paraphrased as *mahato vr̥hiḥ*, this rule will not apply. The compound will be marked *udātta* at the end (6.1.220 *samāsasya*).

2. Why is *māhāpravṛddha* listed here when the compound, based upon *pravṛddha* being a derivate of *Kta*, can be covered by 6.2.46 *karmadhāraye' niṣṭhā*. Rule 6.2.46 *karmadhāraye' niṣṭhā* also covers compound-formation of similar bases which are enumerated in the list headed by *śreṇī* 'guild'. Our present rule cites *pravṛddha* so that retention of the original accent of a compound with *pravṛddha* could be secured.

#### 6.2.39 क्षुल्लकरच वैश्वदेवे

*kṣullakaś ca vaiśvadeve*  
 /*kṣullakaḥ* 1/1 *ca*  $\phi$  *vaiśvadeve* 7/1/  
 (*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *mahān* #39)  
 'kṣullaka' ity etat pūrvapadam mahāmś ca vaiśvadeva uttarapade prakṛtisvaram bhavati

The initial constituents, namely *kṣullaka* 'insignificant' and *mahān*

‘great, big’, of a compound retain their original accent when *vaiśvadeva* ‘an oblation to all gods’ combines as the following constituent.

EXAMPLES:

*kṣullakavaiśvadevam* ‘a small ritual pot for all gods’  
*māhāvaiśvadevam* ‘a big ritual pot for all gods’

1. Note that *kṣullaka* is a derivate of *Ka* (5.3.86 *hrasve*) with the significance of *hrasva* ‘small, insignificant, short’. It is marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent (*pratyayasvara*; 3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*). The accent of *mahat* is already discussed. These two derivates both are names of ritual pots, sacrifices, or luminaries.

#### 6.2.40 उष्ट्रः सादिवाम्योः

*uṣṭrah sādīvāmyoḥ*  
 /*uṣṭrah* 1/1 *sādīvāmyoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*)/  
 (*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1)  
*uṣṭrāśabdaḥ pūrvapadam sādīvāmyor uttarapadayoḥ prakṛtisvaram bhavati*  
 An initial compound constituent, namely *uṣṭra* ‘camel’, retains its original accent when *sādi* ‘rider’ and *vāmi* ‘rider’ combine as following constituents.

EXAMPLES:

*uṣṭrāsādi* ‘camel rider’  
*uṣṭrāvāmi* ‘rider of a female camel’

1. Recall that *uṣṭra*, as a derivate of *ṣṭraN* introduced after *uṣ* ‘be hot’ (*Uṇādi* IV:125: *uṣikhanibhyām . . .*), is marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*). Note also that the two neuter derivates of *iñ*, introduced after *sad* and *vam* (*Uṇādi* IV:125), i.e., *sādi* and *vāmi*, can be combined with *uṣṭra* to either form a genitive *tatpuruṣa*, or a *karmadhāraya*, compound. The words *sādi* and *vāmi* are used as general references to also include *sādī* and *vāmī*, both derivates of *ñinI*.

#### 6.4.41 गौः सादसादिसारथिषु

*gauḥ sādasādisārathiṣu*  
 /*gauḥ* 1/1 *sāda-sārathiṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*)/  
 (*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1)  
*gośabdaḥ pūrvapadam ‘sāda, sādi, sārathi’ ity eṣeṣūttarapadeṣu prakṛtisvaram bhavati*

An initial compound constituent, namely *go* ‘cow’, retains its original accent when *sāda*, *sādi* and *sārathi* combine as following constituents.

## EXAMPLES:

*gosādaḥ* 'one who drives the cows'  
*gosādiḥ* 'one who rides a bull'  
*gosārathiḥ* 'one who drives a cart pulled by bulls'

1. Recall that *go* (6.2.17 *svam svāmini*) is *udatta* by affixal accent (*pratyayasvara*).

2. Note that *sāda* could be interpreted as a derivate of *GHañ* introduced after *sad*. It can also be interpreted as a derivate of *añ* introduced after causal *sādi*, under the cooccurrence condition of *go* as object (*karman*). Affix *ñinI* is then introduced after the derivate of *añ* to derive *gosādin*. The compound constituents *sada* and *sādin* constitute exceptions to accents assigned to derivatives of *kṛt*. But a compound with *sārathi* constitutes an exception to accentual provisions of 6.1.219 *samāsasya*.

6.2.42 कुरुगार्हपतरिक्तगर्वसूतजरत्यरलीलदृढरूपपारेवडवातैतिलकद्रुःपण्यकम्बलो  
 दासीभाराणां च

*kurugārhapatariktagarvasūtajaratyaślīladṛḍharūpā pārevaḍavātaitilakadrūḥ paṇyakambalo dāsibhārāṇām ca*  
 /*kurugārhapata* (1/1 deleted) *riktaguru* (1/1 deleted) *asūtajaratī* 1/1  
*aslīladṛḍharūpā* 1/1 *pārevaḍavā* 1/1 *taitilakadrūḥ* 1/1 *paṇyakambalaḥ*  
 1/1 *dāsibhārāṇām* 6/3 *ca*  $\phi$ /  
 (*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1)

'*kurugārhapata*, *riktaguru*, *asūtajaratī*, *aslīladṛḍharūpā*, *pārevaḍavā*, *taitilakadrū*, *paṇyakambala*' *ity ete samāsas teṣāṃ dāsibhārādīnām ca pūrvapadam prakṛtisvaram bhavati*

The initial constituents of compounds such as *kurugārhapata*, *riktaguru*, *asūtajaratī*, *aslīladṛḍharūpā*, *pārevaḍavā*, *taitilakadrū*, *paṇyakambala*, and also constituents of compounds headed by *dāsibhāra* 'maid's load', retain their original accent.

## EXAMPLES:

*kurugārhapatam* 'headship of the clan of the Kurus'  
*riktaguruḥ* 'an unworthy teacher'  
*riktagūruḥ*  
*asūtajaratī* 'a woman too old to bear a child'  
*aslīladṛḍharūpā* 'an ugly woman with strong body'  
*pārevaḍavā* 'a mare on the other side of the river'  
*taitilakadrūḥ* 'the soma vessel of the descendants of Taitilin'  
*paṇyakambalaḥ* 'a blanket on sale'  
*dāsibhārah* 'maid's load'  
*devahūtiḥ* 'invocation to gods'

1. Note that *kuru*, as a derivate of *Ku* (*Uṇādi* (24): *kr̥gror uc ca*) is marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent. The word *rikta* is marked *udātta* at the beginning, or at the end, optionally (6.1.205 *rikte vibhāṣā*). The *nañ* of *asūta* and *aślīla* will be marked *udātta* at the beginning (*Phīṣūtra* (80): *nīpātā ādyudātātāḥ*), as against what 6.2.2 *taṭpuruṣe tulyārtha* . . . provides for. The compound-formation of *pārebaḍavā*, with no deletion (*aluk*) of its nominal endings, is accomplished via *nīpātana*. The word *pāra* is a nominal of the *ghṛtādi* class (*Phīṣūtra* 21: *ghṛtādīnām ca*). It is thus marked *udātta* at the end.

A final *udātta* is also assigned to *taitilāḥ* 'son of Titilin', a derivate of *añ* (4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*) with the signification of *apatya* 'offspring'. The *paṇya* of *paṇyakambalāḥ*, as a derivate of *yaT* (3.1.101 *avadyapaṇya* . . .), is assigned *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.210 *yato' nāvah*). The word *dāsa* is derived with affix *Ṭa* introduced after *dans* (*Uṇādi* V:10: *damṣeṣṭatanau na ā ca*), where the root-nasal also gets replaced with *ā*. This derivate is marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent. Affix *ñP* (4.1.15 *ṭidḍhāṇaṇ* . . .) is then introduced to derive *dāsī*. Note that the *dāsībhārādi* nominals constitute a class of *taṭpuruṣa* compounds whose first constituents are not covered for retention of original accent elsewhere (*Kās*: *yasya taṭpuruṣasya pūrvaprakṛtisvaratvam iṣyate, na ca vihitam, sa sarvo dāsībhārādiṣu draṣṭavyaḥ*). A constituent such as *deva*, of *devahūtiḥ*, etc., is, as a derivate of *aC* (3.1.134 *nandigrāhipacādy* . . .), marked *udātta* at the end.

### 6.2.43 चतुर्थी तदर्थे

*caturthī tadarthe*

/ *caturthī* 1/1 *tadarthe* 7/1 = *tasmai*

*idam* (*cat. tat.*), *tasmin*;

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1)

*caturthyantaṃ pūrvapadam tadarthe uttarapade*

*tadabhidheyārthaṃ yat tadvāciny uttarapade prakṛtisvaram bhavati*

The initial constituent of a compound which ends in *caturthī* 'fourth triplet of nominal ending' retains its original accent when a constituent with the signification of *tadartha* 'intended for that' follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*yūpādāruḥ* 'wood intended for ritual post'

*kunḍālahirāṇyam* 'gold intended for ear-rings'

1. Refer to my discussion of *yūpa* under 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau*. . . . The word *kunḍala* 'ear-ring' is variously (*bahulam*) derived as a derivate of *KalaC*, marked with *C* as an *it* (*Uṇādi* I:106: *vṛṣādibhyaś cit*). It is marked *udātta* at the end (6.1.160 *citāḥ*). The word *ratha*, as a derivate of *KthaN* (*Uṇādi* II:2: *hanikuṣinī* . . .), is marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*).

The word *vallī*, a feminine ending in *ÑiṢ* (4.1.41 *ṣidgaurādibhyaś ca*), is marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent (3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*).

Commentators offer *kuberabaliḥ* 'ritual oblation offered to Kubera' as a counter-example to indicate that *caturthī* of these compounds must be interpreted within the context of *prakṛti-vikṛtibhāva* 'material modification'. That is, this accentual retention is desired only where modification of a material cause is involved (*Kāś*: *prakṛtīvīkārabhāve svarō 'yam iṣyate*).

#### 6.2.44 अर्थे

*arthe*

/arthe 7/1/

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 caturthī #43*)

*arthaśabda uttarapade caturthyantaṃ pūrvapadam prakṛtisvaram bhavati*

The initial constituent of a compound which ends in *caturthī* retains its original accent when *artha* 'purpose' combines to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*mātrārtham* 'intended for mother'

*pitrārtham* 'intended for father'

*dēvatārtham* 'intended for gods'

*atīthyartham* 'intended for guests'

1. Refer to my discussion of *mātr* 'mother' and *pitr* 'father' under 6.2.11 *sadṛśapratirūpayoḥ sādṛśye*. The *tra*, resulting from *r*-replacement of *ṛ* of *mātr* and *pitr*, becomes *svārīta* (8.2.4 *udātt-svārītaḥ* . . .). The *udātta* in the middle of *devātā*, a derivate of *taL* with the feminine affix *ṬāP* (5.4.27 *devāt tal*), has its source in the final *udātta* characterized with *L* as an *it* (6.1.190 *litī*). The word *atīthi*, as a derivate of *ithiN* (*Uṇādi* IV:2: *ṛtanyañji* . . .) with *N* as an *it*, is marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*).

2. How is this accentual provision, especially as it relates to the use of *tadarthe* and *arthe*, different from the provision of the preceding rule? The preceding rule will apply only where *prakṛtīvīkārbhāva* 'modification of a material cause' is involved.

#### 6.2.45 के च

*kte ca*

/kte 7/1 ca φ/

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 caturthī #43*)

*ktānte cottarapade caturthyantaṃ pūrvapadam prakṛtisvaram bhavati*

The initial constituent of a compound which ends in *caturthī*, also retains its original accent when a constituent ending in *Kta* follows.



## EXAMPLES:

*gohitam* 'beneficial to cows'  
*aśvāhitam* 'beneficial to horses'  
*manuṣyāhitam* 'beneficial to humans'  
*gorākṣitam* 'reserve for cows'  
*tāpāsarakṣitam* 'reserved for ascetics'

1. Refer to notes of 6.2.13 *gantavya* . . . for details of *aśva* and *go*. Refer to notes under 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau* . . . for details of *manuṣya* 'human'. The *tāpaśa* 'ascetic' of the last example is a derivate of *aN* (5.2.103 *aṇ ca*). It is marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent.

## 6.2.46 कर्मधारयेऽनिष्ठा

*karmadhāraye niṣṭhā*  
 / *karmadhāraye* 7/1 *aniṣṭhā* 1/1 (*nañ. tat.*) /  
 (*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *kte* #45)  
*karmadhāraye samāse ktānta uttarapade* ' *niṣṭhāntam pūrvapadam*  
*prakṛtisvaram bhavati*

The initial constituent which ends in an affix termed *niṣṭhā* in a *karmadhāraya* compound retains its original accent when a constituent ending in *Kta* follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*śreṇīkṛtāḥ* 'those which were previously not arranged in a row are now so arranged'  
*ūkakṛtāḥ* 'those which were not spread about are so done now'  
*pūgakṛtāḥ* 'those which were previously not arranged in a group are now so arranged'  
*nīdhanakṛtāḥ* 'made poor which they were previously not'

1. Note that *śreṇi*, as a derivate of *Ni* (*Uṇādi* IV:51: *vahiśiśruyudru* . . .), is marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*). Refer to my discussion of *ūka* and *nīdhana* under notes of 6.2.32 *saptamī śuṣkapakva*. . . A final *udātta* is applicable to *pūga*.

## 6.2.47 अहीने द्वितीया

*ahīne dvitīyā*  
 / *ahīne* 7/1 (*nañ. tat.*) *dvitīyā* 1/1 /  
 (*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *kte* #45)  
*ahīnavācīni samāse ktānta uttarapade dvitīyāntam pūrvapadam pra-*  
*kṛtisvaram bhavati*

The initial constituent which ends in *dvitīyā* 'accusative' retains its

original accent when the compound is formed with the signification of *ahīna* 'non-separable, unabandoned' and a constituent ending in affix *Kta* combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

*kaṣṭaśrītaḥ* 'fallen into grief'  
*triśākalapatitaḥ* 'that which has three pieces'  
*grāmāgataḥ* 'gone to the village'

1. Note that *kaṣṭa*, a derivate of *Kta* where *iT* is blocked by 7.2.22 *kṛcchragahanayoḥ kasaḥ*, is marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent. The *tri* of *triśakala*, a *bahuvrīhi* paraphrased as: *trīṇi śakalāni santy asya* 'that of which there are three parts', is marked *udātta* by nominal stem accent. A derivate such as *grāma* 'village', derived with *maN* (*Uṇādi* I:143: *graser ā ca*), is marked with *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*). All these compounds denote a meaning where initial constituents are semantically non-separable (*ahīna*) from their following counterparts.

2. A *vārttika* proposal is made to block the provision of this rule where a participial constituent begins with a preverb. Thus, consider *sukhāprāptaḥ* 'he who has reached comfort' and *sukhāpannaḥ* 'he who has attained comfort'. The compound itself is here marked *udātta* at the end.

This rule is an exception to 6.2.143 *antaḥ* and 6.2.144 *thāthaghañ*. . .

## 6.2.48 तृतीया कर्मणि

*tr̥tīyā karmanī*  
 / *tr̥tīyā* 1/1 *karmanī* 7/1/  
 (*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *kie* #45)  
*karmavācīni ktānta uttarapade tr̥tīyāntaṃ pūrvapadam prakṛtisvaram*  
*bhavati*

The initial constituent of a compound which signifies *karman* 'object' and ends in *tr̥tīyā* 'third triplet of nominal ending' retains its original accent when a constituent ending in *Kta* combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

*āhihātaḥ* 'bitten by a snake'  
*vajrahātaḥ* 'killed by the Vajra'  
*mahārājahātaḥ* 'killed by the king'

1. Note that *ahi* 'snake' is marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent. It is a derivate of *iN*, introduced after *han* used with the preverb *āN* (*Uṇādi* IV:138: *āni śrihinibhyām hrasvaś ca*). The *ā* of *āhan* is replaced with its short counterpart *a* and *an* is assigned the term *ṣi*. This, in turn, gets deleted by the same rule. The word *vajra*, as a derivate of *raK* (*Uṇādi* II:28: *ṛjendrā-*

*gravajra* . . .) via *nipātana*, is also marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accēt. This final *udātta* accent is also applicable to *mahārāja* 'great king', a derivate with *ṬaC* (5.4.91 *rājāhaṣsakhibhyām* . . .). The word *nakha* 'nail', a *bahuvrīhi* paraphrased as *nāsti kham asya* 'that which does not have life', is marked *udātta* at the end by 6.2.171 *nañsubhyām*. The word *dātra* 'sickle' is a derivate of *ṢṭraN* (3.2.182 *dāmnīsasa* . . .). Consequently, it is marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*).

#### 6.2.49 गतिरनन्तरः

*gatiṛ anantarah*

/ *gatiḥ* 1/1 *anantarah* 1/1 = *avidyamānam antaram yasya* (bv.) /

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *kte* #45 *karmani* #48)

*karmavācīni ktānta uttarapade gatiṛ anantarah pūrvapadam prakṛtisvaram bhavati*

This initial constituent of a compound termed *gati* retains its original accent when a constituent which ends in *Kta* and signifies *karman* 'object' immediately follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*prakṛtaḥ* 'made'

*prahṛtaḥ* 'thrown'

1. This rule allows an initial *gati* constituent to retain its original accent if it occurs immediately followed by *Kta* denoting *karman*. Thus *pra*, termed *gati* (1.4.49 *gatiś ca*), is marked with *udātta* (*Phīṣṭsūtra* 80: *upasargās cābhi-varjam*).

Note that a *gati*, when occurring interrupted by something else, does not qualify for this accentual provision. Thus, consider *abhy-ud-dhṛtaḥ* and *sam-ud-dhṛtaḥ*, where *abhi* and *sam* do not occur immediately before *dhṛtaḥ*.

Commentators explain that this rule covers examples where *Kta* denotes *karman* 'object'. Thus, *prakṛta* of *prakṛtaḥ kṛtaḥ devadattaḥ* 'Devadatta made a mat' does not qualify. The *Kta* here denotes agent. Note that the *paribhāṣā* (29): *kṛdgrahaṇe gatikārakapūrvasyāpi grahaṇam* 'a specification made by an item ending in a *kṛt* also includes reference to that which begins with a *gati* and *kāraḥ*' does not apply here. Consequently, an example such as *dūrād āgataḥ* 'arrived from a distant place' where *dūrāt* 'from far' denotes *apādāna* cannot be covered here.

This rule is an exception to 6.2.144 *thāthaghañ*. . . .

#### 6.2.50 तादौ च निति कृत्यतौ

*tādau ca niti kṛty atau*

/ *tādau* 7/1 = *takāra ādir yasya* (bv.), *tasmin*; *ca*  $\phi$  *niti* 7/1 = *nakāra it*

yasya (bv.); *kṛti* 7/1 *atau* 7/1 = *na tu* (*nañ. tat.*) *tasmin/*  
 (*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 gatiḥ anantarah #49*)

*takārādau ca tuśabdavarjite niti kṛti parato gatiḥ prakṛtisvaram bhavati*

The initial constituent, termed *gati*, of a compound retains its original accent when a constituent which begins with *t*, with the exception of *t* of *tu*, and ends in a *kṛt* affix marked with *N* as its *it*, immediately follows in combination.

#### EXAMPLES:

*prakārtā* ‘producer, maker’  
*prakārtum* ‘to begin to make’  
*prakṛtiḥ* ‘produced, brought about’

1. Note that *pra* retains its *udātta* before derivatives of *tṛN*, *tumUN* and *KtiN*, as these cited examples illustrate. These affixes are all marked with *N* and begin with *t*. Consequently, their derivatives are marked with *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*).

This accentual provision will not be applicable to *prajalpāka* ‘he who talks excessively’ since the affix, i.e., *ṢākaN*, does not begin with *t*. It can also not apply to *prakartā* ‘doer’ where the affix is *tṛC*. Finally, a derivate such as *āgantuh* ‘desirous to come’ is also out because of exclusion specified by *tu* in the rule.

#### 6.2.51 तवै चान्तश्च युगपत्

*tavai cāntas ca yugapat*  
 / *tavai* (1/1 deleted) *ca* *antaḥ* 1/1 *ca* *yugapat* 1/1/  
 (*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 gatiḥ anantarah #49*)

*tavai pratyasyānta udātto bhavati gatiś ca anantarah prakṛtisvara iti etad ubhayaṃ yugapat bhavati*

The final constituent of that which ends in affix *tavai* is marked *udātta*, with the additional provision that an immediately preceding *gati* simultaneously retain its original accent.

#### EXAMPLES:

*anvetaivai* ‘to follow’  
*paristaritai* ‘to enclose; strewn around’  
*paripataivai* ‘to procure from all sides’

1. This rule offers two *udātta* accents simultaneously (*yugapat*). Thus, consider *anvetaivai* where *tavai* is marked *udātta*, and the preceding *anu* is also marked *udātta* by way of retaining its original accent (also see 6.1.155 *anudattam padam . . .*). All preverbs, except for *abhi*, are marked *udātta* at

the beginning (*Phitsūtra* 80: *upasargās cābhivarjam*). Thus, *abhicaritavai* cannot be marked *udātta* at the beginning. It is marked *udātta* at the end by nominal stem accent, instead.

### 6.2.52 अनिगन्तोऽञ्चतौ वप्रत्यये

*aniganto' ṅcatau vapratyaye*

/ *anigantaḥ* 1/1 = *ig ante yasya* (bv.); *na igantaḥ*

(*nañ. tat.*); *añcatau* 7/1 *vapratyaye* 7/1 = *vakāra pratyayo yasya* (bv.), *tasmin/*

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *gatiḥ* #49)

*aniganto gatiḥ prakṛtisvaro bhavaty añcatau vapratyaye parataḥ*

A *gati*, which does not end in *iK*, retains its original accent when verbal root *añcU*, followed by affix *va*, follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*prāñ* 'eastward; nominative singular of *prāñc*'

*prāñcau* 'nominative dual . . .'

*prāñcāḥ* 'nominative plural . . .'

*prāñ* 'nominative singular . . .'

*prāñcau* 'nominative dual . . .'

*prāñcaḥ* 'nominative plural . . .'

*parāñ* 'turned away; nom. sing. of *parāñc*'

*parāñcau* 'nominative dual . . .'

*parāñcāḥ* 'nominative plural . . .'

1. Note that *pra* and *parā* are termed *gati*, and obviously, do not end in a vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term (*pratyāhāra*) *iK* (Śs. 1–2). The examples are all derivatives of *KuIN*, introduced after verbal root *añcU*. This is how *añc(U)*, when occurring immediately before (*K*) *v(IN)*, can be accepted as ending in *v*. Refer to derivational details of *prāñ* (vol. III:738) under the appendix of 3.2.59 *ṛtvigdadhyk*. . . Other examples can be similarly derived. Retention of original accent means initial *udātta* in these examples. Examples which involve single replacement may optionally have *svarita* by 8.2.6 *svarito vā* 'nudātte. This optional application of *svarita* may not be available to *parāñ*, etc., because *parā* is *udātta* at the beginning. That is *ā*, which goes through single replacement, is not *udātta*.

2. Note that examples with *prati*, i.e., *pratyāñ*, *pratyāñcau* and *pratyāñcaḥ*, will constitute counter-examples since *prati* ends in a sound denoted by *iK*.

3. A proposal is made in the *Mahābhāṣya* to let the accentual provision of this rule, as characterized with the qualification of non-*iK* (*aniganta*), block the accentual provision characterized with *cu* (6.1.219 *cau*), on the basis of *paratva*. Commentators explain that 6.1.219 *cau* has its independent scope where there is no *gati*. Thus, we get *dadhīcaḥ* and *dadhīcā*. An

accentual provision conditioned by a form not ending in an *iK* (*aniganta*) has its independent scope where *añc* does not lose its *a* and *ñ* to deletion. Thus, we get *parāñ* and *parāñcau*. But consider *parācaḥ* and *parācā* where both of these rules become simultaneously applicable. The *Mahābhāṣya* here invokes 1.4.2 *vipratīṣedhe paraṃ kāryam* and allows the accentual provision of the subsequent rule to win.

### 6.2.53 न्यधी च

*nyadhī ca*

/ *nyadhī* 1/2 = *niś ca adhiś ca* (*itar. dv.*); *ca* ∅/

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *añcatau vapratyaye* #52)

'*nī, adhi*' *ity etau cāñcatau vapratyaye parataḥ prakṛtisvaro bhavataḥ*  
*nī* and *adhi* also retain their original accent when verbal root *añcU* ending in affix *va* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*nyāñ* 'directed downwards; nom. sing. of *nyañc*'

*nyāñcau* 'nom. dual . . .'

*nyāñcaḥ* 'nom. plural . . .'

*adhyāñ* 'directed inwards; nom. sing. of *adhy-añc*'

*adhyāñcau* 'nom. dual . . .'

*adhyāñcaḥ* 'nom. plural . . .'

1. Note that *ni* and *adhi* are here allowed retention because they, obviously, are exceptions to the preceding rule. Here again, *ni* is marked *udātta*. The *ya*, of *nyañ*, *nyāñcau* and *nyāñcaḥ*, becomes *svarita* as usual (8.2.6 *udāttasvaritayor . . .*). The *a* of *adhi* is also *udātta*. Rule 6.1.219 *cau* was applicable to *adhyāñcaḥ*, *adhīcaḥ* and *adhīcā*. Our present rule is an exception to that.

### 6.2.54 ईषदन्यतरस्याम्

*īṣad anyatarasyām*

/ *īṣat* ∅ *anyatarasyām* 7/1/

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1)

'*īṣat*' *ity etat pūrvapadam anyatarasyām prakṛtisvaram bhavati*

An initial constituent, namely *īṣat* 'a little', optionally retains its original accent.

EXAMPLES:

*īṣatkādāraḥ* 'somewhat tawny'

*īṣatkādāraḥ*

*īṣatpīṅgalāḥ* 'somewhat yellowish-brown'

*īṣatpīṅgalāḥ*

1. Note that *īṣat* is marked with *udātta* at the end by nominal stem accent. This optional retention allows compounds to be marked *udātta* at the end (6.1.220 *samāsasya*). These compounds are all formed by way of specific enumeration of bases (*pratipadokta*; 2.2.7 *īṣad akṛtā*). That is why, this accentual provision cannot apply to a derivate such as *īṣadbhedā* 'slightly cracked'. For, accentual provision of compounds with a following constituent in a *kṛt* affix (*kṛduttarapada*; 6.2.139 *gatikārakopapadāt kṛt*) will block it. Some do not accept specific enumeration of bases (*pratipadokta*) as basis for resolving possible conflicts between these accentual provisions. They accept conflict and invoke 1.4.2 *vipratīṣedhe param kāryam*, whereby a subsequent accentual provision wins.

### 6.2.55 हिरण्यपरिमाणे धने

*hiranya-parimāṇe dhane*

/ *hiranya-parimāṇe* 7/1 = *hiranyaṃ ca tat parimāṇaṃ ca* (karm. tat.), *tasmin*;  
*dhane* 7/1/

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *anyatarasyām* #54)

*hiranya-parimāṇavāci pūrvapadam dhanaśabda uttarapade* 'nyatarasyām  
*prakṛtisvaram bhavati*

An initial constituent which signifies a measure (*parimāṇa*) of 'gold' (*hiranya*) retains its original accent when *dhana* combines as a following constituent.

#### EXAMPLES:

*dviṣuvarṇadhanam* 'wealth consisting of two measures of gold'

*dviṣuvarṇadhanam*

1. Not that *dviṣuvarṇa* is a *dvigu* compound (2.1.51 *taddhitārthottara* . . .), where a subsequently introduced *taddhita* affix, i.e., *ṭhañ* (5.1.18 *prāg vateṣ ṭhañ*), gets deleted (5.1.28 *adhyardha* . . .). This *dvigu* is assigned *udātta* at the end (2.1.220 *samāsasya*). When *dhana* is combined to form a *karmadhāraya*, paraphrased as *dviṣuvarṇam eva dhanam* 'wealth consisting of only two measures (sixteen ounces) of gold', then the final *a* of *dviṣuvarṇa* is allowed to retain its original accent. A *bahuvrīhi* interpretation of *dviṣuvarṇa-dhana*, paraphrased as *dviṣuvarṇam dhanam aśya* 'he whose wealth is two sixteen ounce coins', will also have the initial obligatory *udātta* (6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau prakṛtyā pūrvapadam*) made optional. For, this rule is subsequent (*para*). Thus, *dviṣuvarṇadhanah* and *dviṣuvarṇadhanah*.

### 6.2.56 प्रथमोऽचिरोपसम्पत्तौ

*prathamō' ciropasampattau*

/ *prathamah* 1/1 *aciropasampattau* 7/1 = *na cirāt* (*nañ. tat.*); *acirā upasampattiḥ* (karm.), *tasmin*/

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 anyatarasyām #54*)

*prathamaśabdaḥ pūrvapadam aciropasampattau gamyamānāyām anyatarasyām prakṛtisvaram bhavati*

An initial constituent, namely *prathama*, retains its original accent, optionally, when a relatively recent (*acira*) connection is denoted.

#### EXAMPLES:

*prathamavaīyākaraṇaḥ* 'a novice student of grammar'

*prathamavaīyākaraṇaḥ* 'ibidem'

1. Note that *prathama* is a derivate of *amaC* (Uṇādi V:68: *prather amac*), marked with *C* as an *it*. It is thus marked *udātta* at the end (6.1.160 *citāḥ*). The compound itself will be marked *udātta* at the end. That is, if the option of *prathama* is not accepted.

2. Note that this optional *udātta* is consequential for meaning. The compound would get final *udātta*, obligatorily (*nitya*), if the meaning is outside the scope of *aciropasampatti*. Thus, consider *prathamavaīyākaraṇaḥ* 'the first, or best, among grammarians'. Commentators explain *aciropasampatti* as *aciropaśleṣaḥ*, *abhinavatvam* 'relatively recent contact, newness'.

#### 6.2.57 कतरकतमौ कर्मधारये

*katarakataṃau karmadhāraye*

*/katarakataṃau 1/2 (itar. dv.) karmadhāraye 7/1/*

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 anyatarasyām #54*)

*kataraśabdaḥ katamaśabdaś ca pūrvapadam karmadhāraye samāse nyatarasyām prakṛtisvaram bhavati*

The initial constituents, namely *katara* and *katama*, optionally retain their original accent in a *taṭpuruṣa* compound termed *karmadhāraya*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*kaṭarakāṭhaḥ* 'who among you two is a follower of the Kāṭha school'

*kaṭarakāṭhaḥ*

*kaṭamakāṭhaḥ* 'who among you is a follower of the Kāṭha school'

*kaṭamakāṭhaḥ*

1. An optional *udātta* is also offered here to initial constituents of *karmadhāraya* with *katara* and *katama*. Note that *katara* and *katama* end in affixes *ḌataraC* and *ḌatamaC* (5.4.92 *kiṃyattado* . . . ; 5.4.93 *vā bahūnām* . . .), respectively. They are both thus marked with *udātta* at the end (6.1.160 *citāḥ*). The compound gets marked *udātta* at the end, if this option is not accepted.

2. Why use *karmadhāraya* when its purpose can be served automatically



by the compound-formation rule (2.1.63 *katarakatamau jātipariprasne*), where *katara* and *katama* are specifically enumerated (*pratipadokta*)? An explicit use of *karmadhāraya* is intended for *anuvṛtti* in the following rule.

#### 6.2.58 आर्यो ब्राह्मणकुमारयोः

*āryo brāhmaṇakumārayoḥ*

/ *āryaḥ* 1/1 *brāhmaṇa-kumārayoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*) /

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *anyatarasyām* #54 *karmadhāraye* #57)

*āryaśabdaḥ pūrvapadam brāhmaṇakumāraśabdayor uttarapadayoḥ karmadhāraye samāse' nyatarasyām prakṛtisvaram bhavanti*

An initial constituent, namely *ārya*, optionally retains its original accent in a *tatpuruṣa* compound termed *karmadhāraya*, when it combines with *brāhmaṇa* and *kumāra* as following constituents.

#### EXAMPLES:

*āryābrāhmaṇaḥ* 'a noble brāhmaṇa'

*āryabrāhmaṇaḥ*

*āryākumāraḥ* 'a noble youth or prince'

*āryākumāraḥ*

1. Note that *ārya*, as a derivate of *NyaT* (3.1.124 *ṛhalor nyat*), is marked with *svārita* at the end (6.1.182 *tit svaritam*). Not accepting this option will again lead to a final *udātta* of the compound.

2. Note that *paramabrāhmaṇaḥ* and *paramakumāraḥ* cannot qualify for this option because they do not have *ārya* as their initial constituent. Similar exclusion will also be applicable to compounds such as *āryakṣatriyaḥ* and *āryabrāhmaṇaḥ*, where the first one lacks *brāhmaṇa* and *kumāra* as following constituents, and the second is a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound.

#### 6.2.59 राजा च

*rājā ca*

/ *rājā* 1/1 *ca* φ /

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *anyatarasyām* #54 *karmadhāraye* #57 *brāhmaṇakumārayoḥ* #58)

*rājā ca pūrvapadam brāhmaṇakumārayor uttarapadayoḥ karmadhāraye samāse' nyatarasyām prakṛtisvaram bhavati*

An initial compound constituent, namely *rājan* 'king', also optionally retains its original accent when *brāhmaṇa* and *kumāra* combine as following constituents.

#### EXAMPLES:

*rājābrāhmaṇaḥ* 'a brāhmaṇa king'

*rājabrāhmaṇaḥ*  
*rājākumāraḥ* 'a prince who is king'  
*rājākumāraḥ*

1. Why was *rājā* not combined with *ārya* in the earlier rule? A separate mention is made for its *anuvṛtti* in the next rule. Besides, making it part of the earlier rule may have caused assignment of equivalency in order of enumeration (*yathāsaṃkhyā*; 1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyāṃ anudeśaḥ samānām*).

Incidentally, *rājan* is a derivate of *KanIN* (*Uṇādi* I: 56 *yuvṛṣṭa* . . .). Consequently, it is marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*). The option of this rule will not apply if *rājabrāhmaṇaḥ* is interpreted as a genitive *tatpuruṣa*.

## 6.2.60 षष्ठी प्रत्येनसि

*ṣaṣṭhī pratyenasi*  
 / *ṣaṣṭhī* 1/1 *pratyenasi* 7/1 = *pratigatam enaḥ yasya* = *pratyenāḥ* (*bv.*),  
*tasmin/*  
 (*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *anyatarasyām* #54 *rājā* #59)  
*ṣaṣṭhyanto rājaśabdaḥ pūrvapadam pratyenasya uttarapade* 'nyatarasyām  
*prakṛtisvaram bhavati*

An initial compound constituent, namely *rājan* ending in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive', optionally retains its original accent when *pratyenas* combines as following constituent.

### EXAMPLES:

*rājāpratyenāḥ* 'kings' emissary'  
*rājāpratyenāḥ* 'ibidem'

1. Note that there will be four examples: two, where genitive is deleted and the option of this rule is accepted; two, where, because of the signification of anger (6.3.21 *ṣaṣṭhyā* 'krośe'), genitive is not deleted. This option will be blocked if the compound is interpreted as a *karmadhāraya* signifying *rājā cāsau pratyenā ca* 'the king who is also his own emissary'.

## 6.2.61 के नित्यार्थे

*kṛte nityārthe*  
 / *kṛte* 7/1 *nityārthe* 7/1 = *nityaḥ artho yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmin/*  
 (*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *anyatarasyām* #54)  
*ktānta uttarapade nityārthe samāse pūrvapadam anyatarasyām prakṛtisvaram  
 bhavati*

The initial constituent of a compound formed with the signification of *nitya* 'always', optionally, retains its original accent when a constituent ending in *Kṛta* follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*nityāprahasitaḥ* 'always laughing'

*nityāprahasitaḥ*

*satatāprahasitaḥ* 'ibidem'

*satatāprahasitaḥ*

1. The word *nitya* is used with *arthe*, so that an initial constituent synonymous with *nitya* can also be included. This explains why *satata* can also retain its original accent here. Of course, when it combines as an initial with a following derivate of *Kta*. The word *nitya* is a derivate of *tyaP* (cf. *vt.* ad 4.2.104 *avyayāt tyap*). Its *ya* is *anudātta* by affixal accent (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*). But its *ni* is marked with *udātta* (*Phitsūtra* 80: *upasargā . . .*). This accent then will be retained. The word *satata* can be interpreted as a derivate signifying *bhāva* 'root-sense' or *karman* 'object'. It will be marked with *udātta* at the end (6.2.144 *thāthaghañkta . . .*) when the signification is *bhāva*. It will be marked *udātta* at the beginning when the signification is *karman* (6.2.49 *gatiṃ anantarah*). These accusative *taṭpuruṣa* compounds are formed by 2.1.27 *kālāḥ*. The compounds, optionally, may also be marked with *udātta* at the end.

## 6.2.62 ग्रामः शिल्पिनि

*grāmaḥ śilpini*

/grāmaḥ 1/1 śilpini 7/1/

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 anyatarasyām #54*)

*grāmaśabdaḥ pūrvapadam śilpavāciny uttarapade' nyatarasyām prakṛtisvaram bhavati*

An initial compound constituent, namely *grāma* 'village', optionally retains its original accent when a constituent with the signification of *śilpin* 'artisan' combines to follow.

## EXAMPLES:

*grāmānāpitaḥ* 'village barber'

*grāmānāpitaḥ* 'ibidem'

*grāmākulālaḥ* 'village potter'

*grāmākulālaḥ* 'ibidem'

1. Refer to notes under 6.2.47 *ahīne dvitīyā* for accentual details of *grāma*. These examples are all genitive *taṭpuruṣa* compounds. They may also be marked with *udātta* at the end, optionally.

## 6.2.63 राजा च प्रशंसायाम्

*rāja ca praśaṃsāyām*

/rājā 1/1 ca φ praśaṃsāyām 7/1/

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* 1/1 *anyatarasyām* #54 *śilpini* #62)

*rājāśabdaḥ pūrvapadam śilpavāciny uttarapade praśamsāyām gamyā-mānāyām anyatarasyām prakṛtisvaram bhavati*

An initial compound constituent, namely *rājan* 'king', retains its original accent optionally when *śilpin* combines as a following constituent and *praśamsā* 'praise' is denoted.

#### EXAMPLES:

*rājanāpitaḥ* 'royal barber'

*rājanāpitaḥ* 'ibidem'

*rājākūlālah* 'royal potter'

*rājakulālah* 'ibidem'

1. A compound such as *rājanāpitaḥ* can be interpreted both as a *karmadhāraya* and genitive *tatpuruṣa*. A *karmadhāraya* interpretation will involve a figurative transfer of royal qualities to the barber. This is how the compound will denote 'praise.' A genitive will similarly denote 'praise' by attributing qualities of a royal barber to the barber. Refer to notes under 6.2.59 *rājā ca* for accentual details of *rājan*. The compounds are both given here as *karmadhāraya*.

Note that a simple statement of fact, as in *rājanāpitaḥ* 'king's barber', will not qualify the compound for this accentual provision. It must also be limited to *śilpini* 'when an artisan . . .'. Thus, an example such as *rājahasī* 'king's elephant' will again be excluded.

#### 6.2.64 आदिरुदात्तः

*ādir udāttaḥ*

/ *ādih* 1/1 *udāttaḥ* 1/1/

(*pūrvapadam* #1)

*ita uttarām yad vaksyāmas tatra pūrvapadasyādir udātto bhavaṭīty evam veditavyam*

The initial constituent of a compound, from here onwards, will be marked with *udātta* at the beginning.

#### EXAMPLES:

Look under rules which follow.

1. This is an *adhikāra*, valid prior to rule 6.2.143 *antaḥ*, insofar as *ādih* is concerned. It carries prior to 6.2.137 *prakṛtyā bhagālam*, in connection with the assignment of the *udātta* accent. Examples covered by this rule will have their initial constituents marked with *udātta* at the beginning. Consider rule 6.2.25 *saptamūhārīṇau dharmye haraṇe*, whereby an initial compound constituent which ends in the locative and signifies *hārīn* 'he who accepts a share' is marked *udātta* at the beginning. That is, when a constituent with

the signification of something other than *dharmya* 'that which is given as part of established practice' combines to follow. Look under individual rules for further details.

### 6.2.65 सप्तमीहारिणौ धर्म्येऽहरणे

*saptamīhāriṇau dharmye' haraṇe*

/ *saptamīhāriṇau* 1/2 = *saptamī ca hārī ca* (itar. dv.); *dharmye* 7/1 *aharaṇe* 7/1 (nañ. tat.)/

(*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttaḥ* #64)

*saptamyantaṃ hārivāci ca pūrvapadaṃ dharmyavācīni haraṇaśabdād anyasminn uttarapade ādyudāttaṃ bhavati*

An initial compound constituent, namely one which ends in *saptamī* 'seventh triplet of nominal endings' or one which is constituted by *hārin*, is marked *udātta* at the beginning, provided a constituent other than *haraṇa* combines to follow with the signification of *dharmya* 'a proper gift'.

#### EXAMPLES:

*stūpésāṇaḥ* 'a gold coin traditionally offered to a king in commemorating the building of a Stūpa'

*mukūṭekārṣāpaṇam* 'a Kārṣāpaṇa (gold coin) traditionally offered to a king at his coronation'

*halédvipadikā* 'a tax levied on a piece of land farmed with two plows'

*halétripadikā* 'a tax levied on a piece of land farmed with three plows'

*yājñikāśvaḥ* 'ritualist's (gift of a) horse'

*vaiyākaraṇaḥastī* 'grammarian's (gift of an) elephant'

1. Note that *dharmya* and *hārin* are not interpreted here as referring to their forms (*svarūpa*). They are used here with reference to their meanings, instead. Thus, *dharmya*, a derivate of *yaT* (4.4.92 *dharmyapathyartha* . . .), is to be interpreted as *ācāranīyataṃ deyam* 'that (a fixed amount) which ought to be given someone following some standard familial and social practice'. A person who accepts what is given him as *dharmya* is called *hārin* = *deyaḥ yaḥ svīkaroti* 'he who accepts what is given him'.

Note that all locative *tatpuruṣa* compounds involve non-deletion (*aluk*; 6.3.10 *kārināmni ca prācāṃ halādaḥ*) of the locative (*saptamī*). They are formed by rule 2.1.44 *saṃjñāyām*. Examples of *hārin* are all genitive *tatpuruṣa* compounds. Both compound types constitute exceptions to 6.1.220 *samāsasya*.

2. Remember that the conditions of *dharmya* and *hārin* must be satisfied. Thus, consider the two counter-examples: *stambergamaḥ* 'an elephant' and *karmakaravarddhitakaḥ*, where the following constituent of these compounds denotes something different. Thus, *ramaḥ* means 'sportful' and *varddhitakaḥ*

means 'a thick conical pile of cooked rice given as part of wages to labourers'. The restriction of something other than *haraṇa* which, in turn, may constitute the following constituent is also important. Thus consider *vāḍavaharaṇam* 'rich food offered to a studhorse, particularly after impregnation of (*bījaniṣeka*) a mare'. The initial constituent, i.e., *vāḍava* 'mare's own; horse', here denotes *hārin*, but the following constituent is *haraṇa*. This compound is also out. The specification of *aharaṇe* has yet another implication. That is, this rule, except where *haraṇa* is a following constituent, will allow retention of original accent of an initial constituent used with the signification of *hārin*. Since *haraṇa* is a derivate formed with *ḥrt*, its exclusion also specifies derivatives ending in a *ḥrt*. That is, a derivate of *ḥrt* with the exception of *haraṇa*. . . This rule then becomes an exception to 6.2.139 *gatiḥkārakopapadāt ḥrt*. Consider *vāḍavahāryam*, where *vāḍava* retains its original accent of initial *udātta*.

### 6.2.66 युक्ते च

*yukte ca*

/yukte 7/1 ca φ/

(*pūrvapadam* #1 ādir *udāttaḥ* #64)

*yuktavācīni ca samāse pūrvapadam ādyudāttaṁ bhavati*

The initial constituent of a compound formed with the signification of *yukta* 'yoked, engaged' is marked *udātta* at the beginning.

#### EXAMPLES:

*gobāllavaḥ* 'one whose duty is to tend cows'

*gomāṇindaḥ* 'ibidem'

*aśvabāllavaḥ* 'one whose duty is to care of horses'

*aśvāmaṇindaḥ* 'ibidem'

1. The word *yukta* is explained as *samāhita* 'engrossed'; or *kartavye tatparaḥ* 'diligent; persuing what is one's duty'. These compounds all are formed with a following constituent which denotes: 'those who take care of cows and horses as part of their duty'.

### 6.2.67 विभाषा अध्यक्षे

*vibhāṣā' dhyakṣe*

/vibhāṣā 1/1 adhyakṣe 7/1/

(*pūrvapadam* #1 ādir *udāttaḥ* #64)

*adhyakṣaśabda uttarapade vibhāṣā pūrvapadam ādyudāttaṁ bhavati*

The initial constituent of a compound is optionally marked with *udātta* at the beginning when *adhyakṣa* 'chief' combines as a following constituent.

## EXAMPLES:

*gavādhyaṁśaḥ* 'chief among those who take care of cows'  
*gavādhyaṁśaḥ* 'ibidem'  
*aśvādhyaṁśaḥ* 'chief among those who take care of horses'  
*aśvādhyaṁśaḥ* 'ibidem'

1. This optional initial *udātta* is offered against the final *udātta* of 6.1.220 *samāsasya*.

## 6.2.68 पापं च शिल्पिनि

*pāpam ca śilpini*  
 / *pāpam* 1/1 *ca*  $\phi$  *śilpini* 7/1/  
 (*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttaḥ* #64)  
*pāpaśabdaḥ śilpavāciny uttarapade vibhāṣā* *dyudātto bhavati*  
 An initial compound constituent, namely *pāpa* 'despicable', is optionally marked with *udātta* at the beginning when *śilpin* combines as a following constituent.

## EXAMPLES:

*pāpānāpitaḥ* 'a bad barber'  
*pāpānāpitaḥ* 'ibidem'  
*pāpākulālah* 'a bad potter'  
*pāpākulālah* 'ibidem'

1. Note that *pāpa* is interpreted as referring to its form (*svarūpa*) and *śilpini* is interpreted as referring to its meaning. Here again we find an optional *udātta* at the end of a compound. A syntactic coordination (*sāmānādhikarānya*) between constituents leads towards compound formation by 2.1.54 *pāpānake kutsitaiḥ*. A genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound, parallel to *pāpasya nāpitaḥ* = *pāpānāpitaḥ*, cannot qualify for this accentual provision.

## 6.2.69 गोत्रान्तेवासिमाणवब्राह्मणेषु

*gotrāntevāsīmāṇavabrāhmaṇeṣu*  
 / *gotra-antevāsi-māṇava-brāhmaṇeṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*) *kṣepe* 7/1/  
 (*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttaḥ* #64)  
*gotravāciny antevāsiny cottarapade māṇavabrāhmaṇayoś ca kṣepavācini samāse pūrvapadam ādyudāttaṁ bhavati*  
 The initial constituent of a compound formed with the signification of *kṣepa* 'censure' is marked *udātta* at the beginning, provided the constituent which follows signifies a *gotra* 'descendant, grandson on,' an *antevāsin* 'pupil, student', or else, is constituted by *brāhmaṇa* and *māṇava* 'young initiate, boy'.

## EXAMPLES:

*janṅhāvātsyaḥ* 'a non-Vātsya claiming to be a Vātsya'  
*bhāryāsausrutaḥ* 'a henpecked son of Suśruta'  
*vaśābrāhmaṇmakṛteyaḥ* 'a barren woman . . .'  
*odānapāṇinīyāḥ* 'students who study Pāṇini's grammar so that they can get rice to eat'  
*bhikṣāmāṇavaḥ* 'a young initiate who becomes a celibate boasting, 'I can survive on alms''  
*dāśībrāhmaṇaḥ* 'a brāhmaṇa who longs for his maid'  
*bhayābrāhmaṇaḥ* 'one who, for fear (of beating), claims to be a brāhmaṇa'

1. Note that *gotra* 'offspring' and *antevāsin* 'student' are used with reference to their popular meanings (*artha*). The other two, i.e., *māṇava* and *brāhmaṇa*, are used with reference to their form (*svarūpa*). The word *gotra*, since it is used outside the domain of the technical term *gotra*, here refers to its popular meaning of an offspring. Unless a particular specification is made otherwise, all these compounds will be formed by 2.1.4 *saha supā*.

## 6.2.70 अङ्गानि मैरेये

*aṅgāni maireye*  
 /aṅgāni 1/3 maireye 7/1/  
 (pūrvapadam #1 ādir udāttaḥ #64)  
*maireyaśabda uttarapade tadaṅgavācīny pūrvapadāny ādyudāttāni bhavanti*  
 An initial compound constituent which signifies an *aṅga* 'major ingredient, source' is marked with *udātta* at the beginning, when a constituent signifying *maireya* 'liquor' combines to follow.

## EXAMPLES:

*guḍamaireyaḥ* 'liquor, distilled from molasses'  
*madhumaireyaḥ* 'liquor, distilled from honey'

1. Note that the compound derivate must denote *maireya* 'liquor' and the sense of its initial constituent must serve as the major ingredient for distilling liquor. Consider the following counter-examples: *paramamaireyaḥ* and *phalāśavaḥ* 'fruit-juice', where *parama* 'best' does not denote an ingredient and *āsava* 'juice' does not denote liquor.

## 6.2.71 भक्ताख्यास्तदर्थेषु

*bhaktākhyās tadartheṣu*  
 /bhaktākhyāḥ 1/3 tadartheṣu 7/1/  
 (pūrvapadam #1 ādir udāttaḥ #64)



*bhaktam annam tadākhyāḥ tadvācinaḥ śabdāḥ tadartheṣūttaraḥ padēṣu ādyudāttā bhavanti*

The initial constituent of a compound which names *bhakta* 'grain, food' is marked *udātta* at the beginning when a constituent signifying something intended for the food thus named (*tadārtha*) combines to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*bhikṣākāṃsaḥ* 'a pot intended for begging food'

*śrāṇākāṃsaḥ* 'a pot intended for making barley-gruel'

1. Note that *bhakta* is used here with the signification of *anna* 'food'. The word *ākhyā* 'naming', in *bhaktākhyā*, is used so that synonyms of *bhakta* could also be included as constituents.

#### 6.2.72 गोबिडालसिंहसैन्धवेषूपमाने

*gobiḍālasimḥasaindhaveṣūpamāne*

/go-biḍāla-simḥa-saindhaveṣu 7/3 (itar. dv.); upamāne 7/1/

(pūrvapadam #1 ādir udāttaḥ #64)

*gavādiṣūpamānavāciṣūttaraḥ padēṣu pūrvapadam ādyudāttaḥ bhavati*

The initial constituent of a compound is marked *udātta* at the beginning, when a constituent with the signification of *go* 'cow', *biḍāla* 'cat' and *simḥa* 'lion' combines to follow as a standard of comparison (*upamāna*).

#### EXAMPLES:

*dhānyāgavaḥ* 'grain arranged in the shape of a cow'

*hirānyagavaḥ* 'gold similar in shape to a cow's limb'

*bhikṣābiḍālaḥ* '(very little) alms arranged in the shape of a cat'

*tṛṇāsimḥaḥ* 'grass arranged in the shape of a lion'

*kāṣṭhāsimḥaḥ* 'wood shaped like a lion'

*saktūsaindhavaḥ* 'Saktu (barley meal) arranged in the shape of a horse'

*pānāsaindhavaḥ* 'a drinking vessel shaped like a horse'

1. Note that the example compounds are formed by 2.1.56 *upamitam vyāghrādibhiḥ*, especially with paraphrases such as *hirānyam gaur iva* 'gold (shaped) like a cow', etc. The *vyāghrādi* group of nominals (2.1.56 *upamitam . . .*) is also considered open-ended (*ākṛtigāṇa*). The idea of an *upamāna* 'standard of comparison' must follow established usage.

#### 6.2.73 अके जीविकार्थे

*ake jīvikārthe*

/ake 7/1 jīvikārthe 7/1 = jīvikāyā arthaḥ (śaṣ. tat.), tasmin/

(*pūrvapadam* #1 ādir *udāttaḥ* #64)

*akapratyayānta uttarapade jīvikārthavācīni samāse pūrvapadam ādyudāttaṃ bhavati*

The initial constituent of a compound formed with the signification of *jīvikā* 'livelihood' is marked *udātta* at the beginning when a constituent ending in affix *aka* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*dantālekhakaḥ* 'painter of teeth'

*nakhālekhakaḥ* 'manicurist; painter of nails'

*ramāṇiyakārakaḥ* 'beautician'

1. These compound are formed by 2.2.17 *nityam kṛdājīvikayoh*.

#### 6.2.74 प्राचां क्रीडायाम्

*prācām kṛdāyām*

/ *prācām* 6/3 *kṛdāyām* 7/1/

(*pūrvapadam* #1 ādir *udāttaḥ* #64 *ake* #73)

*prāg deśavarttinā yā kṛdā tadvācīni samāse' kapratyayānta uttarapade pūrvapadam ādyudāttaṃ bhavati*

The initial constituent of a compound formed with the signification of a sport of the people in the east in marked *udātta* at the beginning, when a constituent ending in affix *aka* combines to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*uddālakaḥ puṣṭabhañjikā* 'a sport in which the *uddālaka* flowers were crushed'

*vīraṇapūṣṭapracāyikā* 'a sport in which the *vīraṇa* flowers were crushed'

*śālābhañjikā* 'a doll, puppet'

*tālābhañjikā*

1. Refer to my notes under 2.2.17 *nityam* . . . for additional details.

#### 6.2.75 अणि नियुक्ते

*aṇi niyukte*

/ *aṇi* 7/1 *niyukte* 7/1/

(*pūrvapadam* #1 ādir *udāttaḥ* #64)

*aṇanta uttarapade niyuktavācīni samāse pūrvapadam ādyudāttaṃ bhavati*

The initial constituent of a compound formed with the signification of *niyukta* 'commissioned' is marked *udātta* at the beginning when a constituent ending in affix *aṇi* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*chattrādhāraḥ* 'bearer of the parasol'

*tūñīradhārah* 'bearer of the quiver'

*kamāṇḍalugrāhaḥ* 'bearer of the *kamāṇḍalu* (water-pot)'

*bhṛṅgāradhārah* 'bearer of *bhṛṅgāra* (gold-pitcher)'

1. Note that the compound must denote the meaning of *niyukta* 'commissioned to perform specific duty'. Consider *śāralāvaḥ* 'reed-cutter' where agency (*kartṛtva*) alone is denoted. That is, the compound does not indicate whether the person who is currently engaged in the action of cutting reeds is commissioned to do that.

### 6.2.76 शिल्पिनि चाकृञः

*śilpini cākṛñah*

/śilpini 7/1 ca φ akṛñah 1/1 (nañ. tat.)/

(pūrvapadam #1 ādir udāttaḥ #64 aṇi #75)

*śilpivācini samāse' nanta uttarapade pūrvapadam ādyudāttaṃ bhavati, sa ced aṇ kṛño na bhavati*

The initial constituent of a compound formed with the signification of *śilpin* 'artisan' is also marked with *udātta* at the beginning, provided a constituent ending in *aṇ* with the exception of one introduced after *kṛñ* 'to do' combines to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*tantūvāyah* 'a weaver'

*tunnāvāyah* 'a tailor'

*vālāvāyah* 'a hair-dresser'

1. Refer to derivational details of *tantuvāyah* under 3.2.2 *hvāvāmaś ca*. Note that the derivate must denote an artisan (*śilpin*). This is why *kāṇḍalāvaḥ* 'reed-cutter' becomes an exception to this rule. The condition of *akṛñah* ensures that examples like *kumbhakārah* 'potter' and *ayaskārah* 'blacksmith' do not come under the scope of this rule. For, they have their *aṇ* introduced after *kṛñ*.

### 6.2.77 संज्ञायां च

*saṃjñāyām ca*

/saṃjñāyām 7/1 ca φ/

(pūrvapadam #1 ādir udāttaḥ #64 aṇi 75 akṛñah #76)

*saṃjñāyām viṣaye' nanta uttarapade' kṛñah pūrvapadam ādyudāttaṃ bhavati*

The initial constituent of a compound formed with the derivational scope of a name (*saṃjñā*) is also marked with *udātta*, provided a constituent ending in *aṇ* with the exception of one introduced after *kṛñ* combines to follow.

## EXAMPLES:

*tantúvāyo nāma kīṭaḥ* 'tantuvāya is a worm which builds a cocoon; silk-worm'

*vālāvāyo nāma parvataḥ* 'vālavāya is a mountain'

1. Note that the condition of *akṛñāḥ* is still valid. Thus, *rathakāro nāma brāhmaṇaḥ* 'a brāhmaṇa named rathakāra (chariot-maker)' will serve as a counter-example.

## 6.2.78 गोतन्तियवं पाले

*gotantiyavaṃ pāle*

/gotantiyavam 1/1 (sam. dv.); pāle 7/1/

(pūrvapadam #1 ādir udāttaḥ #64)

'go, tanti, yava' ity etāni pūrvapadāni pālaśabda uttarapade ādyudāttāni bhavanti

The initial constituents, namely *go* 'cow', *tanti* 'cord, string' and *yava* 'barley', are marked *udātta* at the beginning, provided *pāla* combines as a following constituent.

## EXAMPLES:

*gopālaḥ* 'one who takes care of cows'

*tantiṭpālaḥ* 'one who guards calves (tied to posts with ropes); a king'

*yavāpālaḥ* 'one who guards the barley field'

1. Note that *gorakṣaḥ* 'protector of cows' falls outside the scope of this rule, simply because *pāla* 'guard' is not the final constituent.

## 6.2.79 णिनि

*ṇini*

/ṇini 7/1/

(pūrvapadam #1 ādir udāttaḥ #64)

*ṇinanta uttarapade pūrvapadam ādyudāttam bhavati*

The initial constituent of a compound is marked *udātta* at the beginning when a constituent ending in affix *ṇinI* combines to follow.

## EXAMPLES:

*puṣpāhārī* 'he who brings flowers over and over again'

*phalāhārī* 'he who brings fruits over and over again'

*parṇāhārī* 'he who brings leaves over and over again'

1. Note that *ṇinI* (3.2.80 *vrate*) is used in the derivate examples with the signification of *vrate* 'a ritual vow'. This signification is especially desired in the context of verbal root *hṛN* 'to carry, fetch'. Elsewhere, we can also get the meaning of *ābhikṣṇya* 'doing something over and over again'.

## 6.2.80 उपमानं शब्दार्थप्रकृतावेव

*upamānam śabdārthaprakṛtāu eva*

/*upamānam* 1/1 *śabdārthaprakṛtau* 7/1 = *śabdo' rthaḥ yasyāḥ sā (bv)*;  
*śabdārthā prakṛtir yasya (bv. with int. bv.)*, *tasmin*; *eva* φ/

(*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttaḥ* #64 *ṇini* #79)

*upamānavāci pūrvapadam śabdārthaprakṛtāu eva ṇinanta uttarapada*  
*ādyudāttaṃ bhavati*

An initial compound constituent which denotes a standard of comparison (*upamāna*) is marked with *udātta* when a constituent ending in *ṇinI*, and carrying the base-meaning of *śabda* 'noise', combines to follow.

## EXAMPLES:

*uṣṭrākroṣī* 'he who makes a noise like a camel'

*dhvāṅkṣārāvī* 'he who caws like a crow'

*kharānāḍī* 'he who brays like a donkey'

1. Note that the final compound constituent must signify *śabda* 'noise'. That is why I translate, 'carrying the base-meaning of *śabda*'. Consider *vañci* and *prekṣī* of *ṛkavañci* 'cunning as a wolf' and *ṛkaprekṣī* 'observing like a wolf' which must be excluded from the scope of this rule since *vañcA* 'to deceive' and *prekṣA* 'to observe' do not denote *śabda*. Additionally, this meaning of *śabda* should be considered independently of preverbs (*Kāś*: *prakṛtir eva yatropasarganirapekṣā śabdārthā bhavati tatraiva syāt . . .*). Thus, *gardabhocārī* 'he who makes noises like a donkey' and *kokilābhivṛyāhārī* 'he who makes noises like a cuckoo' must also be excluded since the meaning of *śabda* 'noise' is here complemented by the preverbs.

2. The word *eva* 'only' is used for exact specification of the scope of this rule by way of *upamāna* 'standard of comparison'. Note that this initial *udātta* could have been made available by the preceding rule to compounds with their initial constituents denoting an *upamāna*, or something other than an *upamāna*, anyway. This use of *eva* is then restrictive in case of initial constituents used with the signification of *upamāna*. That is, an initial *udātta* under the condition of *śabdārthaprakṛtau* will be available only when *upamāna* is the initial constituent. *Nyāsa* correctly observes that if *upamāna* was not specified here, the scope of application of the preceding rule, as against this current, could not be known. A specification with *upamāna* makes the scope of the preceding rule general (*sāmānya*). This rule then specifies the particular scope relative to the preceding general, by way of *upamāna* (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś*: *yady upamānagrahaṇam na kriyeta tadā pūrvasya yogasyāsa ca viśayavibhāgo na jñāyeta*).

## 6.2.81 युक्तारोह्यादयश्च

*yuktārohyādayaś ca*

/yuktārohyādayaḥ 1/3 yuktārohī ādir yeṣām (bv.); ca φ/  
 (pūrvapadam #1 ādir udāttaḥ #64 nini #79)  
 yuktārohyādayaḥ samāsaḥ ādyudātta bhavanti

The initial constituents of compounds such as *yuktārohī* 'a well equipped rider', etc., are marked *udātta* at the beginning.

#### EXAMPLES:

*yuktārohī* 'supervisor of horses'  
*āgātayodhī* 'one who fights a newly arrived'  
*kṣīrāhotā* 'sacrificer of rice-pudding'  
*bhāginibharttā* 'sister's husband'

1. Note that nominals included within the list headed by *yuktārohin* are all derivatives of affix *ṆiN*. Consequently, they simply illustrate the provision of 6.2.79 *nini*. Some claim that since Pāṇini offers this rule even though its purpose can be served by 6.2.79 *nini*, this rule must be accepted as restrictive. It offers restrictions applicable to both the preceding as well following constituents of example compounds. Thus, this rule applies only when the compounds are formed with *yukta*, etc., as initial constituents, and *ārohin*, etc., as final (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś*: *teṣām iha pāṭhasya prayojanāntaram darśayati. pūrvottarapadayoṇīyam* 'rtho yeṣām te tathoktāḥ. yatra yuktādīny eva pūrvapadāny ārohyādīny eva uttarapadāni tatraive yathā syād iti'). Thus, we cannot find the provision of this rule applicable to *dhvāṅkṣārohī*, etc. These compounds get *udātta* at the end, instead.

The first two derivatives of this rule end in *ṆinI*. The next two compounds are both genitive *taṭpuruṣa*, formed on the basis of constituency in the *yājakādi* group (2.2.9 *yājakādibhiḥ ca*) of nominals.

#### 6.2.82 दीर्घकाशतुषभ्राष्ट्रवटं जे

*dirghakāśatuṣabhrāṣṭravaṭam je*  
 /dirgha-kāśa-tuṣa-bhrāṣṭra-vaṭam 1/1 (sam. dv.); je 7/1/  
 (pūrvapadam #1 ādir udāttaḥ #64)  
 'dirghāntam pūrvapadam, kāśa, tuṣa, bhrāṣṭra, vaṭa' ity etāni ca je uttarapade  
 ādyudāttaṇi bhavanti

An initial compound constituent which ends in a long vowel, or one which is constituted by *kāśa* 'reed', *tuṣa* 'chaff', *bhrāṣṭra* 'roasting place, oven' and *vaṭa* 'banyan', is marked with *udātta* at the beginning when *ja* combines to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*kuṭṭijah* 'born in a hut'  
*śamijah* 'found in a Śamī tree'  
*kāśājah* 'found in grass'

*tuṣājah* 'found in bran'

*bhrāṣṭrājah* 'found in a roasting place'

*vaṭājah* 'found in a banyan tree'

1. Note that *ja* is derived by introducing affix *Ḍa* after verbal root *jan* (3.2.97 *saptamyām janer ḍah*). This rule is an exception to 6.2.138 *gatiḱārakopapadāt kṛt*.

#### 6.2.83 अन्त्यात्पूर्वं बह्वचः

*antyāt pūrvam bahvacah*

/ *antyāt* 5/1 *pūrvam* 1/1 *bahvacah* 1/1

(*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttah* #64 *je* #82)

*je uttarapade bahvacah pūrvapadasyāntyāt pūrvam udāttam bhavati*

The next to the last vowel of an initial compound constituent consisting of many vowels (*bahvac*) is marked *udātta* when *ja* combines to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*upasarājah* 'born from first impregnation'

*mandurājah* 'born or found in a stable'

*āmalakījah* 'found in the Āmalakī fruit'

*vaḍavājah* 'stud-horse; . . . found in groups of mares'

1. Note that *a* of *ra* will be marked *udātta*, since it happens to be next to the last among vowels of the polysyllabic derivate *upasarajah*. The condition of *bahvacah* will block initial *udātta* in examples such as *dagdhajāni tṛṇāni* 'grass growing at a place which was burned' where the initial constituent, i.e., *dagdha*, consists of two vowels only. This again is an exception to 6.2.139 *gatiḱārakopapadāt*. . .

#### 6.2.84 ग्रामेऽनिवसन्तः

*grāme' nivasantaḥ*

/ *gāme* 7/1 *anivasantaḥ* 1/3 = *na nivasantaḥ* (*nañ. tat.*)/

(*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttah* #64)

*grāmasabda uttarapade pūrvapadam ādyudāttam bhavati*

An initial compound constituent is marked *udātta* at the beginning when it does not signify a resident and when *grāma* combines with it as a following constituent.

#### EXAMPLES:

*mallāgrāmaḥ* 'group of wrestlers'

*vanīggrāmaḥ* 'group of traders'

*devāgrāmaḥ* 'a village with divine lordship'

1. Note that *grāma* 'village' is here used with the signification of *samūha* 'group'. The condition of *anivasat* 'non-living' is also important. Consider *dākṣigrāmāḥ* 'a village where descendants of Dakṣa, etc., live' and *māhagrāmāḥ* 'a village where Māhaki, etc., live' as counter-examples.

### 6.2.85 घोषादिषु च

*ghoṣādiṣu ca*

/ *ghoṣādiṣu* 7/2 = *ghoṣa ādir yeṣām* (bv.), *teṣu; ca* φ/

(*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttaḥ* #64)

*ghoṣādiṣu cottarapadeṣu pūrvapadam ādyudattam bhavati*

The initial constituent of a compound is marked *udātta* at the beginning when a constituent enumerated in the list headed by *ghoṣa* 'a settlement of herdsmen' combines to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*dākṣighoṣaḥ*

'a settlement where descendants of Dakṣa live'

*dākṣikaṭaḥ* 'a crematorium of the descendants of Dakṣa'

*dākṣihradaḥ* 'a pond of the descendants of Dakṣa'

1. The examples are all genitive *tatpuruṣa* compounds. Note that the *ghoṣādi* group also includes words which, when used as initial constituents, may qualify for initial *udātta* even against the condition of *anivasat* (cf. 6.2.84 *grāme' nivasantaḥ*). Some, therefore, do not carry the *anuvṛtti* of *anivasat* in this rule.

### 6.2.86 छात्र्यादयः शालायाम्

*chātryādayaḥ śālāyām*

/ *chātryādayaḥ* 1/3 = *chātriḥ ādir yeṣām; śālāyām* 7/1/

(*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttaḥ* #64)

*śālāyām uttarapade chātryādaya ādyudattā bhavanti*

An initial compound constituent enumerated in the list headed by *chātrin* 'student' is marked *udātta* when *śālā* 'hall' combines as a following constituent.

#### EXAMPLES:

*chātrīśālā* 'home of Chātri'

*pailīśālā* 'home of Paili'

*bhāṇḍīśālā* 'home of Bhāṇḍi'

1. Note that all the *chatrādi* nominals denote an *apatya* 'offspring' and end in *iñ* (4.1.95 *ata iñ*). The first and third compounds can also be interpreted as a 'barber's shop'. The second also has a slightly different form:



*pelisālā*. Our second example also has a slightly different form and meaning: *pelisāla* 'stable'.

### 6.2.87 प्रस्थेऽवृद्धमकव्यादीनाम्

*prasthe' vṛddham akarkyādīnām*

/prasthe 7/1 avṛddham 1/1 (na vṛddham (nañ.)); akarkyādīnām 6/3 = karkī ādir yeṣām te karkyādayaḥ; na karkyādayaḥ (nañ. with int. bu), teṣām/ (pūrvapadam #1 ādir udāttaḥ #64)

*prasthaśabda uttarapade karkyādivarjitam avṛddham pūrvapadam ādyudāttaḥ bhavati*

The initial constituent of a compound with the exception of one enumerated in the list headed by *karkin* 'born in the zodiacal sign Cancer', or one which is termed *vṛddha*, is marked *udātta* at the beginning, provided *prastha* 'plain, level country' combines with it as a following constituent.

#### EXAMPLES:

*indraprasthaḥ* 'the city of Indraprastha'

*kuṇḍāprasthaḥ* 'a place named Kuṇḍaprashta'

*hradāprasthaḥ* 'a place named Hradaprashta'

1. Note that *vṛddha* refers to constituents termed *vṛddha* by 1.1.72 *vṛddhir yasyācām ādis tad vṛddham*. How come these exceptions are specified with the nominative and genitive, two different nominal endings. This just illustrates a variation in the Pāṇinian style.

### 6.2.88 मालादीनां च

*mālādīnām ca*

/mālādīnām 6/3 = mālā ādir yeṣām (bu.); ca φ/

(pūrvapadam #1 ādir udāttaḥ #64 prasthe #87)

*prastha uttarapade mālādīnām ādir udātto bhavati*

An initial compound constituent enumerated in the list headed by *mālā* 'garland' is also marked *udātta* at the beginning.

#### EXAMPLES:

*mālāprasthaḥ* 'name of a place'

*śālāprasthaḥ* 'name of a place'

1. Note that the preceding rule does not allow a compound with its initial constituent termed *vṛddha* to be marked *udātta* at the beginning. Our present rule allows it. For, the *mālādi* group consists of nominals termed *vṛddha*.

## 6.2.89 अमहन्नवं नगरे ऽनुदीचाम्

*amahannavam nagare' nudicām*

/amahannavam 1/1 = mahat ca navam ca = mahannavam (sam. dv.); na mahannavam (nañ. tat.); nagare 7/1 anudicām 6/3 = na udañcaḥ (nañ. tat.), teṣām/

(pūrvapadam #1 ādir udāttaḥ #64)

*nagaraśabda uttarapade mahannavaśabdavarjitaṃ pūrvapadam ādyudāttaṃ bhavati*

An initial compound constituent, with the exception of one constituted by *mahat* 'big' and *nava* 'new', is marked *udātta* at the beginning, provided *nagara* 'city' combines as a following constituent and the signification excludes a city of the northerners.

## EXAMPLES:

*sūhmanagaram* 'name of a city'

*paṇḍrānagaram* 'name of city'

1. Why specify *mahat* and *nava* as part of exclusion? Consider *mahānagaram* 'a big city' and *navanagaram* 'a new city' where we find *udātta* at the end. The exclusion of *anudicām* is similarly important.

## 6.2.90 अर्मे चावर्णं द्व्यच् त्र्यच्

*arme cāvarṇaṃ dvyaḥ tryaḥ*

/arme 7/1 ca φ avarṇam 1/1 dvyaḥ 1/1 = dvau acau yasmin (bv.); tryaḥ 1/1 = trayo' co yasmin (bv.)/

(pūrvapadam #1 ād'r udāttaḥ #64 mahannavam #89)

*armaśabda uttarapade dvyaḥ tryaḥ pūrvapadam avarānāntam ādyudāttaṃ bhavati*

The initial compound constituent which, with the exception of *mahat* and *nava*, ends in *a* and contains two or three vowels is marked *udātta* at the beginning when *arma* 'ruins' combines to follow.

## EXAMPLES:

*dattārmam* 'name of a locality'

*guptārmam* 'name of a locality'

*kujjūtārmam* 'name of a locality'

*vāyāsārmam* 'name of a locality'

1. Note that the example derivatives must end in *a*. Consider *bṛhadārmam* where *bṛhat* 'non-big' does not end in *a*. The conditions of *dvyaḥ* 'that which consists of two vowels' and *tryaḥ* 'that which consists of three vowels' will exclude examples such as *kapiñjalārmam*, etc. Finally, *mahārmam* and *navārmam* will also be excluded since *mahat* and *nava* are initial compound constituents.

## 6.2.91 न भूताधिकसञ्जीवमद्राश्मकज्जलम्

*na bhūtādhikasañjīvamadrāśmakajjalam*

/na φ bhūta-adhika-sañjīva-madra-aśma-kajjalam 1/1 (sam. dv.)/

(pūrvapadam #1 adir udāttaḥ #64 arme #89)

'bhūta, adhika, sañjīva, madra-aśman, kajjala' ity etāni pūrvapadāni armaśabda uttarapade nādyudāttāni bhavanti

The initial compound constituents, namely *bhūta* 'past', *adhika* 'more', *sañjīva* 'living together', *madra* 'name of a locality', *aśman* 'rock' and *kajjala* 'collyrium', are not marked *udātta* at the beginning when *arma* 'ruins' combines as a following constituent.

## EXAMPLES:

*bhūtārmam* 'name of locality'

*adhikārmam* 'name of a locality'

*sañjīvārmam* 'name of a locality'

*madrārmam* 'name of a locality'

*aśmārmam* 'name of a locality'

*madrāśmārmam* 'name of a locality'

*kajjalārmam* 'name of a locality'

1. Note that a specification with *madrāśma* is here made so that *madra* and *aśman*, individually, and *madrāśma* as a combined base, can qualify for this accentual provision (*Kāś: madrāśmagrahaṇam saṃghātaviḡhītārtham*). Thus, we get *aśmārmam*, *madrārmam* and *madrāśmārmam*. Most of these constituents could have qualified for initial *udātta*, based on their specifications with *dvya* 'consisting of two vowels' and *trya* 'consisting of three vowels'. This rule negates such provisions of the preceding rule. That is, the final *udātta* accent of the compound will prevail. All derivatives name a locality and are formed as genitive *tatpuruṣa* compounds.

2. A proposal for initial *udātta* is also made in the Vedic usage of *divodāsa*. . . . Thus, consider *divódāsāya gāyata* and *vaddhryāśvāyā dāśuśé*.

## 6.2.92 अन्तः

*antaḥ*

/antaḥ 1/1/

(pūrvapadam #1 udāttaḥ #64)

'antaḥ' ity adhikṛtam; ita uttaram yad vakṣyāmas tatra pūrvapadasyānta udāto bhavāṭīty evaṃ veditavyam

An initial compound constituent, from here onwards, is marked *udātta* at the end.

## EXAMPLES:

*sarvaśvētaḥ* 'all white'

*sarvakṛṣṇāḥ* 'all black'

1. This is an *adhikāra*, valid prior to rule 6.2.110 *noṣṭhopasarga*. . . . It offers *udātta* at the end of an initial compound constituent.

### 6.2.93 सर्व गुणकात्स्ये

*sarvaṃ guṇakārtsnye*

/ *sarvaṃ* 1/1 *guṇa-kārtsnye* 7/1 = *guṇasya kārtsnyam* (śaś. tat.), *tasmin* /  
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttaḥ* #64 *antaḥ* #92)

*sarvaśabdah pūrvapadam guṇakārtsnye vartamānam antodāttaṃ bhavati*

An initial compound constituent, namely *sarva* 'all', when used with the signification of entirety of quality, is marked with *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

*sarvaśvetaḥ* 'all white'

*sarvakṛṣṇaḥ* 'all black'

*sarvamāhān* 'all great'

1. The condition of *guṇakārtsnya* 'entirety of quality' must be met. Thus, we do not get final *udātta* in *sarvasaṃvamaḥ* 'a thing all gold' and *sarvaśvetaḥ* 'a thing all white', parallel to *sarveṣāṃ śvetaḥ* 'whitest of all', where *sarva* in the first two examples denotes entirety of a thing (*dravya*). The last example denotes quality, though not in its entirety. A statement of entirety cannot be accepted as one made with reference to a group within larger groups. It must be made relative to the entirety of groups.

### 6.2.94 संज्ञायां गिरिनिकाययोः

*saṃjñāyāṃ girinikāyayoḥ*

/ *saṃjñāyām* 7/1 *giri-nikāyayoḥ* 7/2 = *giriś ca nikāyaś ca* (itar. dv.) *tayoḥ* /  
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttaḥ* #64 *antaḥ* #92)

*saṃjñāyāṃ viśaye 'giri, nikāya' ity etayor uttarapadayoḥ pūrvapadam antodāttaṃ bhavati*

An initial compound constituent is marked *udātta* at the end when *giri* 'mountain' and *nikāya* 'multitude, house' combine to follow and derivatives denote a name (*saṃjñā*).

EXAMPLES:

*añjanāgiriḥ* 'name of a mountain'

*bhañjanāgiriḥ* 'ibidem'

*śāpīṇḍinikāyaḥ* 'the clan of Śāpīṇḍis'

*mauṇḍinikāyaḥ* 'the clan of Mauṇḍis'

1. Note that *paramagiriḥ* 'highest mountain' and *brāhmaṇanikāyaḥ* 'clan of brāhmaṇas', both counter-examples to the condition of *saṃjñāyām*, are marked *udātta* at the end (6.1.220 *samāsasya*). Our first two examples are

both genitive *tatpuruṣa* compounds where the final *a* of *añjana* and *bhañjana* has gone through lengthening (6.3.115 *vanagiryoh sañjñāyām*). The initial constituents of the last two examples are derivatives of *iñ* (4.1.95 *ata iñ*).

### 6.2.95 कुमार्या वयसि

*kumāryām vayasī*

/ *kumāryām* 7/1 *vayasī* 7/1/

(*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttaḥ* #64 *antaḥ* #92)

*kumāryām uttarapade vayasī gamyamāne pūrvapadam antodāttaṃ bhavati*

An initial compound constituent is marked *udātta* at the end when *kumārī* combines as a following constituent and *vayas* 'age' is denoted.

#### EXAMPLES:

*vṛddhakumārī* 'an old virgin woman'

*jaratkumārī* 'ibidem'

1. Note that *kumārī* 'girl' is used in two senses of *prathamam vayah* 'initial stage of life' and *pumsām sahāsamprayogaḥ* 'no sexual contact with a male'. A syntactic coordination of *kumārī*, with *vṛddha* 'old' and *jaratī* 'decaying' signifying the final stage of life, is impaired. That is, if *kumārī* is used with the signification of the initial stage of life. There is no impairment of syntactic coordination if *kumārī* is used with the signification of a virgin.

2. The compound formation of *vṛddhakumārī* is in consonance with 2.1.56 *viśeṣaṇam viśeṣyena bahulam*. The second example compound is formed in accord with 2.1.48 *pūrvakālaikasarvajarat*. . . . The masculine transformation of *vṛddhā* → *vṛddha* and *jaratī* → *jarat* is accomplished by 6.3.40 *pūṃvat karmadhāraya*. . . . The *ñiP* of *kumārī* is introduced by 4.1.20 *vayasī prathame*.

### 6.2.96 उदके ऽकेवले

*udake' kevale*

/ *udake* 7/1 *akevale* 7/1 (*nañ. tat.*)/

(*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttaḥ* #64 *antaḥ* #92)

*akevalam* = *miśram tadvācīni samāse udakaśabda uttarapade pūrvapadam antodāttaṃ bhavati*

The initial constituent of a compound formed with the signification of *akevala* 'not by itself; mixed, combined' is marked *udātta* at the end when *udaka* 'water' combines to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*gudodākam* 'water mixed with jaggery'

*tīlodākam* 'water with sesame seeds

(offered as libation to ancestors)'

1. Note that this final *udātta* of an initial constituent may, in case of *o* as a single replacement for *a* and *u*, also qualify for an optional replacement with *svarita* (8.2.6 *svarito vā* 'nudātte padātau'). Thus, we get *guḍōdakam* and *tilōdakam*, both *karmadhāraya-tatpuruṣa* compounds, formed in view of a *vārttika* (*samānādhikaraṇādhikāre śākapārthivādīnām siddhaye uttarapadalopasyo-pasamkhyānam* (ad 2.1.60 *ktena nañviśiṣṭena* . . .)). The condition of *akevale*, if not satisfied, will produce *śītōdakam* 'cold water' and *uṣṇōdakam* 'hot water'.

### 6.2.97 द्विगौ ऋतौ

*dvigau kratau*

/ *dvigau* 7/1 *kratau* 7/1/

(*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttaḥ* #64 *antaḥ* #92)

*dvigāv uttarapade kratuvācīni samāse pūrvapadam antodāttaṁ bhavati*

The initial constituent of a compound formed with the signification of *kratu* 'ritual sacrifice' is marked *udātta* at the end when a constituent termed *dvigu* combines to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*gargatrīrātraḥ* 'the *trīrātra* sacrifice of the Gargas'

*caraḥkratrīrātraḥ* 'the *trīrātra* sacrifice of the Carakas'

1. Note that *trīrātra* is a *dvigu* compound formed with *aC* (5.4.87 *ahaḥsarvaikadeśa* . . .) introduced after *trīrātri*, parallel to *tiṣṇām rātrīṇām samāhārah* 'a grouping of three nights'. A genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound such as *gargatrīrātraḥ*, parallel to *gargānām trīrātraḥ*, thus has its initial constituent *garga* marked with *udātta* at the end.

A compound such as *atīrātraḥ*, an *avyayībhāva* 'indeclinable' compound not meeting the condition of *dvigau* 'when combined in a *dvigu* compound', is marked with *udātta* at the end. The final *udātta* of an initial constituent, for example *bilva*, will be blocked in *bilvasaptarātraḥ* 'a group of seven nights when *bilva* 'a wild fruit' is offered as oblation to Agni'. This compound meets the condition of *dvigau* but *kratu* 'ritual sacrifice' is not its signification.

### 6.2.98 सभायां नपुंसके

*sabhāyām napuṃsake*

/ *sabhāyām* 7/1 *napuṃsake* 7/1/

(*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttaḥ* #64 *antaḥ* #92)

*sabhāśabda uttarapade napuṃsakalinge samāse pūrvapadam antodāttaṁ bhavati*

The initial constituent of a compound used in the neuter is marked with *udātta* at the end when *sabhā* 'assembly' combines as its following constituent.

## EXAMPLES:

*gopālasābham* 'a gathering of cowherds'  
*paśūpālasābham* 'an assembly of those who tend cows'  
*strīsābham* 'an assembly of women'  
*dāśīsābham* 'an assembly of maids'

1. Note that *naṇpumsake* here refers to usage in the neuter, as is clear from the enumeration of individual nominal bases (*pratipadokta*). Thus, consider the neuter of *gopālasābham* which has been specified by 2.4.24 *aśāla ca*. The *raṃaṇīyasābham* 'beautiful gathering', of *raṃaṇīyasābham brāhmaṇakulam* 'the beautiful gathering of the clan of brāhmaṇas', cannot qualify because the neuter of *sabhā* is accomplished by way of its qualification of *kulam* 'clan'. It is not enumerated by a rule as an individual nominal stem. Compounds with *sabhā* as their final constituent are accepted as neuter when *rājā* 'king' and *manuṣya* 'humans' do not combine as their initial constituents (2.4.23 *sabhā rāja . . .*). Thus, *rājasābhā* 'royal assembly' and *manuṣyasābhā* 'assembly of humans' will be excluded because of their non-neuter usage.

## 6.2.99 पुरे प्राचाम्

*pure prācām*  
 /pure 7/1 prācām 6/3/  
 (pūrvapadam #1 udāttaḥ #64 antaḥ #92)  
*puraśabda uttarapade prācām deṣe pūrvapadam antodāttaṃ bhavati*  
 The initial constituent of a compound formed with the signification of an eastern place is marked *udātta* at the end when *pura* 'locality' combines as its following constituent.

## EXAMPLES:

*lalātapūram* 'name of an eastern locality'  
*kāñcīpūram* 'name of an eastern locality'  
*śivadattapūram* 'name of an eastern locality'

## 6.2.100 अरिष्टगौडपूर्वे च

*ariṣtagauḍapūrvē ca*  
 /ariṣta-gauḍa-pūrvē 7/1 = ariṣtam ca gauḍas ca = ariṣtagauḍau; tau pūrvau yasmin (bv. with int. dv.); ca φ/  
 (pūrvapadam #1 udāttaḥ #64 antaḥ #92 pure #99)  
 'ariṣta, gauḍa' ity evam pūrvē samāse puraśabda uttarapade pūrvapadam antodāttaṃ bhavati  
 The initial constituent of a compound formed with *ariṣta* and *gauḍa* at its beginning is marked *udātta* at the end when *pura* combines to follow.

## EXAMPLES:

*arīṣṭapūram* 'name of a locality'  
*gaudapūram* 'name of a locality'  
*arīṣṭaśrīṭapūram* 'name of a locality'  
*gaudabhṛtyapūram* 'name of a locality'

1. The word *pūve* is used so that *arīṣṭa* and *gauda*, even when combined with an intervening constituent before their final compound constituent, could be covered by this rule. Thus, consider *arīṣṭaśrīṭapūram* and *gaudabhṛtyapūram*. These example compounds were excluded from the scope of the preceding rule since they do not denote places in the east. This rule offers an exception.

## 6.2.101 न हास्तिनफलकमार्देयाः

*na hāstinaphalakamārdeyāḥ*  
 / *na*  $\phi$  *hāstina-phalaka-mārdeyāḥ* 1/3 (*itar. dv.*)/  
 (*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttah* #64 *antaḥ* #92 *pure* #99)  
 'hāstina, phalaka, mārdeya' *ity etāni pūrvapadāni puraśabda uttarapade nāntodāttāni bhavanti*

The initial constituents of a compound, namely *hāstina*, *phalaka* and *mārdeya*, are not marked with *udātta* at the end when *pura* combines as a following constituents.

## EXAMPLES:

*hāstinapūram* 'name of a locality'  
*phalakapūram* 'name of a locality'  
*mārdeyapūram* 'name of a locality'

1. This again is an exception to 6.2.99 *pure prācām*. Since all these rules form an exception to the final *udātta* of a compound (6.1.220 *samāsasya*), a negation will only restore the said final *udātta*. Incidentally, affix *ḍhaK* is introduced after *mārdeya* by 4.1.123 *śubhrādibhyaś ca*. A genitive *taṭpuruṣa* compound is then formed with *pura*.

## 6.2.102 कुसूलकूपकुम्भशालं बिले

*kuṣūlakūpakumbhaśālaṃ bile*  
 / *kuṣūla-kūpa-kumbha-śālaṃ* 1/1 (*sam. dv.*); *bile* 7/1/  
 (*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttah* #1 *antaḥ* #92)  
 'kuṣūla, kūpa, kumbha, śālā' *ity etāni pūrvapadāni bilaśabde uttarapade nāntodāttāni bhavanti*

The initial compound constituents, namely *kuṣūla*, *kūpa*, *kumbha* and *śālā*, are marked *udātta* at the end when *bila* 'hole' combines as a following constituent.



## EXAMPLES:

*kuṣūlabīlam* 'top of a granary'  
*kūpabīlam* 'top of a well'  
*kumbhabīlam* 'mouth of a jar'  
*śālābīlam* 'entry to a hall'

1. These are all genitive *tatpuruṣa* compounds. Note that the condition of *kuṣūla*, etc., must be met. For, a compound such as *sarpabīlam* 'snake-pit' will serve as a counter-example. The condition of *bīle* must also be met. For, a compound such as *kuṣūlasvāmī* 'owner of a granary' will then also serve as a counter-example.

## 6.2.103 दिक्शब्दा ग्रामजनपदाख्यानचानराटेषु

*dikṣabdā grāmajanapadākhyānacānarāṭeṣu*  
 / *dikṣabdāḥ* 1/3 = *diśi dṛṣṭāḥ śabdāḥ* (*sapt. tat.* with deletion of middle *pada*); *grāma-janapada-ākhyāna-cānarāṭeṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*)/  
 (*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttāḥ* #64 *antaḥ* #92)  
*dikṣabdāḥ pūrvapadāni antodāttāni bhavanti grāma-janapada-ākhyāna-*  
*vāciṣūttarapadeṣu cānarāṭ śabde ca*

An initial compound constituent having the signification of a directional name<sup>2</sup> (*diś*) is marked with *udātta* at the end, when a word which is either used with the signification of a *grāma* 'village', *janapada* 'principality' and *ākhyāna* 'story, episode', or is constituted by *cānarāṭ* 'name of a locality', combines to follow.

## EXAMPLES:

*pūrvēśūkāmaśamī* 'the eastern village of Iṣukāmaśamī'  
*apareśūkāmaśamī* 'the lower or little village of Iṣukāmaśamī'  
*pūrvakīṣṇamṛttikā* 'the eastern village of Kṛṣṇamṛttikā'  
*aparakīṣṇamṛttikā* 'the lower eastern village of Kṛṣṇamṛttikā'  
*pūrvapāñcālāḥ* 'the principally of the Pañcāla warriors'  
*aparapāñcālāḥ* 'ibidem'  
*pūrvayāyātam* 'a narrative with Yayāti as its focus'  
*aparayāyātam* 'ibidem'  
*pūrvacānarāṭam* 'name of a place'  
*aparacānarāṭam* 'ibidem'

1. Note that, except for *cānarāṭa* which is specified here as referring to its form, all other specifications are denotational in nature. Compounds, such as *pūrvēśūkāmaśamī*, etc., are formed by 2.1.49 *dikṣamkhye*. . . . Refer to their derivational details in the appendix. The signification of the word *cānarāṭa* is doubtful. The word *śabda* is used with *diś* so that directional words, such as *pūva*, etc., which may also denote *kāla* 'time', can be covered.

## 6.2.104 आचार्योपसर्जनश्चान्तेवासिनि

*ācāryopasarjanaś cāntevāsini*

/ *ācāryopasarjanaḥ* 1/1 = *ācārya upasarjanaṃ yasya antevāsinaḥ* (bv.); *ca* φ  
*antevāsini* 7/1/

(*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttaḥ* #64 *antaḥ* #92 *dikṣabdāḥ* #103)

*ācāryopasarjanāntevāsivāciny uttarapade dikṣabdā antodāttā bhavanti*

An initial compound constituent with the signification of a directional name is marked with *udātta* at the end when a word denoting a pupil derived from a secondary (*upasarjana*) word signifying a preceptor combines to follow.

## EXAMPLES:

*pūrvapāṇinīyāḥ* 'earlier students of Pāṇini'

*aprapāṇinīyāḥ* 'subsequent students of Pāṇini'

*pūrvakāśakṛtsnāḥ* 'earlier students of Kāśakṛtsna'

*aparakāśakṛtsnāḥ* 'subsequent students of Kāśakṛtsna'

1. Note that *pūrvapāṇinīyāḥ* is derived parallel to *pūrve ca te pāṇinīyās ca* 'those who are former and are students of Pāṇini'. The word *pāṇinīya* refers to a student (*antevāsin*), a principal (*pradhāna*), qualified with a corresponding non-principal (*upasarjana*), i.e., *pāṇini*, the teacher (*ācārya*). All these compounds are formed by 2.1.57 *pūrvāpara*. . .

## 6.2.105 उत्तरपदवृद्धौ सर्वं च

*uttarapadavṛddhau sarvaṃ ca*

/ *uttara-pada-vṛddhau* 7/1 = *uttarapadasya adhikṛtya yā vṛddhir*

*vihitā* = *uttarapadavṛddhiḥ* (bv.), *tasyām*; *sarvaṃ* 1/1 *ca* φ/

(*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttaḥ* #64 *antaḥ* #92 *dikṣabdāḥ* #103)

'*uttarapadasya*' ity *evam* *adhikṛtya yā vihitā vṛddhis tadvaty uttarapade sarvaśabdo dikṣabdas cāntodāttā bhavanti*

An initial compound constituent, namely *sarva* and also that which denotes a directional name, is marked with *udātta* at the end, provided a constituent with a *vṛddhi*-replacement under the scope of *uttarapade* (7.3.10 *uttarapadasya*) combines to follow.

## EXAMPLES:

*sarvapāñcālakah* 'found all over the country of the Pañcālas'

*pūrvapāñcālakah* 'found in the eastern country of the Pañcālas'

*uttarapāñcālakah* 'found in the northern country of the Pañcālas'

1. Note that *uttarapadavṛddhi* is here interpreted as 'a replacement in *vṛddhi* accomplished within the domain of 7.3.10 *uttarapadasya*'. The rules of this domain accomplish *vṛddhi* of a vowel which occurs as initial in the

following constituent of a compound, provided an affix marked with  $\tilde{N}$ ,  $\tilde{N}$  and  $K$  follows. How do we know that *uttarapada* here refers to an *adhikāra* ‘domain of rules’? By knowing that *uttarapada* is marked with *svārīta* (1.3.11 *svārītenādhikārah*). This yields the interpretation: ‘a *vṛddhi* which is accomplished with reference to rules of the domain of *uttarapadasya*’. Besides, what was the purpose of qualifying *vṛddhau* with *uttarapada* when *vṛddhau* itself would have served the purpose.

Note that affix *vuṅ* of the example derives, which subsequently yields *aka*, is introduced by 4.2.125 *avṛddhād api*. . . . The *vṛddhi* in *pāñcālaka* is accomplished by 7.3.12 *susarvārdhā*. . . . Elsewhere, it is accomplished by 7.3.13 *diśo’ madrāṇām*. A compound such as *sarvapāñcālaka* is formed by 2.1.57 *viśeṣaṇam viśeṣyena bahulam*. Other example compounds are formed by rule 2.1.51 *taddhitārthottarapade*. . . .

If the word *uttarapada* was not used, this *sūtra* would have simply read: *vṛddhau sarvaṃ ca*. This would have qualified the application of this rule also to *sarvabhāsaḥ* ‘that which illuminates everything’ and *sarvakārakaḥ* ‘he who does everything’. Recall that *bhāsa* and *kāraka* are words with initial *vṛddhi*, though this *vṛddhi* has not been accomplished by any rule of the domain of 7.3.10 *uttarapadasya*.

## 6.2.106 बहुव्रीहौ विश्वं संज्ञायाम्

*bahuvrīhau viśvaṃ saṃjñāyām*

/ *bahuvrīhau* 7/1 *viśvam* 1/1 *saṃjñāyām* 7/1/

(*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttaḥ* #64 *antaḥ* #92)

*bahuvrīhau samāse viśvaśabdah pūrvapadam saṃjñāyām viśaye’ ntodattam bhavati*

An initial constituent, namely *viśva* ‘all’, in a *bahuvrīhi* compound, is marked *udātta* at the end when the derivate signifies a name (*saṃjñā*).

### EXAMPLES:

*viśvadēvaḥ* ‘all divinities’

*viśvayāsāḥ* ‘he who is universally splendidous’

*viśvamāhān* ‘he who is universally great’

1. Note that *viśva* ‘all’, as a derivate of affix *KvaN*, is introduced after *viś* ‘to enter, pervade’ and is marked with *udātta* at the beginning. This is accomplished in view of an accentual provision made with *N* as an *it* (*nitsvara*). Rule 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau prakṛtyā*. . . . would have allowed retention of this initial *udātta* had it not been for the present rule. Thus, *viśva* as an initial constituent of a *bahuvrīhi* compound used with the signification of a name, is marked with *udātta* at the end. The examples cited here are all names. A *karmadhāraya* compound such as *viśvadēvaḥ*, parallel to *viśve ca te devāḥ* ‘all gods’, is marked *udātta* at the end.

1. Commentators state that this rule finds its independent scope of application in *viśvadévaḥ* and *viśvayaśāḥ*. Rule 6.2.165 *saṃjñāyām mitrājinayoḥ* finds its independent scope of application by marking the following constituent of *kulamitraḥ* ‘friendly to the clan’ / *kulājinaḥ* ‘deer-skin of the clan?’ as *udātta* at the end. But now observe examples such as *viśvāmītraḥ* ‘friendly to all’ and *viśvājinaḥ* where both rules become applicable. It is rule 6.2.165 *saṃjñāyām mitrājinayoḥ* which, based on 1.4.2 *vipratishedhe param kāryam*, wins this conflict of equal strength (*vipratishedha*).

2. This domain of *bahuvrīhau* gets canceled by *avyayibhāve* of 6.2.121 *kūlatīratūla*. . . .

### 6.2.107 उदारश्वेषु

*udarāśveṣu*

/udarāśveṣu 7/3 (itar. dv.)/

(pūrvapadam #1 udāttaḥ #64 antaḥ #92 bahuvrīhau saṃjñāyām #106)

‘udara, aśva, iṣu’ ity eteṣūttarapadeṣu bahuvrīhau samāse saṃjñāyām viśaye pūrvapadam antodāttaṃ bhavati

The initial constituent of a *bahuvrīhi* compound is marked with *udātta* at the end when *udara* ‘belly’, *aśva* ‘horse’ and *iṣu* ‘arrow, archer’ combine as following constituents and the derivate signifies a name (*saṃjñā*).

#### EXAMPLES:

*vrkodāraḥ* ‘he whose belly is wolf-like; Bhīma’

*dāmodāraḥ* ‘he on whose belly there are lines; Kṛṣṇa’

*haryaśvāḥ* ‘he whose horses are of gold color; Indra’

*yauvanāśvāḥ* ‘he who is youthful as his horse’

*suvarṇapūṃkheśuḥ* ‘that, an arrow, the feathers on whose tail-end are golden (beautiful) in color’

*mahēśuḥ* ‘he whose arrows are great’

1. This rule is an exception to 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau prakṛtyā*. . . . Note that *vrka* ‘wolf’ is marked *udātta* at the beginning (*Phit* II:7: *prāninām ca* . . .). The word *dāma* ‘rope’ is a derivate of *manin* (*Uṇādi* IV:145), and hence, *udātta* at the beginning. The *hari* of *haryaśva*, a derivate of *in* (*Uṇādi* IV:118), is also marked *udātta* at the beginning. The word *yauvana* ‘youth’ is considered as underived (*avyutpanna*), and is marked *udātta* at the beginning (*Phit* II:19). If accepted as derived with affix *aN*, it will be marked *udātta* at the end. This accent can then be retained in view of 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau*. . . . Note that *suvarṇapūṃkheṣu* is a *bahuvrīhi* compound with two internal *bahuvrīhi* compounds, i.e., *suvarṇaḥ* and *suvarṇapūṃkhaḥ*. The first compound, parallel to *śobhano varṇo yeṣāṃ* ‘those whose color is beautiful’, is marked *udātta* at the end by 6.2.172 *naṅsubhyām*. The second, paraphrased as *suvarṇaḥ pūṃkhā*

*yeṣām* 'those whose feathers have beautiful colors', is marked with *udātta* on the *a* of *varṇa* 'color' in *suvarṇa* (6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau* . . .). Our final derivate *suvarṇapumkheṣu*, the third compound, is marked with *udātta* on *kha*. Note that *ya*, in *haryaśvaḥ*, is marked with *svarita* in view of 8.2.4 *udāttasvaritayo*. . .

2. Why is *mahat* 'great', of *maheṣuḥ*, included as an example under this *sūtra* when it can already avail *udātta* at the end by 6.2.38 *mahānvrīhya*. . . Rule 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau* . . . can then allow retention. Well, *mahat* is then used here for some other purpose. That is, this rule alone, because of being an exception to 6.2.1, must allow the final *udātta* of *mahat*.

### 6.2.108 क्षेपे

*kṣepe*

/ *kṣepe* 7/1/

(*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttaḥ* #64 *antaḥ* #92 *bahuvrīhau samjñāyām* #106 *udarāśveṣu* #107)

*kṣepe gamyamāne udarādiṣūttarapadeṣu bahuvrīhau samāse samjñāyām viṣaye pūrvapadam antodāttaṃ bhavati*

The initial constituent in a *bahuvrīhi* compound formed with the signification of a name is marked *udātta* when *udara*, *aśva* and *iṣu* combine as following constituents, and *kṣepa* 'contempt' is denoted.

#### EXAMPLES:

*kunḍódarah* 'he who has a pit-belly'

*ghatṭódarah* 'he who has a pot-belly'

*kaṭukāśvaḥ* 'he whose horse has a wild temper'

*spanditāśvāḥ* 'he whose horse is slow'

*anighāteśuḥ* 'he whose arrow cannot pierce its target'

*calācaleśuḥ* 'an archer whose hands are not steady'

1. Here again we find this rule as an exception to 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau*. . . The word *ghaṭa* 'pitcher', because of being a derivate of *aC* (3.1.134 *nandigrahipacādy*. . .), is marked with *udātta* at the end. It can easily retain this accent in view of 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau*. . . It has been made part of an example here because this *sūtra* alone must assign the final *udātta* in this context. The word *kaṭuka* 'sour', a derivate of *kaN* (5.3.75 *samjñāyām kaN*), is marked with *udātta* at the beginning. But *spandita* 'vibrating', a derivate of *Kta*, is marked *udātta* at the end in view of affixal accent (*pratyayasvara*). The word *anighāta*, an *avyayibhāva* paraphrased as *na nighātaḥ* 'absence of piercing' where *nighāta* is a derivate of *GHaÑ* (3.3.121 *hala ca*), is marked *udātta* at the beginning. The word *calācala* is also marked *udātta* at then end.

2. Commentators also find a conflict of the nature of *tulyabalavirodha* 'opposition of equal strength' between rules 6.2.108 *kṣepe* and 6.2.172 *naṅ-subhyām*. Thus, an independent scope of application of 6.2.108 *kṣepe* can be

found in examples such as *kuṇḍodaraḥ* and *ghaṭodaraḥ*. An independent scope of 6.1.172 *naṅsubhyām* can be similarly found in examples such as *ayaśāḥ* and *suyaśāḥ*. These two rules apply equally in examples such as *anudaraḥ* and *sūdarāḥ*. Rule 6.2.172 *naṅsubhyām* blocks 6.2.108 *kṣepe* on the basis of *paratva* (1.4.2 *vipratīṣedhe paraṃ kāryam*).

3. Note that the *Mahābhāṣya* presents this *sūtra* jointly with the preceding. This should not give one the impression that these constitute a single *sūtra*. A joint reading is made to indicate the *anuvṛtti* of *udarāśveṣu* in *kṣepe*. For, the *bhāṣya* does not explain this *sūtra* by resorting to split-interpretation (*yogavibhāga*).

### 6.2.109 नदी बन्धुनि

*nadī bandhuni*

/nadī 1/1 bandhuni 7/1/

(*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttaḥ* #64 *antaḥ* #92 *bahuvrīhau* #106)

*bahuvrīhau samāse bandhuny uttarapade nadyantaṃ pūrvapadam antodāttam bhavati*

The initial constituent in a *bahuvrīhi*, namely one ending in an item termed *nadī*, is marked *udātta* at the end when *bandhu* ‘friend, clansman’ combines as a following constituent.

#### EXAMPLES:

*gārgībāndhuḥ* ‘he whose friend is Gārgī’

*vātsībāndhuḥ* ‘he whose friend is Vātsī’

1. Note that *gārgī* ‘female’ descendant of Garga’ and *vātsī* ‘female descendant of Vatsa’ are derivatives of affix *ÑP*, introduced after derivatives of *yañ*, i.e., *gārgya* and *vātsya*. They are termed *nadī* by 1.4.4 *yūstryākhyau nadī* and are marked *udātta* at the beginning because of their affixal *Ñ* as an *it* (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*).

2. A specification with neuter, in *bandhuni*, is made so that *bandhu* is interpreted as denoting its form only. That is, no synonym of *bandhu* could be used in the application of this rule.

### 6.2.110 निष्ठोपसर्गपूर्वमन्यतरस्याम्

*niṣṭhopasargapūrvam anyatarasyām*

/niṣṭhā 1/1 upasargapūrvam 1/1 = upasargah pūrvō yasya pūrvapadasya (bv.); anyatarasyām 7/1/

(*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttaḥ* #64 *antaḥ* #92 *bahuvrīhau* #106)

*bahuvrīhau samāse niṣṭhāntam upasargapūrvam pūrvapadam anyatarasyām antodāttam bhavati*

An initial *bahuvrīhi* constituent, which terminates in an affix termed

*niṣṭhā* and contains a preverb (*upasarga*) at its beginning, is optionally marked with *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

*pradhau**tamūkhaḥ* 'he who has washed his face'

*prakṣā**lītapādaḥ* 'he who has washed his feet'

1. This rule allows optional *udātta* at the end of an initial *bahuvrīhi* constituent which begins with a preverb and ends in an affix termed *niṣṭhā*. This *udātta* is made optional against retention of the original accent of 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau*. . . .

2. Note that *mukha* 'face, mouth', when used with the signification of one's own limb (*svāṅgam*), gets optional *udātta* at the end (6.2.167 *mukhaṃ svāṅgam*). The optional provision of our present rule is made against the provision of that rule. If *mukha* does not signify *svāṅga*, this option will apply against the retention proposal of original accent by 6.2.49 *gatiḥ anantarah*. We will thus get three accents: *pradhau**tamūkhaḥ*/ *pradhau**tamukhaḥ* *pradhau*-*tamukhaḥ*.

Note that the condition of both *niṣṭhā* and *upasarga* must be met. Thus, this rule will not apply to *prasacakamukhaḥ* 'face of a sprinkler' and *śuṣka-mukhaḥ* 'dry face', where the first does not have a *niṣṭhā* suffix at the end of its initial constituent and the second does not have a preverb at the beginning of its initial constituent.

#### 6.2.111 उत्तरपदादिः

*uttarapadādiḥ*

/ *uttarapadādiḥ* 1/1 = *uttarapadasya ādiḥ* (śaś. tat.) /

(*udāttaḥ* #63)

'*uttarapadādiḥ*' ity etad adhikṛtam, yad ita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāma *uttarapadasyādir udātto bhavati*

The final constituent of a compound, from here onwards, is to be marked with *udātta* at the beginning.

EXAMPLES:

*śukla**karnāḥ* 'white-eared'

*kṛṣṇa**karnāḥ* 'an animal branded with mark of a sickle on its ear(s)'

1. This rule introduces *uttarapadādiḥ* as a heading (*adhikāra*), valid through the end of this quarter. Note, however, that *ādir udāttaḥ* 'initial is marked *udātta*' is valid prior to 6.2.127 *prakṛtyā bhagālam* only. The word *uttarapada* 'following constituent *pada*', in this grammar, generally refers to the final constituent of a compound.

Now observe *śukla**karnāḥ* 'he whose ears are white' and *kṛṣṇa**karnāḥ* 'he whose ears are black' where *karna* occurs combined after *śukla* 'white' and

*kṛṣṇa* 'black', both used with the signification of color. Consequently, *karna* 'ear', as a subsequent constituent (*uttarapada*), is marked with *udātta* at the beginning (6.2.112 *karno varṇalakṣaṇāt*).

### 6.2.112 कर्णो वर्णलक्षणात्

*karno varṇalakṣaṇāt*

/*karnaḥ* 1/1 *varṇa-lakṣaṇāt* 5/1 = *varṇavācino lakṣaṇavācinaś ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*/

(*udāttaḥ* #64 *bahuvrīhau* #106 *uttarapadādiḥ* #111)

*bahuvrīhau samāse varṇavācino lakṣaṇavācinaś ca karnaśabda uttarapadam ādyudāttaṁ bhavati*

A following constituent in a *bahuvrīhi* compound, namely *karna*, is marked with *udātta* at the beginning when it combines to follow a constituent signifying *varṇa* 'color' and *lakṣaṇa* 'characteristic mark'.

#### EXAMPLES:

*śuklakarnaś* 'white-eared'

*kṛṣṇakarnaś* 'black-eared'

*dātrākarnaś* 'an animal branded with the mark of a sickle on its ear(s)'

*śaṅkūkarnaś* 'an animal branded with the mark of a dagger on its ear(s)'

1. The word *varṇa* here signifies 'color'. The word *lakṣaṇa* refers to *paśūnām vibhāgajñāpanārtham dātraśaṅkupratirūpakam karnādiṣu cihnam* 'mark of a sickle or dagger made on ears, etc., of animals for proper classification and identification'. It is this meaning of *lakṣaṇa* which blocks the application of this rule on *sthūlakarnaḥ* 'he who has large ears'. For, *sthūla*, though it serves as a characteristic mark of reference, it is not a particular (*viśiṣṭa*) mark intended for classifying or identifying an animal. Examples such as *śvetapādaḥ* 'one whose feet are white' and *kūṭaśṛṅgaḥ* 'one whose horns are knotty' are also excluded. The first has a constituent denoting *varṇa* but does not have *karna* as its following constituent. The second example has *kūṭa* as *lakṣaṇa* but also lacks *karna*. An example such as *śobhanakarnaḥ* is also out since *śobhana* 'beautiful' is a general characteristic. All these excluded examples will be allowed to retain the original accent of their initial constituents.

Incidentally, specific denotata of *lakṣaṇa* 'characteristic mark' is gotten here on the basis of *vyākhyāna* 'interpretation of the learned'.

### 6.2.113 संज्ञौपम्ययोश्च

*saṃjñāupamyayoś ca*

/*saṃjñāupamyayoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*) *ca* φ/

(*udāttaḥ* #64 *bahuvrīhau* #106 *uttarapadādiḥ* #111 *karnaḥ* #112)



*saṃjñāyām aupamyē ca yo bahuvrīhir vartate tatra karmā śabda uttarapadam ādyudāttaṃ bhavati*

A following constituent, namely *karmā*, in a *bahuvrīhi* compound formed with the signification of *saṃjñā* 'name' and *aupamyā* 'comparison' is marked *udātta* at the beginning.

EXAMPLES:

*kuñcikarmāḥ* 'a name; he whose ears resemble a fist'

*maṇīkarmāḥ* 'a name; he whose ears resemble a pearl'

*gokarmāḥ* 'one whose ears resemble cow's ears'

*kharakarmāḥ* 'one whose ears resemble a donkey's'

1. Here again, retention of original accent of the preceding constituent was intended (6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau* . . .). This rule offers *udātta* to the initial syllable of the following constituent. The remaining syllables are marked with *anudātta* (6.2.158 *anudāttaṃ padam* . . .), with the understanding that an *anudātta* occurring after an *udātta* will be replaced with *svarita* (8.4.66 *udāttād anudāttasya svaritah*).

6.2.114 कण्ठप्रष्ठग्रीवजङ्घं च

*kaṇṭhapṛṣṭhagrīvājāṅgham ca*

/kaṇṭha-pṛṣṭha-grīvā-jāṅgham 1/1 (sam. dv.); ca φ/

(*udāttaḥ* #64 *bahuvrīhau* #106 *uttarapadādīḥ* #111 *saṃjñāaupamyayoh* #113)

'*kaṇṭha*, *pṛṣṭha*, *grīvā*, *jāṅghā*' ity etāni uttarapadāni *bahuvrīhau samāse saṃjñāaupamyayor ādyudāttāni bhavanti*

A following *bahuvrīhi* constituent, namely *kaṇṭha* 'throat', *pṛṣṭha* 'back', *grīvā* 'neck' and *jāṅghā* 'thigh', is also marked *udātta* at the beginning when the compound is formed with the signification of *saṃjñā* 'name' and *aupamyā* 'comparison'.

EXAMPLES:

*śīṭīkaṇṭhāḥ* 'name of Śiva'

*nīlakaṇṭhāḥ* 'ibidem; he who has blue on his throat'

*uṣṭraṇṭhāḥ* 'one whose throat resembles the throat of a camel'

*kāṇḍapṛṣṭhāḥ* 'a name'

*gopṛṣṭhāḥ* 'one whose back resembles a cow's back'

*suḡgrīvāḥ* 'a name; one whose neck is beautiful'

*daśagrīvāḥ* 'Rāvaṇa; he who has ten necks'

*aśvagrīvāḥ* 'one whose neck resembles a horse's neck'

*nārījāṅghāḥ* 'a name; a man whose thighs are similar to a woman's thighs'

*aśvajāṅghāḥ* 'one whose thighs resemble a horse's thighs'

1. Here again, the initial constituent of a *bahuvrīhi* compound is blocked from retaining its original accent.

### 6.2.115 शृङ्गमवस्थायां च

*śṛṅgam avasthāyām ca*

/śṛṅgam 1/1 avasthāyām 7/1 ca φ/

(udāttaḥ #64 bahuvrīhau #106 uttarapadādiḥ #111 samjñaupamyayoḥ #113)

*śṛṅgaśabda uttarapadam avasthāyām samjñaupamyayoś ca bahuvrīhau ādyudāttaṃ bhavati*

A following constituent, namely *śṛṅga* 'horn', in a *bahuvrīhi* compound, is marked *udātta* at the beginning when the derivate denotes *avasthā* 'age', *saṃjñā* 'name' and *aupamya* 'comparison'.

#### EXAMPLES:

*udgataśṛṅgāḥ* 'an animal whose horns have just jutted out'

*dvyāṅgulaśṛṅgāḥ* 'an animal whose horns are two-finger-width long'

*ṛṣyaśṛṅgāḥ* 'a sage named Ṛṣyaśṛṅga'

*gośṛṅgāḥ* 'cow-like horns'

*meṣaśṛṅgāḥ* 'ram-like horns'

1. Note that *śṛṅga* is also used here as a mark to indicate the age of an animal (*avasthā*). It is marked with *udātta* at the beginning. The remainder of the compound is marked *anudātta* with the understanding that an *anudātta* becomes *svārīta* after an *udātta*.

2. Examples such as *udgataśṛṅgāḥ* 'that whose horns have come out' and *dvyāṅgulaśṛṅgāḥ* 'that whose horns are two finger-width long' indicate the age of an animal. The first example goes through deletion of the *samāsānta* affix *mātraC* (5.2.37 *pramāṇe dvyasaj . . . ; vt. pramāṇe lo . . .*).

### 6.2.116 नञो जरमरमित्रमृताः

*nañō jaramaramitramṛtāḥ*

/nañāḥ 5/1 jara-mara-mitra-mṛtāḥ 1/3 (itar. dv.)/

(udāttaḥ #64 bahuvrīhau #106 uttarapadādiḥ #111)

*nañ uttare jaramaramitramṛtā bahuvrīhau samāse ādyudāttaḥ bhavanti*

A constituent, namely *jara* 'aging', *mara* 'dying', *mitra* 'friend' or *mṛta* 'dead' which combines to follow *nañ* 'not' in a *bahuvrīhi* compound, is marked *udātta* at the beginning.

#### EXAMPLES:

*ajarāḥ* 'not aging'

*amarāḥ* 'immortal'

*amitrāḥ* 'non-friendly'

*amṛtāḥ* 'non-dying; immortal; ambrosia'

## 6.2.117 सोर्मनसी अलोमोषसी

*sor manasī alomoṣasī*

/soḥ 1/1 *manasī* 1/2 = *man ca as ca* (itar. dv.); *alomoṣasī* 1/2 = *loma ca uṣas ca* = *lomoṣasī*; *na lomoṣasī* (nañ. tat. with int. dv.)/

(*udāttaḥ* #64 *bahuvrīhau* #106 *uttarapadādiḥ* #111)

*sor uttaram anantam asantaṃ ca bahuvrīhau samāse ādyudāttaṃ bhavati lomoṣasī varjayitvā*

A constituent of the *bahuvrīhi* compound which combines after *su* and terminates in *man* (*manIN*; 3.2.74 *ātmanaḥ manin* . . .) and *as* (*Uṇādi* affix *asUN*), with the exception of *loman* 'hair' and *uṣas* 'glow, dawn', is marked *udātta* at the beginning.

## EXAMPLES:

*sukarmā* 'virtuous; one who performs good deeds'

*sudharmā* 'righteous'

*suyasāḥ* 'renowned'

*suprathimā* 'great expanse'

*susrotāḥ* 'with beautiful flow of water'

1. Note that *loman* and *uṣas* which end in *man* and *as*, respectively, are made exceptions. This rule is an exception to 6.2.171 *nañsubhyām* which, in turn, assigns *udātta* at the end of a constituent used in combination after *nañ* and *su*. A *paribhāṣā* of Vyāḍi (*PŚ* 17: *aninasmangrahaṇān arthavatā' nārthakena*) allows *tadantavidhi* 'treating *x* as also that which ends in *x*', even where *an*, *in*, *as* and *man* do not carry any meaning of their own (*anarthaka*). That is, *an* and *as* of this rule will also include *an* and *as* with no meaning of their own. This is intended so that *tadantavidhi* with reference to *man* and *as* can be accomplished in *srotas* and *prathiman*, etc., where *man* and *as* do not carry any meaning of their own.

The initial of all following constituents is marked *udātta*. The remaining syllables of the compound are marked *anudātta*. However, note that an *anudātta* which occurs after *anudātta* is replaced with *svarita*.

Derivates which do not meet conditions of *su* and *man* will retain the original accent of their initial constituents (*pūrvapadaṣṭhisvara*). This same is also true of derivates with following constituents such as *loman* and *uṣas*. Thus, consider *kṛtakarmā* 'he who has finished his work' / *surājā* 'good king' and *sulomā* 'he who has good body-hair' and *sūṣā* 'mother'.

2. What happens when a constituent ending in *an* and *as*, for example *karman* and *srotas*, occur before *KaP*. Such derivates are covered by 6.2.173 *kapi pūrvāt* on the basis of *paratva* (1.4.2 *vipratīṣedhe paraṃ kāryam*). But rules in conflict (*vipratīṣedha*) must have their independent scope of application elsewhere. It is explained that 6.2.117 *sormanasī* . . . finds its independent scope of application in examples such as *sukarmā* 'he who has earned mer-

its' and *suṇayāḥ* 'he who is at a good stage of his life'. Rule 6.2.173 *kapi pūrvāt* finds its independent scope in examples such as *ayavakah* 'place without barley' and *suyavakah* 'place with good barley'. These two rules both find their simultaneous application in *sukarmakāḥ* and *suśrotakāḥ*. Rule 6.2.173 *kapi pūrvāt* blocks the application of 6.2.117 *sormanasī* . . . because of being subsequent in order of enumeration.

#### 6.2.118 ऋत्वादयश्च

*kratvādayaś ca*

/ *kratvādayaḥ* 1/3 = *kratur ādir yeṣām* (bv.); *ca* φ/

(*udāttaḥ* #64 *bahuvrīhau* #106 *uttarapadādiḥ* #111 *soḥ* #117)

*kratvādayaḥ sor uttare bahuvrīhau samāse ādyudāttā bhavanti*

A constituent enumerated in the list headed by *kratu* 'ritual sacrifice' is marked *udātta* at the beginning when it combines in a *bahuvrīhi* compound after *su* as a following constituent.

#### EXAMPLES:

*ṣukratūḥ* 'intelligent; name of Agni'

*śudrṣṭikāḥ* 'handsome; he who has beautiful eyes'

1. This also is an exception to 6.2.172 *naṅsubhyām*.

#### 6.2.119 आद्युदात्तं द्व्यचश्छन्दसि

*ādyudāttam dvyaś ca chandasi*

/ *ādyudāttam* 1/1 *dvyaś* 1/1 = *dvau acau yasmin* (bv.); *chandasi* 7/1/

(*udāttaḥ* #64 *bahuvrīhau* #106 *uttarapadādiḥ* #111 *soḥ* #117)

*yad ādyudāttam dvyaś uttarapadam bahuvrīhau samāse sor uttaram tad ādyudāttam eva bhavati chandasi viṣaye*

The final constituent of a *bahuvrīhi* compound which is marked *udātta* at the beginning, contains two vowels (*dvyaś*) and combines after *su*, retains its *udātta* at the beginning provided the usage is Vedic.

#### EXAMPLES:

*svaśvāstvā surathā marjayema*

1. Note that *aśva* and *ratha* of *svaśva* 'he who owns beautiful horses' and *suratha* 'he who owns beautiful chariots' are derivatives of *uṇādi* affixes *KvaN* (*Uṇ.* I:151) and *KthaN* (*Uṇ.* II:2), respectively. They are obligatorily marked *udātta* at the beginning, because of affixal *Nas* an *it* (6.1.197 *ñnityādir nityam*). This rule allows retention of the initial *udātta*. That is, it is again an exception to 6.2.172 *naṅsubhyām*.

A counter-example is *subāhuḥ* 'he who has beautiful arms' is offered to the condition of *ādyudātta*. Note that *bāhu* 'arm' derives with affix *Ku*, and

hence, is marked *udātta* at the end in consonance with affixal accent (*pratyayasvara*; 3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*). Now consider *hiranya* of *suhiranyaḥ* ‘beautiful gold’ as a counter-example to the condition of *dyacaḥ* ‘consisting of two vowels’. Obviously, *hiranya* contains three vowels.

### 6.2.120 वीरवीर्यौ च

*vīravīryau ca*

/ *vīravīryau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*); *ca*  $\phi$ /

(*udāttaḥ* #64 *bahuvrīhau* #106 *uttarapadādiḥ* #111 *soḥ* #117 *chandasi* #119)

‘*vīra*, *vīrya*’ *ity etau ca śabdau sor uttarau bahuvrīhau samāse chandasi viṣaye ādyudāttau bhavataḥ*

The constituents *vīra* ‘heroic’ and *vīrya* ‘valor’ are also marked with *udātta* at the beginning when they combine after *su* in a *bahuvrīhi* compound and the scope of the usage is Vedic.

#### EXAMPLES:

*svīrēna* ‘by one who has great valor’

*svīryāsya* ‘of one who has great prowess’

1. Note that *vīrya*, in the Vedic, is marked with *svarita* at the end, following the specification of *Phīṣṣūtra* (77): *bitvabhakṣyavīryāni . . .*. As a derivate of *yaT* (3.1.97 *aco yat*) in the classical language, it will be marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.210 *yato’ nāvaḥ*). Recall that *vīrya*, as a derivate of *yaT* in the Vedic, would qualify for initial *udātta* of 6.2.119 *ādyudāttaṃ dyacaś chandasi*. Thus, there was no point in including *vīrya* in this rule. This inclusion then indicates that *vīrya* is marked *svarita* at the end. Our present rule is, again, an exception to 6.2.172 *naṅsubhyām*.

### 6.2.121 कूलतीरतूलमूलशालाक्षसममव्ययीभावे

*kūlatīratūlamūlaśālākṣasamam avyayībhāve*

/ *kūla-tīra-tūla-mūla-śālā-akṣa-samam* 1/1 (*sam. dv.*); *avyayībhāve* 7/1/

(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadādiḥ* #111)

‘*kūla*, *tīra*, *tūla*, *mūla*, *śālā*, *akṣa*, *sama*’ *ity etāni uttarapadāni avyayībhāvasamāsa ādyudāttāni bhavanti*

A constituent, namely *kūla* ‘river-bank’, *tīra* ‘ibidem’, *tūla* ‘shoots of reeds or grass; cotton’, *mūla* ‘root’, *śālā* ‘hall’, *akṣa* ‘axle, dice’ or *sama* ‘equal’, which combines as final in an *avyayībhāva* compound is marked *udātta* at the beginning.

#### Examples:

*parīkūlām* ‘around the bank’

*upakūlām* ‘near the bank’

*parītīrām* ‘around the bank’

upatīrām 'near the bank'  
paritūlām 'around the grass'  
upatūlām 'near the grass'  
parimūlām 'around the root'  
upamūlām 'near the root'  
pariśālām 'around the hall'  
upaśālām 'near the hall'  
paryākṣam 'around the axle'  
upakṣām 'near the axle'  
suṣamām 'well leveled; evenly'  
viṣamām 'not so well leveled; unevenly'  
niṣamām 'unreasonably'  
duṣamām 'wickedly'

1. Note that *suṣama*, *viṣama* and *niṣama* are listed as part of the *tiṣṭhadgu* group of nominals. Their compounds are thus formed by 2.1.17 *tiṣṭhadgupra-bhṛtini ca*. The *s* of *sama* is replaced with *ṣ* of 8.3.88 *suvinirdurbhyaḥ*. . . . The *avyayibhāva* compounds with *upa* are formed by 2.1.6 *avyayaṃ vibhakti-samīpa*. . . . Since *pa*ri is termed *karmappravacanīya* by 1.4.87 *apaparī varjane*, the *avyayibhāva* compounds with *pa*ri will be formed by 2.1.12 *apaparibahir*. . . . The *pañcamī* 'fifth triplet, ablative', as conditioned by *karmappravacanīya*, will be introduced after *kūla*, etc., by 2.3.10 *pañcamy apāṇparibhiḥ*. Compounds with *upa* and *pa*ri are formed in the sense of *samīpya* 'proximity' and *varjana* 'exclusion', respectively. These compounds are marked *udātta* at the beginning.

2. The condition of *avyayibhāve* is imposed so that *bahuvrīhi* and *tatpuruṣa* compounds can be excluded. Thus, a *bahuvrīhi*, for example *paramakūlam* '... whose bank is best', parallel to *paramaṃ kūlam asya*, will retain the original accent of its preceding constituent (6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau* . . .). A *karmadhāraya-tatpuruṣa*, for example *paramakūlam* 'best bank', will be excluded because this is the domain of *bahuvrīhi* compounds. This necessitates inclusion of *avyayibhāve* in the rule.

3. It is stated that the initial *udātta* of *kūla*, etc., after *pa*ri, etc., is accomplished via *vipratīṣedha* 'conflict of equal strength' (*Kāś: paryādhībhyaḥ kūlādīnām ādyudāttatvaṃ vipratīṣedhena*). That is, we witness a conflict of equal strength between 6.2.33 *paripratyupāpā* . . . and the present rule. Rule 6.2.33 *paripratyupāpā* . . . finds its independent scope in *avyayibhāva* compounds where *kūla*, etc., for example in *paritrigarttam* 'around the country of Trigartta', are not combined. The independent scope of the initial *udātta* of *kūla*, etc., can be established where *pa*ri, etc., for example in *avakūlam* 'around the bank' / *atikūlam* 'beyond the bank', are not combined. Since these rules both find their simultaneous application, for example in *apakūlam* 'below the bank' and *parikūlam* 'around the bank', 1.4.2 *vipratīṣedhe paramaṃ kāryam* must rule in favor of application of our present rule.

4. This rule constitutes an exception to the accentuation rules of compounds (*samāśasvarāpavādaḥ*). Rules prior to 6.3.133 *nācāryarāja* . . . are similar in nature.

#### 6.2.122 कंसमन्थशूर्पापय्यकाण्डं द्विगौ

*kamsamanthaśūrpa-pāyyakāṇḍam dvigau*

/ *kaṃṣa-mantha-śūrpa-pāyya-kāṇḍam* 1/1 (*sam. dv.*); *dvigau* 7/1/

(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadādiḥ* #111)

'*kaṃṣa, mantha, śūrpa-pāyya-kāṇḍa*' *ity etāny uttarapadāni dvigau samāsa ādyudāttāni bhavanti*

A constituent, namely *kaṃṣa* 'name of a measure, vase', *mantha* 'churning stick', *śūrpa* 'winnowing basket', *pāyya* 'name of a measure' and *kāṇḍa* 'measuring stick, piece', is marked *udātta* at the beginning when the same combines as final in a compound termed *dvigu*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*dvikaṃsāḥ* 'purchased with two *Kaṃsas*'

*dvimanthāḥ* 'purchased with two churning sticks'

*dvīśūrpāḥ* 'purchased with two winnowing baskets filled with grains'

*dvīpāyyāḥ* 'two measures of a drink'

*dvikāṇḍāḥ* 'two measures of a stick'

1. Note that *dvikaṃsaḥ*, *dvimanthaḥ* and *dvīśūrpāḥ* are formed in anticipation of the sense of a *taddhita* (*taddhitārtha*; 2.1.51 *taddhitārthottarapada* . . .), where affixes *ṬIṭhaN* (2.1.25 *kaṃsāṭ ṭiṭhan*), *ṭhaK* (5.1.19 *ārḥād agopuccha* . . .) and *aÑ* (5.1.26 *śūrpād añ* . . .), respectively, are introduced to denote the sense of *kṛita* 'purchased with'. These affixes, however, are deleted by 5.1.28 *adhyardhapūrvā* . . . A similar deletion of *ṭhaÑ* (5.1.18 *prāg vateṣ ṭhañ*) and *mātraC* (5.2.37 *pramāṇe dvyasaj* . . .; *ut. pramāṇe lo dvigor nityam*), denoting *parimāṇa* and *pramāṇa* 'measure', is also found in deriving *dvīpāyya* and *dvikāṇḍa*, respectively.

That this provision of initial *udātta* is limited to *dvigu* compounds is illustrated by *paramakaṃsaḥ* 'best *kaṃsa*' and *uttamakaṃsaḥ* 'ibidem', which are both *karmadhāraya*.

#### 6.2.123 तत्पुरुषे शालायां नपुंसके

*tatpuruṣe śālāyāṃ napuṃsake*

/ *tatpuruṣe* 7/1 *śālāyāṃ* 7/1 *napuṃsake* 7/1/

(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadādiḥ* #111)

*śālāśabdānte tatpuruṣe samāse napuṃsakaliṅgaṃ uttarapadam ādyudāttam bhavati*

A following constituent, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, is marked *udātta* at

the beginning when the compound ends in *śālā* 'hall' and is termed neuter.

EXAMPLES:

*brāhmaṇaśālām* 'a hall of brāhmaṇas'  
*kṣatriyaśālām* 'a hall of kṣatriyas'

1. Note that genitive *tatpuruṣa* compounds can optionally be used as *napuṃsaka* 'neuter' (2.4.25 *vibhāṣā senāsuracchāyāśālāniśānām*). A compound such as *dṛḍhaśālām brāhmaṇakulam* 'a strong house of the brāhmaṇas' cannot avail this accentual provision because it is a *bahuvrīhi*, parallel to *dṛḍhā śālā yasya tat* 'a clan whose hall is solidly built'. A compound such as *brāhmaṇasenam* 'army of brāhmaṇas' constitutes a counter-example to the condition of *śālā*.

6.2.124 कथा च

*kanthā ca*  
 /*kanthā* 1/1 *ca* φ/  
 (udāttaḥ #64 *uttarapadādiḥ* #111 *tatpuruṣe napuṃsake* #123)  
*tatpuruṣe samāse napuṃsakaliṅge kanthāśabda uttarapadam ādyudāttaṃ bhavati*

A following constituent is also marked with *udātta* at the beginning when a *tatpuruṣa* compound termed neuter ends in *kanthā* 'city, patched garment'.

EXAMPLES:

*śauśimīkanthām* 'name of a city'  
*āhvaṇkanthām* 'ibidem'  
*cappakanthām* 'ibidem'

1. These genitive compounds are used in the neuter in view of 2.4.20 *saṃjñāyām kanthośinareṣu*. This accentual provision will be blocked in case of *dākṣikanthā* 'a city named after Dākṣi', which is not used as neuter.

6.2.125 आदिश्चिहणादीनाम्

*ādīś cihanādinām*  
 /*ādīḥ* 1/1 *cihanādinām* 6/3 = *cihaṇa ādir yeṣam* (bv.)/  
 (udāttaḥ #64 *tatpuruṣe napuṃsake* #123 *kanthā* #124)  
*kanthānte tatpuruṣe samāse napuṃsakaliṅge cihanādinām ādir udātto bhavati*  
 Constituents enumerated in the group headed by *cihaṇa* are marked with *udātta* at the beginning when they combine in a *tatpuruṣa* compound ending in *kanthā* used in the neuter.



## EXAMPLES:

*cihaṇakantham* 'name of a place'  
*maḍarakantham* 'ibidem'

1. Why is *ādi* used again in this rule when the same is available from the *anuvṛtti*? This *ādi* is used to indicate initial *udātta* of the initial constituent (*pūrvapada*; PM ad *Kāś*: *pūrvapadānām cihaṇādīnām ādyudāttatvam iṣyate, atas tadarthaṃ punar ādigrahaṇaṃ kṛtam*).

## 6.2.126 चेलखेटकटुककाण्डं गर्हायाम्

*celakhetaḥkaṭukakāṇḍam garhāyām*  
 / *cela-kheta-kaṭuka-kāṇḍam* 1/1 (*sam. dv.*); *garhāyām* 7/1/  
 (*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadādīḥ* #111 *tatpuruṣe* #123)  
 'cela, kheta, kaṭuka, kāṇḍa' ity etāny uttarapadāni tatpuruṣe samāse garhāyām  
*gamyamānāyām ādyudāttāni bhavanti*

The following constituents in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, namely *cela* 'cloth', *kheta* 'straw', *kaṭuka* 'bitter, stale' and *kāṇḍa* 'arrow', are marked *udātta* at the beginning when *garhā* 'contempt' is denoted.

## EXAMPLES:

*putracelām* 'an unworthy son'  
*bhāryācelām* 'a bad wife'  
*upānātkhetām* 'cheap shoe'  
*nagarakhetaṁ* 'an inhospitable city'  
*dadhikaṭukam* 'stale yoghurt'  
*udāśvītkāṭukam* 'bitter buttermilk'  
*bhūtakāṇḍām* 'an offspring who is source of pain'  
*prajākāṇḍām* 'ibidem'

1. Note that censure is denoted via similarity (*sādrśya*) between *cela* and *putra*, etc. The compounds are formed by 2.1.56 *upamitam vyāghrādibhiḥ sāmānyāprayoge*. That is, *vyāghrādi* has to be accepted as an open-ended group with *cela*, etc., as members. The compounds can thus be paraphrased as: *putrah celam iva*, etc. The following constituent in all these compounds is marked *udātta* at the beginning. That is, the compounds are not marked *udātta* at the end.

Note that *paramacelam* 'best cloth', a *karmadhāraya* compound with the denotatum of *praśaṁsā* 'praise', will be marked *udātta* at the end. It can be thus accepted as a counter-example to the condition of *garhā* 'censure'.

## 6.2.127 चीरमुपमानम्

*cīram upamānam*  
 / *cīram* 1/1 *upamānam* 1/1/

(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadādiḥ* #111 *tatpuruṣe* #123)

*cīram uttarapadam upamānavāci tatpuruṣe samāse ādyudāttaṃ bhavati*

A following constituent, namely *cīra* 'a particular piece of clothing', used in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with the signification of a standard of comparison (*upamāna*), is marked *udātta* at the beginning.

EXAMPLES:

*vastra**cīrām* 'tattered cloth'

*paṭa**cīrām* 'rag-like cloth'

*kambala**cīrām* 'tattered blanket'

1. Here again the compounds are formed by 2.1.56 *upamitaṃ vyāghrādibhiḥ*. A comparison between *vastra*, a general (*sāmānya*), and *cīra*, a particular (*viśeṣa*), is made possible because of *bheda* 'difference'. The condition of *upamāna* is important so that *paramacīram*, a *karmadhāraya*, can be excluded from availing this accentual provision. Of course, *cīra* of example compounds will be marked *udātta* at the beginning.

6.2.128 पलसूपशाकं मिश्रे

*palalasūpaśākam miśre*

/ *palala-sūpa-śākam* 11/1 (*sam. dv.*); *miśre* 7/1/

(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadādiḥ* #111 *tatpuruṣe* #123)

'*palala*, *sūpa*, *śaka*' *ity etāny uttarapadāni miśravācini tatpuruṣe samāse ādyudāttaṃ bhavanti*

The following constituents, namely *palala* 'meat', *sūpa* 'soup' and *śaka* 'leafy vegetable' are marked *udātta* at the beginning when they combine in a *tatpuruṣa* compound denoting *miśra* 'mixture'

EXAMPLES:

*guda**palālam* 'meat cooked with jaggery'

*ghṛta**palālam* 'meat cooked with ghee'

*ghṛta**sūpāḥ* 'soup cooked with ghee'

*mūlaka**sūpāḥ* 'soup cooked with radish'

*ghṛta**śākām* 'leafy vegetable cooked with ghee'

*mudga**śākām* 'leafy vegetable cooked with Mung beans'

1. The example compounds are all formed by 2.1.35 *bhakṣyeṇa miśrīkaraṇam*. Here again the following constituents are marked *udātta* at the beginning. A *karmadhāraya* compound, for example *parama**palālam* 'best meat', which does not denote mixing will be excluded from availing the accentual provision of this rule. It will thus be marked *udātta* at the end.

6.2.129 कूलसूदस्थलकर्षाः संज्ञायाम्

*kūlasūdashthalakarṣāḥ saṃjñāyām*

/kūla-sūda-sthala-karṣāḥ 1/3 (itar. dv.); saṃjñāyām 7/1/  
(udāttaḥ #64 uttarapadādiḥ #111 tatpuruṣe #123)

'kūla, sūda, sthala, karṣa' ity etāny uttarapadāni tatpuruṣe samāse saṃjñāyām  
vṣaye ādyudāttaṇi bhavanti

The following constituents, namely *kūla* 'bank', *sūda* 'cook', *sthala* 'dry land', and *karṣa* 'drag, pull' in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, are marked *udātta* at the beginning when *saṃjñā* 'name' is denoted.

#### EXAMPLES:

*dākṣikūlām* 'name of a village'  
*māhikikūlām* 'ibidem'  
*devāsūdām* 'ibidem'  
*bhājīsudām* 'ibidem'  
*dāṇḍāyanasthalī* 'ibidem'  
*māhikīsthalī* 'ibidem'  
*dākṣikarsāḥ* 'ibidem'

1. Why is *sthalī* offered as a following constituent when the rule already specifies *sthala*? The word *sthala* can also refer to *sthalī*, its feminine counterpart, in consonance with the *paribhāṣā* (72): *prātipadikagrahaṇe līṅgaviśiṣṭasyāpi grahaṇam* 'a specification made by a nominal stem also includes reference to its counterparts in particular genders'. Feminine affix *Ōi* is introduced after *sthala* by 4.1.42 *jānapadakunḍa*. . .

#### 6.2.130 अकर्मधारये राज्यम्

*akarmadhāraye rājyam*  
/akarmadhāraye 7/1 = na karmadhārayaḥ (nañ.); rājyam 1/1/  
(udāttaḥ #64 uttarapadādiḥ #111 tatpuruṣe #123)  
*karmadhārayavarjite tatpuruṣe samāse 'rājyam' ity etad uttarapadam*  
*ādyudāttaṇi bhavati*

The word *rājya*, when combined as a following constituent in a *tatpuruṣa* compound other than *karmadhāraya*, is marked *udātta* at the beginning.

#### EXAMPLES:

*brāhmaṇarājyām* 'kingdom of brāhmaṇas'  
*kṣatriyarājyām* 'kingdom of kṣatriyas'

1. The word *rājya* 'kingdom' is a derivate of *SyaŌ* (5.1.124 *guṇavacana* . . .). Consequently, it remains marked with *udātta* in a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound. That is, the compound is not marked *udātta* at the end. But consider a *karmadhāraya* compound, namely *paramarājyam* 'best kingdom', which must remain marked with *udātta* at the end.

2. The *Mahābhāṣya* states (*celerājyādisvarād avyayasvaro bhavati pūrva-vipratīṣedhena*) that *kucēlam* and *kurājyam* retain their indeclinable accent (*avyayasvara*; 6.2.2 *tatpuruṣe turhyārtha . . .*), via *pūrvavipratīṣedha* ‘application of a prior (*pūrva*) rule in conflict (*vipratīṣedha*) with a subsequent (*para*)’. Thus *ku*, as against *cela* and *rājya* of this section, receives *udātta* at the beginning.

### 6.2.131 वर्ग्यादयश्च

*vargyādayaś ca*

/ *vargyādayaḥ* 1/3 = *vargya ādir yeṣam* (*bu.*); *ca* /

(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadādiḥ* #111 *tatpuruṣe* #123 *akarmadhārāye* #130)

‘*vargya*’ *ity evam ādiny uttarapadāny akarmadhārāye tatpuruṣe samāse ādyudāttāni bhavanti*

The words *vargya*, etc., are marked *udātta* at the beginning when they combine as a following constituent in a *tatpuruṣa* compound other than *karmadhārāya*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*vāsudevavargyāḥ* ‘on Vāsudeva’s side’

*vāsudevapakṣyāḥ* ‘ibidem’

*arjunavargyāḥ* ‘on Arjuna’s side’

*arjunapakṣyāḥ* ‘ibidem’

1. Note that there is no listing of nominals known as *vargyādi*. Consequently, *vargyādi* refers to four nominals, i.e., *varga* ‘partisan’, *pūga* ‘heaped, gathered’, *gaṇa* ‘group’ and *pakṣa* ‘side’ of the *digādi* ‘direction (*diś*), etc.’ nominals derived with affix *yaT* (4.3.54 *digādibhyo yat*). Recall that a derivate of *yaT* is marked with *svarita* at the end (*svaritānta*; 6.1.182 *titsvaritam*). It is marked *udātta* at the beginning in a *tatpuruṣa* compound.

### 6.2.132 पुत्रः पुंभ्यः

*putraḥ puṃbhyāḥ*

/ *putraḥ* 1/1 *puṃbhyāḥ* 5/3

(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadādiḥ* #111 *tatpuruṣe* #123)

*putrāsabdaḥ puṃśabdebhya uttaras tatpuruṣe ādyudātto bhavati*

The word *putra* is marked *udātta* at the beginning when it combines in a *tatpuruṣa* compound to follow a constituent denoting masculine.

#### EXAMPLES:

*kaunaṭiputrāḥ* ‘son of Kaunaṭi’

*dāmākāputrāḥ* ‘son of Dāmaka’

*māhiṣākāputrāḥ* ‘son of Māhiṣaka’

## 6.2.133 नाचार्यराजत्विक्संयुक्तज्ञात्याख्येभ्यः

*nācāryarājartvīksamyuktajñātyākhyebhyaḥ*  
 / na φ ācārya-rājā-ṛtvik-samyukta-jñāty-ākhyebhyaḥ 5/3 = ācāryaś ca rājā ca  
 ṛtvik ca samyuktaś ca jñātiś ca (dv.); etāḥ ākhyāḥ yeṣāṃ (bv. with int. dv.) /  
 (udāttaḥ #64 uttarapadādiḥ #111 tatpuruṣe #123 putraḥ #132)  
*ācāryādyākhyebhyaḥ paraḥ putrasabdo nādyudātto bhavati*  
 The word *putra* is not marked *udātta* at the beginning when it combines in a *tatpuruṣa* compound to follow constituents with the signification of *ācārya* ‘teacher’, *rājā* ‘lord’, *ṛtvij* ‘presiding ritualist’, *samyukta* ‘relative on wife’s side’ and *jñāti* ‘relatives on parent’s side’.

## EXAMPLES:

*ācāryaputraḥ* ‘son of a teacher’  
*upādhyāyaputraḥ* ‘ibidem’  
*rājaputraḥ* ‘king’s son’  
*īśvaraputraḥ* ‘ibidem’  
*nandaputraḥ* ‘son of Nanda’  
*ṛtvikputraḥ* ‘son of a priest’  
*yājñakaputraḥ* ‘son of a ritualist’  
*bhrātusputraḥ* ‘brother’s son’  
*samyuktaputraḥ* ‘a son of wife’s side of the family’  
*śyālaputraḥ* ‘wife’s brother’s son’  
*jñātiputraḥ* ‘a son of the clan’

1. A specification with *ākhyā* also includes references to nominals which may be synonymous with those listed in the rule. It also includes references to particulars (*viśeṣa*) within the general (*sāmānya*) categories of specified nominals. Of course, they also represent themselves based on their specification by form (*svarūpa*). Thus, consider *rājaputraḥ* ‘prince’, *īśvaraputraḥ* ‘son of the king’ and *nandaputraḥ* ‘son of Nanda’, which are examples representing their form (*svarūpa*), synonym (*paryāya*) and particular (*viśeṣa*).

2. A negation (*pratiśedha*) of initial *udātta* of *putraḥ* ‘son’ clears the way for compounds to be marked with *udātta* at the end (6.1.220 *samāsaya*). The non-deletion of *ṣaṣṭhī* ‘genitive’ in *hotuḥputraḥ* ‘son of the priest’ and *bhrātusputraḥ* ‘brother’s son’ is accomplished by 6.3.21 *ṛto vidyāyoni*. . . . A replacement in *ṣ*, for the *s* of *bhrātusputraḥ*, is in consonance with the inclusion of *bhrātṛ* ‘brother’ in the *kaskādi* group of nominals (8.3.48 *kaskādiṣu ca*).

## 6.2.134 चूर्णादीन्यप्राणिषष्ठ्याः

*cūrṇādīny aprāṇiṣaṣṭhyāḥ*  
 / cūrṇādīni 1/3 = cūrṇa ādir yeṣāṃ (bv.); aprāṇiṣaṣṭhyāḥ 5/1 = na prāṇi =  
 aprāṇi (nañ. tat.); aprāṇinaḥ ṣaṣṭhī (ṣaṣ. tat.), tasyāḥ/

(*udāttah* #64 *uttarapadādih* #111 *tatpuruṣe* #123)

*cūrṇādīny uttarapadāny aprāṇivācinah śaṣṭhyantāt parāṇi tatpuruṣe samāse ādyudāttāni bhavanti*

The word *cūrṇa*, etc., when combined in a *tatpuruṣa* compound to follow a constituent ending in the genitive (*śaṣṭhī*) with the signification of a non-living (*aprāṇin*), is marked *udātta* at the beginning.

#### EXAMPLES:

*mudga**cūrṇam* 'Mung-bean flour'

*maśūra**cūrṇam* 'lentil flour'

1. The condition of *aprāṇin* 'non-sentient' will exclude examples such as *matsyacūrṇam* 'fish powder', because *matsya* is *prāṇin* 'sentient'. An example such as *paramacūrṇam* 'best powder', where *parama* 'best' ends in the nominative, will also be excluded.

2. A different reading of this *sūtra* is found in the form of *cūrṇādīny aprāṇyupagrahāt* where *upagraha*, following the usage of earlier grammarians, is interpreted as 'that which ends in the genitive (*śaṣṭhī*)'.

#### 6.2.135 षट् च काण्डादीनि

*ṣaṭ ca kāṇḍādīni*

/ṣaṭ 1/1 ca φ kāṇḍādīni 1/3 = kāṇḍa ādir yeṣām, tāni/

(*udāttah* #64 *uttarapadādih* #111 *tatpuruṣe* #123 *aprāṇiśaṣṭhyāḥ* #134)

*ṣaṭ pūrvoktāni kāṇḍādīny uttarapadāni aprāṇiśaṣṭhyā ādyudāttāni bhavanti*

The six words enumerated in the list headed by *kāṇḍa* are also marked *udātta* at the beginning when they combine in a *tatpuruṣa* compound to follow a constituent ending in *śaṣṭhī*, with the signification of a non-living (*aprāṇin*).

#### EXAMPLES:

*darbhaka**kāṇḍām* 'stalk of Kuśa grass'

*śara**kāṇḍām* 'stalk of reed'

*darbhacīrām* 'rag made of Kuśa grass'

*kuśa**cīrām* 'ibidem'

*tila**palālam* 'meat with sesame seeds'

*mūla**kaśākām* 'radish-leaf vegetable'

*naḍī**kūlām* 'river-bank'

*saṃudra**kūlām* 'ocean-shore'

1. The word *ṣaṭ* here refers to nominals specified in four rules beginning with 6.2.126 *celakheṭa* . . . (*Nyāsa ad Kāś: celakheṭakaṭukakāṇḍam ityādiṣu caturṣu yogeṣu sanniviṣṭāni ṣaṭ grhyante*). Why offer their initial *udātta* here when it is already available from those rules? So that initial *udātta* can also be availed in contexts not covered by those rules. This rule, however, will exclude ini-

tial *udātta* in constituents occurring after a genitive in relation to *prāṇin* 'living beings'. Thus, this accentual provision will not be constrained by conditions of *garhāyām* 'censure' (6.2.126), *upamānam* 'comparison', *miśre* 'mixing' and *saṃjñāyām* 'name'.

2. These compounds are all genitive *taṭpuruṣa*. *Kāśikā* offers *rājasūdaḥ* 'king's cook' and *devadattakāṇḍaḥ* 'Devadatta's arrow' as counter-examples, where *sūda* falls outside the list of specified *ṣaṭ* 'six' and *devadatta* is a *prāṇin* 'living being'. These counter-example compounds will be thus marked *udātta* at the end.

3. A question is raised about the nominal ending used after *tila* in deriving *tilapalalam* 'meat cooked with sesame seeds'. Should one consider it as a *taṭpuruṣa* with its middle constituent deleted (*madhyamaṭpalalopa*). That is, should we derive it parallel to *tilasahitaṃ palalam* 'meat mixed with sesamum'. Should we then accept *tila* as ending in the instrumental?

### 6.2.136 कुण्डं वनम्

*kuṇḍam vanam*

/kuṇḍam 1/1 vanam 1/1/

(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadādiḥ* #111 *taṭpuruṣe* #123)

'*kuṇḍam*' *ity etad uttarapadam vanavāci taṭpuruṣe samāse ādyudāttaṃ bhavati*  
The word *kuṇḍa* 'bowl' is marked *udātta* at the beginning when it combines as a following constituent in a *taṭpuruṣa* compound, formed with the signification of *vana* 'forest'.

EXAMPLES:

*darbhakuṇḍām* 'forest of Kuśa grass'

*śarakuṇḍām* 'forest of reeds'

1. The word *kuṇḍa* is here used in the sense of *vana* 'forest', due mainly to its similarity (*sādṛśya*) in serving as locus for *darbha*, etc. A compound such as *mṛtkuṇḍam* 'earthen bowl' will be excluded because *kuṇḍa* here does not denote *vana*. The compound will be marked with *udātta* at the end.

### 6.2.137 प्रकृत्या भगालम्

*prakṛtyā bhagālam*

/prakṛtyā 3/1 bhagālam 1/1/

(*uttarapadam* #111 *taṭpuruṣe* #123)

*bhagālavācy uttarapadam taṭpuruṣe samāse prakṛtisvaram bhavati*

The word *bhagāla* 'bowl, skull' retains its original accent when it combines as a following constituent in a *taṭpuruṣa* compound.

EXAMPLES:

*kumbhībhagālām* 'half of a small earthen pitcher used as a bowl'

*kumbhīkapālām* ‘ibidem’

1. This rule allows compound constituents with the signification of *bhagāla* to retain their original accent. Of course, when they occur as following constituents in a *tatpuruṣa* compound. Recall that *bhagāla* and *kapāla* ‘bowl, skull’ are marked *udātta* in the middle, in consonance with the *Phīṣūtra* (42: *laghāv ante . . .*).

2. That *bhagāla* also refers to its synonyms is only known from *vyākhyāna* ‘interpretation of the learned’.

3. Note that *prakṛtyā* ‘as it originally was’ is carried through rule 6.2.143 *antaḥ*.

#### 6.2.138 शितेनित्याबह्वृहीहावभसत्

*śiter nityābahvaj bahuvrīhāv abhasat*

/śiteḥ 5/1 nityābahvac 1/1 = *bahavo aco yasmin* (bv.); *na bahvac* (nañ. with int. bv.); *nityam abahvac* (dv. tat.); *bahuvrīhau* 7/1 *abhasat* 1/1 = *na bhasat* (nañ. tat.)/

(uttarapadam #111 *prakṛtyā* #137)

*śiter uttarapadam nityam yad abahvaj bhasac chabdavarjitaṁ bahuvrīhau samāse tat prakṛtisvaram bhavati*

A constituent which combines in a *bahuvrīhi* compound to follow *śiti* ‘white’ and which, with the exception of *bhasad* ‘genitals’, does not necessarily consist of more than two vowels, retains its original accent.

#### EXAMPLES:

*śītipādāḥ* ‘white-footed’

*śītyaṁsāḥ* ‘white-shouldered’

*śītyoṣṭhāḥ* ‘white-lipped’

1. Note that *pāda* is marked *udātta* at the beginning because of its membership in the *vṛṣādi* group of nominals (6.1.203 *vṛṣādīnām ca*). The *Uṇādi* derivatives *aṁsa* and *oṣṭha* are obligatorily marked *udātta* at the beginning, because affixes *saN* (*Uṇādi* V:21: *ameḥ san*) and *thaN* (*Uṇādi* II:4: *uṣikuṣigati-bhyas than*), respectively, are marked with *N* as an *it* (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*). The example compounds, because of their *bahuvrīhi* formation, qualify for retention of original accent of their initial constituents. Our present rule offers retention of original accent of their following constituents.

*Kāśikā* offers *darśanīyapādāḥ* ‘beautiful feet’ as counter-example to condition of *śiteḥ*, where, since *pāda* does not occur after *śiti*, and *darśanīya*, a derivative of *anīyaR*, is marked *udātta* in the middle (*madhyodātta*; 6.1.214 *upottamaṁ riti*).

2. Note that a form of *bhasad* with more than two vowels is never used. This is why *śitibhasat* ‘white genitals’ is made an exception. The condition of



*nityam* will exclude *śitikakut* 'white hump' from availing this accentual provision since *kakuda* is not always used as consisting of more than two vowels. For, when used with the signification of *avasthā* (5.4.146 *kakudasyābvasthāyām lopah*), its final *a* is deleted. Thus, consider *śitikakudah* 'white-hump' which does not go through deletion of its final *a*. Now consider *lalāṭa* 'forehead' of *śitilalāṭah* 'white-forehead' which is obligatorily used as *bahvac* 'consisting of more than two vowels'.

Finally, this accentual provision is applicable only to a compound termed *bahuvrīhi*. That is, this rule is an exception to 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau prakṛtyā pūrvapadam*. Thus, *śiteḥ pādah* = *śītipādah* 'the white one's foot', a *tatpuruṣa*, will constitute a counter-example.

### 6.2.139 गतिकारकोपपदात् कृत्

*gatikārakopapadāt kṛt*

/gati-kāraka-upapadāt 5/1 (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *kṛt* 1/1/

(*uttarapadam* #111 *tatpuruṣe* #123 *prakṛtyā* #137)

*gateḥ kārakād upapadāc ca kṛdantam uttarapadam tatpuruṣe samāse prakṛtisvaram bhavati*

The constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound which ends in an affix termed *kṛt* and combines to follow a constituent termed *gati*, *kāraka* and *upapada*, retains its original accent.

#### EXAMPLES:

*prākārakah* 'he who does things well'

*prākārānam* 'explanation, topic'

*prahārakah* 'attacker'

*praharānam* 'stick, weapon'

*idhmaṣṭrapraṇāśānah* 'that by means of which one cuts; axe'

*palāśaśātānah* 'that by means of which a *palāśa* tree is cut'

*śmaśrukalpānah* 'grooming of a beard'

*īśatkarāḥ* 'slightly beneficial'

*duṣkarāḥ* 'hard to do'

*sukarāḥ* 'easy to do'

1. Note that *tatpuruṣe*, and not *bahuvrīhau*, is carried over here. All example compounds have a following constituent marked with *L* as an *it*. That is, their syllable which precedes the affix is marked *udātta* (6.1.190 *liti*). Thus, *prākārakah* and *prahārakah* are derivatives of *ṆvuL* (3.1.133 *ṇvultṛcau*) combined with *pra* (2.2.18 *kugatiprādayah*), a *gati* (1.4.60 *gatiś ca*). Affix *LyuT* (3.3.117 *karaṇādhikaraṇayoś ca*), under the signification condition of a *kāraka* termed *karaṇa* 'instrument', is introduced in deriving *pravaścana* 'chopping' and *śātana* 'cutting', where a *pada* with the signification of a *kāraka*, i.e., *karman* 'object', follows. The *ṣaṣṭhi*, which is introduced after *idhma* 'firewood'

and *palāśa* 'a tree' to denote *karman*, is combined in consonance with a *vārttika* proposal (ad 2.2.8 *ṣaṣṭhī: kṛdyogā ca ṣaṣṭhī saamasyate* 'a genitive used in connection with that which ends in a *kṛt* is combined'). Refer to derivational details of these compounds under the appendices and notes of rules 2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ* and 3.3.117 *karaṇādhikaraṇayoḥ ca*. Finally, consider *īṣatkarah*, *duṣkarah* and *sukarah* where *īṣad* 'a little, slight', *duḥ* 'bad' and *su* 'good' constitute cooccurring *padas* (*upapada*). Affix *KHaL*, with the signification of *kṛcchra* 'difficult', etc. (3.4.70 *tayor eva kṛtyaktakhalarthāḥ*), is here introduced (3.3.126 *īṣadduḥsuṣu . . .*) to derive *kara*. These compounds are formed by 2.2.19 *upapadam atin*.

These examples all constitute an exception to the final *udātta* of 6.1.220 *samāsasya*.

2. A question is raised against explicitly using the word *kṛt* in this rule. For, *pra*, etc., are termed *gati* and *upasarga* only when they are used in construction with a word denoting action (*kriyā; yat kriyāyuktāḥ prādayas tam praty eva gatyupasargasamjñā bhavanti*). A constituent with the denotatum of a *kāraka* is also directly related to an action. There are two types of suffixes, i.e., *kṛt* (3.1.93 *kṛd atin*) and *tiN* (3.4.78 *tiptasjhi . . .*), which are introduced after a root. The compounds are formed with constituents which end in a *kṛt* affix. It is for this reason that *kṛt* need not be stated in this rule. Commentators explain that *kṛt* is used in the rule for clarity (*vispaṣṭārtham*). Some, however, do not agree with this position. They argue that *kṛt* is used here for blocking *gati* accent from applying to compounds such as *prapacatideśyaḥ*. Refer to *PM* ad *Kāśikā* for further details.

#### 6.2.140 उभे वनस्पत्यादिषु युगपत्

*ubhe vanaspatyādiṣu yugapat*

/ *ubhe* 1/2 *vanaspatyādiṣu* 7/3 = *vanaspatir ādir yeṣām* (bv.), *teṣām; yugapat* 1/1/

(*prakṛtyā* #137)

*vanaspatyādiṣu samāseṣu ubhe pūrvottarapade yugapat prakṛtisvare bhavataḥ*

The two constituents of compounds enumerated in the list headed by *vanaspati* 'vegetation', both, retain their original accent simultaneously.

#### EXAMPLES:

*vanaspatih* 'lord of forests; vegetation'

*bṛhāspatih* 'a divinity; teacher of gods'

*śacīpatih* 'Indra'

*narāśaṃsāh* 'name of a king'

*śuṇaḥśepāh* 'name of a sage'

1. This rule allows retention of original accent of both compound constituents, simultaneously. This simultaneous *udātta* was not available to

example compounds because of 6.1.152 *anudāttaṃ padam*. . . . Note that *vana* is marked *udātta* at the beginning in consonance with *Phīṣṣūtra* 26: *nabviṣayā*. . . . The word *pati* 'lord' master', as a derivate of *Ḍati* (*Uṇādi* IV:57: *pāter ḍatiḥ*), is also marked *udātta* at the beginning by affixal accent (3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*). The *ā*, of *pā* in *pati*, goes through *ṭi*-deletion (6.4.143 *ṭeḥ*). Augment *sUT*, of 6.1.151 *pāraskaraprabhṛtini ca*, is then introduced to derive *vanaspati* 'vegetation'. This *sUT*, however, is introduced by a *vārttika* (ad 6.1.154; *tad brhatoḥ karapatyoh* . . .) which also deletes the *t* of *brhat*. It is stated that *brhat* is marked *udātta* at the end, via *nīpātana*, in consonance with *Uṇādi* II:84: *varṭamāne pṛṣatbrhan*. . . . Some, however, consider this *nīpātana* accent to be initial *udātta*. Similar differences of opinion is also witnessed in case of *śacī* 'Indra's wife', considered as marked *udātta* at the beginning, only by way of ending in *ñN* through its membership in the *śārṅgaravādi* group of nominals (4.1.73 *śārṅgaravādyaño ñm*). It will receive final *udātta* as a derivate of *ñiṣ*.

### 6.2.141 देवताद्वन्द्वे च

*devatādvandve ca*

/ *devatādvandve* 7/1 = *devatānām dvandvaḥ*

(*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin*; *ca*  $\phi$ /

(*prakṛtyā* #137 *ubhe ugapat* #140)

*devatāvācīnām yo dvandvas tatra yugapad ubhe pūrvottarapade prakṛtisvare bhavataḥ*

The two constituents of a *dvandva* compound formed with the signification of *devatā* 'divinity', both, retain their original accent simultaneously.

#### EXAMPLES:

*indrāsomaú* 'Indra and Soma'

*indrāvarūṇau* 'Indra and Varuṇa'

*indrābrhaspatī* 'Indra and Brhaspati'

1. Note that augment *ānAN* is introduced in these compounds by 6.3.24 *devatādvandve ca*. The words *indra*, *soma* and *varuṇa* are derivates of *raN* (*Uṇādi* II:28: *rjendrāgra* . . .), *maN* (*Uṇādi* I:140: *artistusu* . . .) and *unaN* (*Uṇādi* III:53: *kṛvḍāribhya* . . .), respectively. They are marked *udātta* at the beginning because of their *N* as an *it* (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*). Recall that *brhaspati* already has two of its vowels marked with *udātta*. The compound *indrābrhaspatī* will, with one *udātta* of *indra*, carry three *udāttas*.

### 6.2.142 नोत्तरपदेऽनुदात्तादावपृथिवीरुद्रपूषमन्थिषु

*nottarapade' nudāttādāv apṛthivīrudrapūṣamanthiṣu*

/ *na*  $\phi$  *uttarapade* 7/1 *anudāttādau* 7/1 = *anudātta ādir yasya* (*bu.*), *tasmin*;

*apṛthivīrudrapūṣamanthiṣu* 7/3 *ṛthivī ca rudraś ca pūṣā ca manthī ca* = *ṛthivīrudrapūṣamanthinaḥ; na ṛthivī . . .* (nañ. tat. with int. dv.), *teṣu/* (*prakṛtyā* #137 *ubhe yugapat* #140 *devatādvandve* #141) *uttarapade*’ *nudāttādau ṛthivīrudrapūṣamanthivarjite devatādvandve nobhe yugapat prakṛtisvare bhavataḥ*

The two constituents of a *dvandva* compound formed with the signification of *devatā* ‘divinity’, both, do not retain their original accent when one of the constituents marked *udātta* at the beginning with the exception of *ṛthivī*, *rudra*, *pūṣan*, and *manthin*, follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*indrāgnī* ‘Indra and Agni’

*indravāyū* ‘Indra and Vāyu’

1. Here again we find *ānAN* introduced as an augment (6.3.24 *devatādvandve ca*). Note that *agni* and *vāyu* are derivatives of *nī* (*Uṇādi* I:20: *aṅger nīr nalopaś ca*) and *uN* (*Uṇādi* I:86: *kṛvāpājimi . . .*, respectively). They are both marked *udātta* at the end by way of affixal accent (*pratyayasvara*). That is, they are marked *anudātta* at the beginning. The compounds, because of negation of our present rule, cannot retain the original accent of their constituents, simultaneously. Rule 6.1.220 *samāsasya* thus allows retention of the final *udātta*.

The *ṛthivīyādi* nominals which are here made exceptions to this negation all carry an *udātta* at the end. Because of being exceptions, they will retain the original accent of their two constituents, simultaneously.

2. A question is raised against explicitly using *uttarapade* in this rule. That is, why use *uttarapade* when the locative (*saptamī*) of *anudāttādau* itself can provide the desired context of application. It is stated that this rule is a negation (*pratiśedha*). The context of this negation, especially as it relates to its application (*vidhi*), cannot be understood clearly if *uttarapade* is not included in the wording of this rule. That is, in the absence of *uttarapade*, *anudāttādau* will modify *devatādvandve*. This rule will then be interpreted as meaning: the provision of this rule does not apply in a *devatādvandva* compound marked with *udātta* at the beginning (*anudāttādau dvandve svarō yaṁ na bhavati*). This interpretation will then negate retention of constituent accents in *candrasūryau* ‘moon and sun’. For, *candra* is marked *anudātta* at the beginning because of its *udātta* at the end. The locative *anudāttādau* is used here as a qualifier to *dvandve* in this interpretation. If, however, *uttarapade* is used, *anudāttādau* will become a qualifier to *uttarapade*. Consequently, this negation will apply only when a following constituent marked with *anudātta* at the beginning follows.

The preceding discussion shows how, in a *devatādvandva* compound, negation (*pratiśedha*) and application (*vidhi*) both may obtain. In the absence

of a clear indication as to where negation applies and where it does not, their application will become optional (*vikalpa*). Note that *dvandva*, and not *uttarapada*, is specified in this section with *saptamī*. This being the case, *anudāttādau* in *saptamī* will qualify *dvandva*. It will qualify *uttarapade*, instead, when *uttarapade* is used in the rule. Consequently, negation will apply only when a following constituent with initial *anudātta* is involved. Elsewhere, we will get application (*viddhi*). Thus, the use of *uttarapade* clearly specifies scopes of negation and application.

#### 6.2.143 अन्तः

*antaḥ*

/ *antaḥ* 1/1

(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111)

*yad ita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāmas tatra samāsasyottarapadasyānta udātto bhavaṭīty evaṃ tad veditavyam*

A constituent which follows in a compound is, here onwards, marked with *udātta* at the end.

#### EXAMPLES:

Refer to following rules for relevant examples:

1. Note that 6.1.220 *samāsasya* offers *udātta* at the end of a compound. Rules governed by *antaḥ* of this rule will, again, offer final *udātta* as an exception to various other rules.

#### 6.2.144 थाथघञ्काजबित्रकाणाम्

*thāthaghañktājabitrakāṇām*

/ *tha-atha-ghaṇ-kta-aj-ab-itra-kāṇām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām*/

(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *gati-kārakopapadāt* #139 *antaḥ* #143)

*‘tha, atha, ghaṇ, kta, ac, ap, itra, ka’ ity evam antānām uttarapadānām gati-kārakopapadāt pareṣām anta udātto bhavati*

A constituent which ends in *tha, atha, ghaṇ, Kta, ac, ap, itra* and *ka*, and combines in a compound to follow a constituent termed *gati, kāraka* and *upapada*, is marked *udātta* at the end.

#### EXAMPLES:

*synīthaḥ* ‘he who guides well’

*avgbhrthaḥ* ‘ritual bathing’

*āvṣaṭthaḥ* ‘dwelling’

*upavṣaṭthaḥ* ‘day of fasting’

*prabhedaḥ* ‘a subdivision’

*kāṣṭhabhedaḥ* ‘splitting of wood’

*dūrādāgataḥ* 'arrived from afar'  
*ātapaśuśkaḥ* 'sun-dried'  
*prakṣayaḥ* 'excellent place'  
*prajayaḥ* 'excellent means of conquest?'  
*pralayaḥ* 'fragment, split'  
*prasavaḥ* 'begetting'  
*pralavītram* 'sickle'  
*prasavītram* 'begetting, generating'  
*govṛṣaḥ* 'bull'  
*kharivṛṣaḥ* 'impetuous bull'  
*pravṛṣaḥ* 'excellent bull'  
*prahrṛṣaḥ* 'happy'

1. Note that *nītha* and *bhṛtha*, of *sunīthaḥ* and *avabhṛthaḥ*, are derivatives of affix *KthaN* (*Uṇādi* II:2: *hanikuṣinīra* . . . *Uṇādi* II:3: *ave bhṛnāḥ*). They are both marked with *udātta* at the beginning because of *N* as an *it* (6.1.194 *ñnityādīr nityam*). Rule 6.2.139 *gatiḥkarakopapadāt kṛt* would thus have allowed retention of the original accent of *nītha* and *bhṛtha*. Our present rule offers final *udātta*, instead. This same also applies to derivatives of *atha* (*Uṇādi* III:116: *upasarge vaseḥ*), i.e., *āvasathaḥ/upavasathaḥ*, and *GHaN*, i.e., *kāṣṭhabhedah/rajjubhedah*.

The *pañcamī* of *dūrādāgataḥ* goes through non-deletion (6.3.2 *pañcamyāḥ* . . .) after 2.1.39 *stokāntikadūrārtha* . . . allows compound-formation. Recall that *āgata* is a derivative of the *niṣṭhā* suffix *Kta* (1.1.26 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*). The two derivatives of *Kta* in both compounds are marked *udātta* at the end. Their initial *udātta*, made available by 6.2.49 *gatiḥ anantarah* and 6.2.139 *gatiḥkarakopapadāt* . . ., is thus not retained. The *ta* of *Kta*, however, is replaced with *ka* in *ātapaśuśka* (8.2.51 *śuśaḥ kaḥ*). If one accepts *ātapaśuśka* as formed with 2.1.41 *siddhaśuśkapakvabandhaiś ca*, rule 6.2.32 *saptamī siddhaśuśka* . . . would require retention of original accent of the first constituent.

The words *kṣaya* and *jaya* are derivatives of *aC* (3.3.56 *er ac*). They are marked *udātta* at the beginning by 6.1.198 *kṣayo nivāse* and 6.1.199 *jayaḥ karaṇam*, read subsequently to 6.2.139 *gatiḥkarakopapadāt* . . . Our present rule offers final *udātta* as an exception. This exception against 6.2.139 also applies to *prasavaḥ*, *pralavaḥ* and *pralavītram*. Affixes *aP* (3.3.57 *ṛdor ap*) and *itra* (3.2.184 *arttilūdhūsū* . . .) are introduced in deriving *prasavaḥ/pralavaḥ* and *pralavītram*, respectively. Now consider *govṛṣaḥ* and *kharivṛṣaḥ* where affix *Ka* is introduced after *vṛṣ* in consonance with the *vārttika* (ad 3.2.5 *tundaśoka* . . .; *kaprakaraṇe mūlavibhujādibhya upasaṃkhyānam*). The *Ka* of *vṛṣa* in *pravṛṣaḥ* and *prahrṛṣaḥ* is introduced by 3.1.135 *igupadhajñā* . . . The initial *udātta* in *vṛṣa*, etc., is available from 6.1.200 *vṛṣādīnām ca*. Our present rule offers final *udātta* as an exception to retention of original accent of 6.1.139 *gatiḥkarakopapadāt* . . .

## 6.2.145 सूपमानात् कः

*sūpamānāt ktaḥ*

/ *sūpamānāt* 5/1 = *suś ca upamānaṃ ca* (sam. dv.), *tasmāt, ktaḥ* 1/1/  
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143)

'*su*' ity *etasmād upamānāc ca param kīntam uttarapadam antodāttaṃ bhavati*

A following compound constituent which ends in *Kta* is marked with *udātta* at the end, when the same combines to follow *su*, or a word denoting standard of comparison (*upamāna*).

## EXAMPLES:

*sukṛtam* 'well done'

*subhuktam* 'good food'

*supitam* 'good drink'

*vrkāvahūptam* 'disappearing like a wolf'

*śaśaplyutam* 'leaping like a rabbit'

*siṃhaviṇīrdḍitam* 'roaring like a lion'

1. The following constituents of example compounds are all marked *udātta* at the end. This rule is an exception to the retention of original accent of 6.2.49 *ghatiranantaraḥ*, in examples with *su*. It is an exception to that of 6.4.48 *tṛtīyā karmaṇi*, in examples of *upamāna*. These compounds are all formed by 2.1.31 *kartṛkaraṇe kṛtā bahulam*.

*Kāśikā* offers *sustutam bhavatā* 'you sir! praised well' as a counter-example to the condition of *gati-kāra-kopapadāt*. Recall that *su* can be termed a *karma-pravacanīya* by 1.4.94 *suḥ pūjāyām*. Our compound *sustutam* will have the indeclinable accent (*avyayasvara*), i.e., initial *udātta*, retained.

## 6.2.146 संज्ञायामनाचितादीनाम्

*saṃjñāyām anācitādīnām*

/ *saṃjñāyām* 7/1 *anācitādīnām* 6/3 = *ācita ādiryeṣām* (bv.), *te, na ācitādayaḥ*  
(*nañ.* with int. *bv.*)/

(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *gati-kāra-kopapadāt* #139 *antaḥ* #143 *ktaḥ* #145)

*saṃjñāyām viṣaye gati-kāra-kopapadāt kīntam uttarapadam antodāttaṃ bhavati ācitādīn varjayitvā*

A compound constituent which ends in *Kta*, but is not enumerated in the list headed *ācita*, is marked *udātta* at the end when it combines to follow a *gati*, *kāraka*, and *upapada* 'conjoined *pada*', and the derivate denotes a name (*saṃjñā*).

## EXAMPLES:

*sambhūtam rāmāyaṇam* 'a Rāmāyaṇa named Sambhūta'

*upahūtaḥ sākalyaḥ* 'Śākalya, who was invited'  
*parijagḍhaḥ kauṇḍinyaḥ* 'Kauṇḍinya, who was fed well'  
*dhanuṣkhātā nadi* 'name of a river'  
*kuḍḍālakḥātā nagarī* 'name of a city'

1. These compounds are all marked *udātta* at the end. The *Kta* of *sambhūtaḥ*, etc., denotes *karman*. Consequently, they were subject to application of 6.2.49 *gatir anantaraḥ*. This rule constitutes an exception to that. Compounds such as *dhanuṣkhātā*, etc., where *khan* has gone through a replacement in *ā* (*ātvā*; 6.4.42 *janasanakhanām* . . .), are formed by 2.1.31 *karṭṭikaraṇe kṛtā bahulam*. They thus had 6.2.48 *tṛtīyā karmaṇi* available to them. The final *udātta* of our present rule is also an exception to that.

2. A *gaṇasūtra* (*saṃhitā gavi*) blocks *saṃhitā* from being marked with *udātta* at the end if the derivate names something other than *go* 'cow'.

### 6.2.147 प्रवृद्धादीनां च

*pravṛddhādīnām ca*  
 /*pravṛddhādīnām* 6/3 = *pravṛddha ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *teṣām*; *ca*  $\phi$ /  
 (*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *ktaḥ* #145)  
*pravṛddhādīnām ca ktāntam uttarapadam antodāttaṃ bhavati*  
 That which ends in *Kta* and combines as a following constituent in compounds enumerated in the list headed by *pravṛddha* is also marked with *udātta* at the end.

#### EXAMPLES:

*pravṛddham yānam* 'an old carriage'  
*prayuktā saktavaḥ* 'used up Saktu'  
*avagṛhīto bhogeṣu* 'engrossed in pursuing pleasures'

1. This rule is formulated for final *udātta* outside the denotatum of *saṃjñā* 'name'. Note, however, that *yānam*, etc., are not used in these examples to restrict this provision in their context alone. They just illustrate general usages. For, *pravṛddha*, etc., receive final *udātta* also when used outside the context of *yāna*, etc.

A proposal is also made to accept *pravṛddhādi* as an open-ended (*ākṛti*) group (*gaṇa*). The *ca* thus can be accepted as used for attracting examples not covered (*anuktasamuccayārtha*). Consider *punarutsyūtam* 'freshly woven' and *punarniṣkṛtaḥ* 'rebuild' of *punarutsyūtaṃ vāsaṃ deyam* and *punarniṣkṛto rathaḥ*, where final *udātta* is availed.

### 6.2.148 कारकाद् दत्तश्रुतयोरेवाशिषि

*kārakād dattaśrutayor evāśiṣi*  
 /*kārakāt* 5/1 *dattaśrutayor* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*); *eva*  $\phi$  *āśiṣi* 7/1/



(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *ktaḥ* #145 *saṃjñā* #146)  
*saṃjñāyām* *viṣaye āśiṣi gamyamānāyām* *kārakād uttarayor dattaśrutayor eva*  
*ktāntayor anta udātto bhavati*

The two constituents, namely *datta* and *śruta*, which end in *Kta* and occur after a constituent with the signification of *kāraka*, alone, are marked with *udātta* at the end when name and benediction are denoted.

#### EXAMPLES:

*devā enaṃ deyāsur dḡvadattaḥ* 'Devadatta, who was given by gods as a blessing'

*viṣṇur enaṃ śrūyād viṣṇuśrutaḥ* 'Viṣṇuśruta, who was given by Viṣṇu after hearing prayers'

1. This rule allows final *udātta* for *datta* and *śruta* when they are used in combination after a constituent with the denotatum of a *kāraka*. Additionally, derivatives must denote benediction (*āśiṣi*) within the context of a *saṃjñā* 'name'. Recall that derivatives which ended in *Kta* and denoted a name were all, with the exception of those with *ācita*, etc., qualified to receive final *udātta* (6.2.145 *saṃjñāyām* . . .). This rule makes a restrictive proposal. That is, if used after a *kāraka*, *datta* and *śruta* alone receive final *udātta*. The original accent will be retained outside the context of *datta* and *śruta*. Thus, consider *devapālitaḥ* 'protected by god' where application of 6.2.145 *saṃjñānām* . . . is blocked in favor of 6.2.48 *tṛtīyā karmaṇi*. The word *kārakāt* is used in the rule because, in its absence, the restriction would have also applied after *gati*. For, this is the domain of *gatikāraṇakopapadāt*. With *kārakāt* in place, the final *udātta* of 6.2.145 *saṃjñāyām* . . . applies after *gati* in *sambhūtaḥ*.

The word *eva* is used to restrict final *udātta*, only when *datta* and *śruta* are used in combination after that which denotes a *kāraka*. Elsewhere, 6.2.48 *tṛtīyā karmaṇi* will apply to retain the base accent of the preceding *pada* (*pūrvapada-prakṛtisvara*).

#### 6.2.149 इत्थम्भूतेन कृतमिति च

*iṭhambhūtena kṛtam iti ca*

/ *iṭhambhūtena* 3/1 = *imaṃ prakāram āpannaḥ; kṛtam* 1/1 *iti*  $\phi$  *ca*  $\phi$  /

(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *ktaḥ* #145 *kārakāt* #148)

'*iṭhambhūtena kṛtam*' *ity etasminn arthe yaḥ samāso vartate tatra ktāntam*  
*uttarapadam antodāttaṃ bhavati*

A constituent which ends in *Kta* and is combined after that which denotes a *kāraka* in a compound formed with the signification of 'made or done by one thus characterized' is also marked with *udātta* at the end.

## EXAMPLES:

*suṭṭapralapitaṃ* 'babbling of a person while asleep'

*unmattapralapitaṃ* 'babbling of a crazy person'

*pramattagītaṃ* 'singing of a drunk or crazy person'

1. Refer to my notes under 1.4.90 *lakṣaṇetthaṃbhūtākhyāna* . . . for an explanation of *itthaṃbhūta*. This rule constitutes an exception to 6.2.48 *ṛtīyā karmaṇi*.

2. The word *kṛtaṃ* is used here in the general sense of *karoti* 'makes'. It is thus not used in the sense of 'bringing about something which was previously not' (*nābhūtaṃprādurbhāva*). This is how *pralapita*, etc., become *kṛta* with the denotation of *karman* 'object'. A final *udātta* is already available to them from 6.2.144 *thāthādi* . . ., when their *Kṛta* is used with the denotatum of *bhāva* 'root-sense'.

## 6.2.150 अने भावकर्मवचनः

*ano bhāvakarmavacanah*

/ *anaḥ* 1/1 *bhāvakarmavacanah* 1/1 = *bhāvaś ca karma ca = bhāvakarmanī* (*itar. dv.*), *tayor vacanaḥ* (*śaś. tat.*)/

(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *kṛtaḥ* #145 *kāraḥ* #148)

*anaprayayāntaṃ uttarapadaṃ bhāvavacanaṃ karmavacanaṃ ca kāraḥ*  
*param antodāttaṃ bhavati*

A constituent which ends in affix *ana*, signifies *bhāva* 'root-sense' or *karman* 'object', and combines in a compound after a word denoting a *kāraka*, is marked *udātta* at the end.

## EXAMPLES:

*odaṇabhojanaṃ sukhamaṃ* 'it is a pleasure to eat rice'

*payahpānaṃ sukhamaṃ* 'it is a pleasure to drink milk'

*rājabhojanāḥ śālayaḥ* 'rice fit for a king's meal'

*rājācchādānāni vāsāṃsi* 'clothes fit for a king'

1. This rule is an exception to 6.2.138 *gatikāraḥkopapadāt* . . . The words *bhojana* 'food' and *pāna* 'drink' are derivatives of *Lyuṭ* with the denotatum of *bhāva* (3.3.116 *karmanī ca yena* . . .). The *yu* of *Lyuṭ* is subsequently replaced with *ana* (7.1.1 *yuvor anākau*). The compounds, i.e., *odaṇabhojana* 'eating of rice' and *payahpāna* 'drinking of milk', are formed by 2.2.19 *upapadam atin*. Compounds such as *rājabhojana* and *rājācchādana* are genitive *tatpuruṣa*, where *Lyuṭ* denoted *karman*.

2. This denotation of *bhāva* and *karman* by *Lyuṭ* shows two interpretations of rule 3.3.116 *karmanī ca yena* . . .

- (i) *karmanī upapade bhāve lyuḍ bhavati* '*Lyuṭ* is introduced after a verbal root when a *pada* with the denotatum of *karman* cooccurs'.

- (ii) *karmaṇy abhidheye byuḍ bhavati* 'affix *Lyuṭ* occurs after a verbal root when *karman* 'object' is denoted'.

3. *Kāśikā* offers *hastahāryāmudaśvit* 'buttermilk prepared with hands' as a counter-example to the condition of *ana*. A counter-example to *bhāva-karman* 'root-sense object' is offered in *dantadhāvanam* 'that by means of which teeth are cleaned' where *Lyuṭ* in *dhāvana* 'cleansing' denotes *karaṇa* 'instrument'. Of course, the condition of *kāraḥ* is also valid. Thus, consider *nīdarśanam* 'illustrating' and *avalekhānam* 'scraping' where *ana* occurs after *gati*. All these counter-examples retain their original accents.

#### 6.2.151 मन्तिव्याख्यानशयनासनस्थानयाजकादिक्रीताः

*manktinvyākhyānaśayanāsanasthānayājakādīkrītāḥ*  
/ *manktin-vyākhyāna-śayanāśana-sthāna-yājakādi-krītāḥ* 1/3 = *yājaka ādir*  
*yeṣām te = yājakādayaḥ; manktin . . krītāḥ (itar. dv.) /*  
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *kāraḥ* #148)

'*mannantam, ktinnantam, vyākhyāna, śayana, āsana, sthāna*' *ity etāni, yājakādayaḥ, kṛtaśabdaś cottarapadam antodāttaṃ bhavati*

The final syllable of the last constituent of a compound which ends in *man* and *KtiN*, or is constituted by *vyākhyāna* 'exposition', *śayana* 'reclining', *āsana* 'seat', *sthāna* 'place', or else, is listed in the group headed by *yājaka* 'sacrificer', or is constituted by *kṛta* 'purchased', is marked *udātta* at the end when the same combines after a constituent with the signification of a *kāraḥ*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*rathavartma* 'road for chariots'  
*śakṭavartma* 'road for carts'  
*pāṇinīkṛtiḥ* 'creation of Pāṇini'  
*āpīśalīkṛtiḥ* 'creation of Āpīśali'  
*ṛgayana-vyākhyānam* 'a commentary of Ṛgayana'  
*chandovyākhyānam* 'a commentary on Chandas'  
*rājāśayanam* 'king's bed'  
*brāhmaṇaśayanam* 'a brāhmaṇa's bed'  
*rājāsanam* 'a king's seat'  
*brāhmaṇāsanam* 'a brāhmaṇa's seat'  
*gosthānam* 'cow-pen'  
*aśvasthānam* 'stable'  
*brāhmaṇayājakaḥ* 'a priest of brāhmaṇas'  
*kṣatriyayājakaḥ* 'a priest of kṣatriyas'  
*gokṛtāḥ* 'purchased with a cow'  
*aśvakṛtāḥ* 'purchased with a horse'

1. These examples are all genitive *tatpuruṣa* compounds. Their accentual

provision constitutes an exception to 6.2.138 *gatikāraḥkopapadāt*. . . . Compounds with *krīta* constitute exception to 6.2.48 *tṛtīyā karmaṇi*. Note that *vyākhyāna*, *śayana*, *āsana* and *sthāna* are all derivatives of *LyuT*. The first, i.e., *vyākhyāna*, is a derivative of *LyuT* with the denotatum of *karaṇa* 'instrument'. The rest have *LyuT* with the signification of *adhikaraṇa* 'locus' (3.3.117 *karaṇādhikaraṇayoś ca*). Recall that derivatives of *LyuT* with the denotatum of *bhāva* 'root-sense' and *karman* 'object' are already covered by 6.2.150 *ano bhāvakarmavacanaḥ*. Affix *ṆvuL* in *yājaka* and *pūjaka* 'worshiper' denotes *kartr* 'agent'. A *yājakādi* reference is here made to stems listed for genitive compounds under 2.2.9 *yājakādibhiś ca*.

2. The condition of *kāraḥ* is still valid. Thus, *prakṛtiḥ* 'nature, base' and *prakṛtiḥ* 'attack', because of *pra* termed *gati*, will be covered by 6.2.2 *tatpuruṣe tulyārtha*. . . .

### 6.2.152 सप्तम्याः पुण्यम्

*saptamyāḥ puṇyam*

/ *saptamyāḥ* 5/1 *puṇyam* 1/1/

(*udāttah* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143)

*saptamyantāt paraṃ puṇyam ity etad uttarapadam antodāttam bhavati*

A last compound constituent, namely *puṇya* 'merit', is marked *udātta* at the end when it combines after a constituent ending in *saptamī* 'seventh triplet of nominal ending'.

#### EXAMPLES:

*adhyayanapuṇyam* 'merits in studying'

*vedapuṇyam* 'merits in the study of the Vedas'

1. This is an exception to retention provision of 6.2.2 *tatpuruṣe tulyārtha*. . . . A split interpretation of *saptamī* (2.1.40 *saptamī śauṇḍaiḥ*) facilitates the compound formation. A compound with *tṛtīyā* 'third triplet; instrumental' (2.1.32 *kartrkaraṇe*. . . ; by split interpretation of *tṛtīyā*), i.e., *vedena puṇyam* = *vedapuṇyam* 'merit accrued from studying the Veda', will require *puṇya*, a derivative of *kṛt*, to be marked with initial *udātta*.

### 6.2.153 ऊनार्थकलहं तृतीयायाः

*ūnārthakalaham tṛtīyāyāḥ*

/ *ūnārtha-kalaham* 1/1 = *ūno* 'rtho yasya (bv.); *ūnārthaś ca kalahas ca* (sam. dv. with int. bv.); *tṛtīyāyāḥ* 5/1/

(*udāttah* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143)

*ūnārthāny uttarapadāni kalahasabdas ca tṛtīyāntāt parāny antodāttāni bhavanti*

A final compound constituent which signifies the sense of affix *ūna* 'less than . . .', or is constituted by *kalahā* 'quarrel', is marked *udātta* at

the end when this same combines after a *pada* ending in *ṛtīyā* 'third triplet of nominal ending'.

EXAMPLES:

*māṣanam* 'less than a Māṣa'  
*kārṣāpaṇanam* 'less than a Kārṣāpaṇa'  
*māṣavikālam* 'less than a Māṣa'  
*kārṣāpaṇavikālam* 'less than a Kārṣāpaṇa'  
*aśikalahah* 'fight with swords'  
*vākkalahah* 'quarrel'

1. These example compounds are all formed by 2.1.31 *pūrvasadṛśasamonārtha*. . . Here again we find an exception to retention proposal of 6.2.2 *tatpuruṣe tulyārtha*. . . Some believe that *artha* specifies the word-form (*svarūpa*). They can, thus, account for *dhānyena arthaḥ* = *dhānyārthaḥ* 'prosperity by grains'. Note that *ūna*, a specification made via meaning (*artha-nirdeśa*), can itself account for forms synonymous with it. Consequently, formation of a *ṛtīyā-tatpuruṣa* with specifically enumerated bases (*pratipadokta*) becomes obvious. Why use *ṛtīyāyāḥ* when specified compounds are formed with *ṛtīyā*, anyway? The rule uses *ṛtīyāyāḥ* for clarity (*viśpaṣṭārtham*).

#### 6.2.154 मिश्रं चानुपसर्गमसन्धौ

*miśram cānupasargam asandhau*  
 / *miśram* 1/1 *ca*  $\phi$  *anupasargam* 1/1 (*nañ. tat.*); *asandhau* 7/1 = *na sandhau* (*nañ. tat.*) /  
 (*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antah* #143 *ṛtīyāyāḥ* #153)  
 'miśra' *ity etad uttarapadam anupasargam ṛtīyāntāt param antodāttaṃ bhavaty asandhau gamyamāne*

A final compound constituent, namely *miśra* not used with a preverb, is marked with *udātta* at the end, when it combines to follow a constituent ending in *ṛtīyā*, provided something other than *sandhi* 'verbal agreement, treaty' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

*guḍamiśrāḥ* 'mixed with jaggery'  
*tilamiśrāḥ* 'mixed with sesame'  
*sarpirmiśrāḥ* 'mixed with ghee'

1. This rule again is an exception to 6.2.2 *tatpuruṣe tulyārtha*. . . The example compounds are formed by 3.1.31 *pūrvasadṛśasamonārtha*. . .

2. The condition of *miśra* is imposed so that compounds such as *guḍadhānāḥ* 'parched rice mixed with jaggery' can be excluded. The condition of *anupasarga* 'not used with a preverb' similarly excludes *guḍasammiśrāḥ*

‘properly mixed with jaggery’, etc. Note that a specification of *miśra* qualified with *anupasarga* also serves as an indicator (*jñāpaka*). It indicates that, elsewhere, a specification made by *miśra* includes reference to its use with a preverb. The *miśra* of 2.1.31 *pūruvasadṛśasmenārthā . . . miśraslakṣṇaiḥ*, thus enables formation of compounds with *miśra* used with a preverb. We have already cited *guḍasammīśrāḥ* where this rule will not find its scope of application.

Now consider *asandhau* ‘not in agreement’ where *sandhi*, characterized as *aikya* ‘unity’, is explained as *pañabandhaḥ* ‘verbal agreement’. Thus, *yadi me bhavān idam kuryāt tato’ ham api bhavata idam kariṣyāmi* ‘if you will do this for me, then I will also do this for you’. An example, of *asandhi* is offered as *brāhmaṇamiśrāḥ rājā* ‘a king mixing with brāhmaṇas’. This ‘mixing’ is here explained as ‘proximity’ (*pratyāsatti*), a ‘mixing’ where individual identities are distinct. An example such as *guḍamiśrāḥ dhānāḥ* makes it difficult to perceive individual identities.

#### 6.2.155 नञो गुणप्रतिषेधे सम्पाद्यर्हहितालमर्थास्तद्धिताः

*naño guṇapratīṣedhe sampādyarhahitālamarthās taddhitāḥ*  
/ *nañāḥ* 1/1 *guṇapratīṣedhe* 7/1 (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin*; *sampādy-arha-hita-alam-*  
*arthāḥ* 1/3 = *sampādi . . . alam* *ity etāny arthāni yeṣām* (*bu. with int. dv.*);  
*taddhitāḥ* 1/3/

(*udāttāḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143)

‘*sampādi*, *arha*, *hita*, *alam*’ *ity evam arthā ye taddhitās tadantāny uttarapadāni*  
*naño guṇapratīṣedhe vartamānāt parāny antodāttāni bhavanti*

The last syllable of final compound constituent which ends in a *taddhita* affix with the signification of *sampādi* ‘properly bringing about’, *arha* ‘deserving’, *hita* ‘beneficial’ and *alam* ‘enough, capable’, and occurs after a *nañ* ‘not’ constituent negating quality (*guṇapratīṣedha*) is marked with *udātta*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*akāṛṇaveṣṭikam mukham* ‘a face not needing any ear-ornament’  
*acchaidīkaḥ* ‘that which does not deserve cutting’  
*avatsīyaḥ* ‘that which is not beneficial to calves’  
*asāntāpīkaḥ* ‘he who is not capable of hurting anyone’

1. The *nañ* of *akāṛṇaveṣṭikam* negates the quality of *kāṛṇaveṣṭikatva* ‘ear-adornment’. Affix *ṭhañ* (5.1.18 *prāg vateṣ ṭhañ*) is here introduced after *kāṛṇaveṣṭa* under provisions of 5.1.99 *sampādini*. This dereivate goes through (*ṭha*→*ika*), initial *vṛddhi* and deletion of *a* in consonance with the term *bha* (*bhasamjñā*). A negative *tatpuruṣa* compound is formed subsequently. Other compounds involve *taddhita* affixes *ṭhaK* (*acchaidīkiḥ*; 5.1.64 *chedādibhyo nityam*), *cha* (5.1.1 *prāk kṛtāc chaḥ*) and *ṭhañ* (5.1.101 *tasmai prabhavati . . .*),

introduced with the signification of *sampādi*, *arha*, *hita* and *alam*, respectively. The *nañ* of example compounds thus negates these qualities. Consequently, their following constituents are marked with *udātta* at the end. The accentual provision of this rule constitutes an exception to that of 6.2.2 *tatpuruṣe tulyārtha*. . . .

2. A condition of *nañ* is imposed so that *vigārdabharathikah* 'a charioteer who does not deserve a chariot pulled by donkeys' can be excluded. Now consider *agārdabharathikah* 'a charioteer other than one who deserves a chariot pulled by donkeys'. It is offered as a counter-example to the condition of *guṇapraṭiṣedha* 'negation of quality'. What is negated here is not the quality but the person thus qualified (*guṇin*). This compound will retain the indeclinable accent of its initial constituent. A counter-example to conditions of *sampādi*, *arha*, *hita* and *alam* is offered in *apāṇinīyaḥ* 'one who does not study what Pāṇini taught', paraphrased as *pāṇinīyam adhūte = pāṇinīyaḥ*; *na pāṇinīyaḥ = apāṇinīyaḥ*. Obviously, none of these meanings are involved in *apāṇinīyam*. Finally, the derivate must entail a *taddhita* affix. Consider *avodhā*, paraphrased as *na kanyāṃ voḍhum arhati* 'one who is not deserving of marrying the girl', as a counter-example. The *voḍhā* of *avodhā* is a derivate of the *kṛt* affix *ṛC*.

## 6.2.156 ययतोश्चातदर्थे

*yayatoś cātarthe*

*yayatoḥ* 6/2 = *yaś ca yat ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *ca* ∅ *atarthe* 7/1 = *tasmai idam = tadartham* (*cat. tat.*); *na tadartham* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmin/* (*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *nañah* *guṇapraṭiṣedhe* *taddhitāḥ* #155)

'*ya, yat*' *ity etau taddhitāu atadarthe vartete tadantasyottarapadasya* 'nañ *guṇapraṭiṣedhaviṣayād anta udātto bhavati*

The last syllable of a final compound constituent which combines after a constituent negating quality (*guṇapraṭiṣedhe*), and ends in the *taddhita* affixes *ya* (5.4.24 *devatāntāt* . . .) and *yaT* (5.4.25 *pādārghābhyām ca*) introduced with the signification of something other than *tadārtha* 'intended for that', is marked with *udātta*.

EXAMPLES:

*apāśyā* 'not belonging to a group of snares'

*atṛnyā* 'not belonging to heaps of grass'

*adantyam* 'non-dental'

*akarnyam* 'not found in ears'

1. This again is an exception to 6.2.2 *tatpuruṣe tulyārtha*. . . . The example compounds still negate quality (*guṇa*). Affixes *ya* (4.2.48 *pāśādibhyo yaḥ*; in the first two examples) and *yaT* (4.3.55 *śarīrāvayavāc ca*; the next two) are used with the signification of *tadārtha* 'intended for that'. It is for this reason

that a compound, such as *apādyam*, paraphrased as *na pādārtham udakam* 'water not intended for wiping feet', will be excluded. Its *yaT* is used with the signification of *tadartha* (5.4.25 *pādārghābhyām ca*).

The conditions of *taddhita* and *guṇapratīṣedha* will exclude examples such as *adeyam* 'not fit for giving' and *dantyād anyat = adantyaṃ* 'something other than teeth'. The *yaT* of *deyam* is a *kṛt* affix (3.1.97 *aco yat*). The negation in *adantyaṃ* relates again to 'something thus qualified' (*guṇin*).

2. It is stated that *ya* here refers to an affix with no *it* (*niranubandhaka*). A specification with *yaT* is made for an affix with only one *it* (*ekānubandhaka*). It is for this reason that *avāmadevyam* 'sāman hymn revealed to Vāmadeva', where *vāmadevyam* is a derivate of *Ḍa* and *ḌyaT* (4.2.9 *vākmadevādyadyau*), will be excluded.

### 6.2.157 अक्कावशक्तौ

*ackāu aśaktau*

/ackau 1/2 = *ac ca kaś ca* (*itar. dv.*); *aśaktau* 1/2 = *na śaktiḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasyām/*

(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *nañah* #156)

'*ac, ka*' *ity evam antam aśaktau gamyamānāyām uttarapadam nañah param antodāttaṃ bhavati*

The last syllable of a final compound constituent which combines after a negative (*nañ*), and ends in affixes *aC* and *ka*, is marked *udātta* at the end, provided the derivate denotes incapability (*aśakti*).

#### EXAMPLES:

*apācaḥ* 'he who cannot cook'

*ajayaḥ* 'he who cannot win'

*avikṣipah* 'he who cannot throw'

*avilīkhaḥ* 'he who cannot write'

1. These first two example compounds involve derivates with *aC* (3.1.134 *nandigrahīpacādibhyo . . .*). The next two involve derivates of *Ka* (3.1.135 *igupadhajñā . . .*). These examples again are exceptions to accentual provisions of 6.2.2 *taṭpuruṣe tulyārtha . . .*

2. Note that *apācaḥ* of *apācaḥ dīkṣitaḥ* 'an initiate who is someone other than a cook' and *apācaḥ parivrājakaḥ* 'a wandering ascetic who is someone other than a cook' will be excluded because 'incapability' (*aśakti*) is not denoted.

### 6.2.158 आक्रोशे च

*ākrośe ca*

/ākrośe 7/1 *ca*  $\phi$ /



(*udāttah* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *nañah* #156 *ackau* #157)  
*ākrośe ca gamyamāne nañā uttarām ackāntam antodāttam bhavati*

The last syllable of a final compound constituent which combines to follow a negative (*nañ*) and ends in affixes *aC* and *ka* is also marked *udātta* when the derivate denotes anger (*ākrośa*).

#### EXAMPLES:

*apaco* 'yam jālmah' 'shame on this person who is capable of but does not cook'

*apatho* 'yam jālmah' 'shame on this person who is capable of but does not recite'

*avikṣipah* 'shame on this person who is capable of but does not throw'

*avilikkah* 'shame on this person who is capable of but does not write'

#### 6.2.159 संज्ञायाम्

*saṃjñāyām*

*saṃjñāyām* 7/1/

(*udāttah* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *nañah* #156 *ākrośe* #185)

*ākrośe gamyamāne nañah param uttarapadam saṃjñāyām vartamānam antodāttam bhavati*

The last syllable of a final compound constituent which combines after *nañ* and signifies a name (*saṃjñā*) is marked *udātta* when the derivate denotes *ākrośa* 'anger'.

#### EXAMPLES:

*adevadattah* 'he is no Devadatta!'

*ayajñadattah* 'he is no Yajñadatta!'

*aviṣṇumitraḥ* 'he is no Viṣṇumitra!'

1. Note that anger is denoted against some unbecoming behavior of persons so named. That is, how could a person be called *devadatta* 'gods gave him' when his conduct is unbecoming of a person born as a result of blessings of gods'.

#### 6.2.160 कृत्योकेष्णुच्चावादि यश्च

*kṛtyokeṣṇuccārvādayaś ca*

/ *kṛtyokeṣṇuccārvādayaḥ* 1/3 = *cāru ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*); *kṛtyaś ca ukaś ca iṣṇuc ca cārvādayaś ca* (*itar. dv.*); *ca*  $\phi$ /

(*udāttah* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *nañah* #156)

'*kṛtya, uka, iṣṇuc*' *ity evam antāś cārvādayaś ca nañā uttare* 'ntodāttā bhavanti

The last syllable of a final compound constituent which combines after a negative word (*nañ*), and ends either in affixes *kṛtya* (3.1.95 *kṛtyāḥ*),

*ukaṅ* (3.2.154 *laṣapatapadasthā* . . .) and *iṣṇu*C (3.2.136 *alamkṛṇnirākṛṇ-prajanotpaca* . . .), or is constituted by items enumerated in the list headed by *cāru* 'beautiful', is marked *udātta*.

## EXAMPLES:

- akartavyam* 'not to be done'  
*akaraṇīyam* 'ibidem'  
*anāgāmukam* 'that which is not about to come'  
*anapalāśukam* ' . . . is free of desires'  
*analanīkariṣṇuḥ* 'one whose nature is not to decorate'  
*anīrākariṣṇuḥ* 'one whose nature is not to repudiate'  
*anādhyambhaviṣṇuḥ* 'one whose nature is not to become rich'  
*acāruḥ* 'that which is not beautiful'  
*asādhuh* 'one who is not good'

1. Affixes *tavya* and *anīya*R (3.1.96 *tavyattavyānīyarah*) are introduced within the domain of 3.1.95 *kṛtyāḥ*. Affixes *iṣṇu*C and *ukaṅ* have been introduced by rules 3.2.136 *alamkṛṇnirākṛṇa* . . . and 3.2.154 *laṣapatapada* . . ., respectively. Note that *iṣṇu*C also includes a reference to *KHiṣṇu*C (3.2.57 *kartari bhuvaḥ* . . .), as we find in *anādhyambhaviṣṇuḥ*.

2. The following *gaṇasūtras* also offer final *udātta* as follows.

- (i) *vartamāna* 'current', *vardhamāna* 'growing', *tvaramāna* 'hurrying', *dhriyamāna* 'steady, steadfast', *rocamāna* 'pleasing' and *śobhamāna* 'beautiful' should be accepted as marked *udātta* at the end when the denotatum is a name (*saṃjñāyām*).
- (ii) *vikāra* 'modification, product' and *sadṛśa* 'similar', whether used in combination or not, are also marked *udātta* at the end. Thus, *avikārah*/ *asadṛśah*; *avikārasadṛśah*.
- (iii) *rājā* 'king' and *ahan* 'day' are marked *udātta* at the end in the Vedic. Thus, *arājā* 'non-king' and *anahaḥ* 'non-day'. The initial *udātta* of the indeclinable will, of course, apply to examples of the classical language (*bhāṣā*).

## 6.2.161 विभाषा तुन्नन्ततीक्ष्णशुचिषु

*vibhāṣā tṛnnannatīkṣṇaśuciṣu*

/ *vibhāṣā* 1/1 *tṛnn-anna-tīkṣṇa-śuciṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*)/

(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *nañah* #156)

'*tṛnnanta*, *anna*, *tīkṣṇa*, *śuci*' *ity eteṣu nañā uttareṣu vibhāṣā* nta *udātto bhavati*

The last syllable of a final compound constituent which combines after a negative constituent, and ends in affix *tṛN*, *anna* 'food', *tīkṣṇa* 'sharp', and *śuci* 'pure', is optionally marked with *udātta*.

## EXAMPLES:

*ākarttā* 'one whose nature it is to not do'  
*akārttā* 'ibidem'  
*anānnam* 'inedible'  
*anānnam* 'ibidem'  
*atīkṣṇam* 'not sharp'  
*atīkṣṇam* 'ibidem'  
*aśūciḥ* 'impure'  
*aśūciḥ* 'ibidem'

1. The *trN* of *karttā*, in *akartā*, is introduced by 3.2.135 *tṛn* with the signification of *tācchīlya* 'characteristic nature'. The optional provision of this rule is made against the initial *udātta* (*Phitsūtra* 80: *nīpātā ādyudātātāḥ*) of 6.2.2 *tatpuruṣe tulyārtha*. . .

## 6.2.162 बहुव्रीहिविदमेतत्तद्बन्धः प्रथमपूरणयोः क्रियागणने

*bahuvrīhāv idametattadbhyaḥ prathamapūraṇayoḥ kriyāgaṇane*  
 / *bahuvrīhau* 7/1 *idam-etat-tadbhyaḥ* 5/3 (*itar. dv.*); *prathamapūraṇayoḥ*  
 6/2 (*itar. dv.*); *kriyāgaṇane* 7/1 = *kriyāyāḥ gaṇanam* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin*/  
 (*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143)  
*bahuvrīhau samāse* 'idam, etad, tad' *ity etebhya uttarasya prathamāśabdasya*  
*pūraṇapratyayāntasya ca kriyāgaṇane vartamānasya anta udātto bhavati*  
 The final constituent of a *bahuvrīhi* compound, namely *prathama* 'first',  
 or one ending in a *pūraṇa* suffix, is marked *udātta* at the end, when the  
 same combines after *idam* 'this', *etad* 'this one' and *tad* 'that' and the  
 derivate signifies *kriyāgaṇana* 'counting number of times of action'.

## EXAMPLES:

*īdamprathamāḥ gamanaṁ bhojanaṁ vā* 'this is his first (meal, or trip)'  
*īdandvītiyāḥ* 'this is his second . . .'  
*etatprathamāḥ* 'this is his first . . .'  
*etaddvītiyāḥ* 'this is his second . . .'  
*tatprathamāḥ* 'that is his first . . .'  
*taddvītiyāḥ* 'that is his second . . .'

1. The word *prathama* is specified here by its form (*svarūpa*). The word *pūraṇa* refers to forms ending in the *pūraṇa* suffixes introduced by 5.2.54 *dvestīyaḥ* and 5.2.55 *treḥ samprasāraṇaṁ ca*. This rule is an exception to the retention proposal of 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau prakṛtyā pūrvapadam*. Actually, since the *anuvṛtti* of *bahuvrīhau* is valid prior to 6.2.178 *vanam samāse*, all accentual provisions made in this section can be treated as exceptions to 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau prakṛtyā pūrvapadam*.

2. The conditions of *prathama*, and of forms ending in *pūraṇa*, are im-

posed so that forms such as *tadbahuḥ* ‘those many are his’ which do not have *prathama* or *pūraṇa* could retain their original accent. Such compounds will retain the *udātta* of their initial constituent.

The condition of *kriyāgaṇana* will similarly exclude examples such as *idaṃprathamah*, paraphrased as *ayaṃ prathamah yeṣāṃ te* ‘those among whom this one is the first’. Here, what we find is the counting of a thing (*dravya*), and not action (*kriyā*). Note that *prathamah* can also be used in the sense of *pradhānaḥ* ‘principal, best’: *idaṃprathamah pradhānaḥ yeṣāṃ* ‘this one who is the best among . . .’. This then is a counter-example since *prathamah* does not denote a number (*saṃkhyā*).

#### 6.2.163 संख्यायाः स्तनः

*saṃkhyāyāḥ stanah*

/ *saṃkhyāyāḥ* 6/1 *stanah* 1/1/

(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *bahuvrīhau* #162)

*saṃkhyāyāḥ paraḥ stanaśabdo bahuvrīhau samāse* ‘ntodātto bhavati

The last syllable of a final *bahuvrīhi* constituent, namely *stana* ‘breast’, is marked with *udātta* when it combines to follow a constituent denoting number (*saṃkhyā*).

#### EXAMPLES:

*dvīstanā* ‘possessing two breasts, or udders’

*trīstanā* ‘possessing three udders’

*catuḥstanā* ‘possessing four udders’

1. Note that *darśanīyastanā* ‘she whose breasts are beautiful’ and *dvīśirā* ‘possessing two heads’ are offered as counter-examples to conditions of *stana* and *saṃkhyā*, respectively.

#### 6.2.164 विभाषा छन्दसि

*vibhāṣā chandasi*

/ *vibhāṣā* 1/1 *chandasi* 7/1/

(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *bahuvrīhau* #162 *saṃkhyāyāḥ stanah* #163)

*chandasi viṣaye bahuvrīhau samāse saṃkhyāyāḥ paraḥ stanaśabdo vibhāṣā* ‘ntodātto bhavati

The last syllable of a final *bahuvrīhi* constituent, namely *stana* ‘breast’, is marked with *udātta* in the Vedic only optionally, when it combines to follow a constituent denoting number (*saṃkhyā*).

#### EXAMPLES:

*dvīstanāṃ karoti vāmadevaḥ* ‘Vāmadeva makes them possess two udders’

*catūḥstanām karoti paśūnām dohāya* 'makes cattle to possess four udders for milking'

### 6.2.165 संज्ञायां मित्राजिनयोः

*saṃjñāyām mitrājinayoḥ*

/ *saṃjñāyām* 7/1 *mitrājinayoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*)

(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *bahuvrīhau* #162)

*saṃjñāyām viśaye bahuvrīhau samāse* 'mitra, ajina' *ity etayor uttarapadayor anta udātto bhavati*

The last syllable of the final constituents *mitra* 'friend' and *ajina* 'deer-skin', in a *bahuvrīhi* compound, are marked *udātta* when the derivate denotes a name.

#### EXAMPLES:

*dgvaṃmitraḥ* 'a name'

*brahmaṃmitraḥ* 'ibidem'

*vrkājīnaḥ* 'ibidem'

*kṛṣṇājīnaḥ* 'ibidem'

1. A *vārttika* (*ṛṣipratīṣedho mitre*) blocks this accentual provision in a *bahuvrīhi* compound where *mitra* 'friend' follows and the derivate signifies a sage (*ṛṣi*).

### 6.2.166 व्यवायिनोऽन्तरम्

*vyavāyino' ntaram*

/ *vyavāyinaḥ* 5/3 *antaram* 1/1

(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *bahuvrīhau* #162)

*vyavadhātṛvācīnaḥ paramantaram uttarapadaṃ bahuvrīhau samāse* 'ntodātto bhavati

The final syllable of *antara* 'intervening', when combining in a *bahuvrīhi* compound to follow a constituent denoting *vyavāya* 'intervention, obstacle', is marked *udātta*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*vastrāntaraḥ* 'that which is intervened by clothing'

*paṭāntaraḥ* 'ibidem'

1. Consider *ātmāntaraḥ* = *ātmā svabhāvo' ntaraḥ yasyāsau saḥ* 'he whose nature is different' as a counter-example where *antara* 'different' does not mean *vyavāya* 'intervention'.

### 6.2.167 मुखं स्वाङ्गम्

*mukhaṃ svāṅgam*

/ mukham 1/1 svāṅgam 1/1/

/(udāttah #64 uttarapadasya #111 antah #143 bahuvrīhau #162)

mukham uttarapadaṃ svāṅgavāci bahuvrīhau samāse' ntodāttam bhavati

The last syllable of a final constituent, namely mukha 'face', when combined in a bahuvrīhi compound signifying svāṅga 'one's own limb', is marked udātta.

#### EXAMPLES:

gauramukhaḥ 'one whose face is fair'

bhadrāmukhaḥ 'one whose face is auspicious'

1. Refer to my notes under 5.1.54 svāṅgac copasarjanāt for svāṅga. This accentual provision will not apply to dīrghamukhā of dīrghamukhā śālā 'house with a large door' because mukha does not denote svāṅga.

#### 6.2.168 नाव्ययदिकशब्दगोमहत्स्थूलमुष्टिप्रथुवत्सेभ्यः

nāvyayadikśabdagomahatsthūlamuṣṭiprṛthuvatsebhyah

/ na φ avyaya-dikśabda-go-mahat-sthūla-muṣṭi-prṛthu-vatsebhyah 5/3 = avyaya . . . vatsah (itar. dv.), tebhyah/

(udāttah #64 uttarapadasya #111 antah #143 bahuvrīhau #162 mukham svāṅgam #167)

'avyaya, dikśabda, go, mahat, sthūla, muṣṭi, prṛthu, vatsa' ity etebhyah param mukham svāṅgavāci bahuvrīhau samāse nāntodāttam bhavati

The last syllable of mukha 'face', in a bahuvrīhi compound formed with the signification of svāṅga 'one's own limb', is marked udātta when mukha combines after avyaya 'indeclinable', dikśabda 'directional names', go 'cow', mahat 'great', sthūla 'huge', muṣṭi 'fist' and prṛthu 'fat, chubby'.

#### EXAMPLES:

uccairmukhaḥ 'he whose face is high'

nīccairmukhaḥ 'he whose face is low'

prāṇmukhaḥ 'he who is facing east'

pratyaṇmukhaḥ 'he who is facing west'

gomukhaḥ 'he whose face is like that of a cow'

māhāmukhaḥ 'he whose face is big'

sthūlamukhaḥ 'he whose face is thick'

muṣṭimukhaḥ 'he whose face resemble a fist'

prṛthumukhaḥ 'he whose face is wide'

vātsamukhaḥ 'he whose face is like that of a calf'

1. This negation is made against positive provision of the preceding rule. Consequently, 6.2.1 bahuvrīhau prakṛtyā . . . allows initial constituents to retain their original accent. Recall that uccaiḥ and nīcaiḥ are listed in the svarādi

(1.1.37 *svarādi nipātam avyayam*) group and are marked *udātta* at the end. Refer to derivational details of *prāñ* under the appendix of 3.2.59 *ṛtvigdadhrk*. . . Refer also to 6.2.52 *anigantoñcato*. . ., whereby *pra* is offered retention of its original accent. Rule 6.2.38 *gatikārakopapadhāt*. . . offers *kṛt*-accent to *pratyāñ*. Refer to notes under 6.2.4 *gādhalaṇayoh*. . . and 6.2.38 *mahāñ brīhyaparāhña*. . . for derivational details of examples with *go* and *mahat*, respectively. The word *sthūla* is a derivate of *aC* (3.1.134 *nanddigrahipacādy*. . .). It is marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent (3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*). The word *muṣṭi* 'fist', derived with *KtiC* introduced after *muṣ* 'to steal', is also marked *udātta* at the end (6.1.163? *citaḥ*). Similar final *udātta* is also found in *prthu* and *vatsa*, derived with affixes *Ku* (*Uṇādi* I:28: *prathimradi*. . .) and *sa* (*Uṇādi* III:62: *ṛtvuacivasi*. . .), respectively.

### 6.2.169 निष्ठोपमानादन्यतरस्याम्

*niṣṭhopamānād anyatarasyām*

/ *niṣṭhopamānāt* 5/1 = *niṣṭhā ca upamānam ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt; anyatarasyām* 7/1/

(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *bahuvrīhau* #162 *mukhaṃ svāṅgam* #167)

*niṣṭhāntād upamānavācinaś ca mukhaṃ svāṅgam uttarapadam bahuvrīhau samāse' nyatarasyām udātto bhavati*

The last syllable of *mukha* 'face', in a *bahuvrīhi* compound formed with the signification of *svāṅga*, is optionally marked with *udātta* when it combines after a constituent ending in a *niṣṭhā* suffix, or denoting an *upamāna* 'standard of comparison'.

#### EXAMPLES:

*prakṣālītamukhaḥ* 'he who has washed his face'

*prakṣālītamúkhaḥ* 'ibidem'

*prakṣālītamukhaḥ* 'ibidem'

*siṃhamukhaḥ* 'he whose face is like that of a lion's'

*siṃhamúkhaḥ* 'ibidem'

*vyāghramukhaḥ* 'he whose face is like that of a tiger's'

*vyāghramúkhaḥ* 'ibidem'

1. Note that we find three accentual provisions for *prakṣālītamukham*. Our present rule offers the option of final *udātta*. We will get an *udātta* at the end of the preceding constituent by 6.2.110 *niṣṭhopasarga*. . . if this option is not accepted. But since 6.2.110 *niṣṭhopasarga*. . . is also made optional to 6.2.49 *gātiranantaraḥ* we will get the original accent of initial constituents retained.

The word *siṃha* is a derivate of *aC*, introduced after *hiṃs* (3.1.134 *nandigrahipacādy*. . .). The *h* and *s* of *hiṃs* are switched in view of 6.3.107 *prṣodarādīni*. . . The word *vyāghra* is a derivate of *Ka*, introduced after *ghrā*

‘to smell’ used with the preverb *vi* (3.1.136 *ātaś copasarge*). These words both are marked with *udātta* at the end by affixal accent.

6.2.170 जातिकालसुखादिभ्यो ऽ नाच्छादनात् क्तो ऽ कृतमितप्रतिपन्नाः

*jātikālasukhādibhyo' nācchādanāt kto' kṛtamitapratipannāḥ*  
*/jāti-kāla-sukhādibhyaḥ 5/3 = sukha ādir yeṣām (bv.); jātiś ca kālaś ca*  
*sukhādayaś ca (itar. dv. with int. bv.); an-ācchādanāt 5/1 = na ācchādanam*  
*(nañ.), tasmāt; ktaḥ 1/1 a-kṛta-mita-pratipannāḥ 1/3 = kṛtaś ca mitaś ca*  
*pratipannaś ca (itar. dv.); na kṛtamitapratipannāḥ (nañ. with int. dv.)/*  
*(udāttah #64 uttarapadasya #111 antah #143 bahuvrīhau #162)*  
*jātivācina ācchādanavarjitāt kālavācinaḥ sukhādibhyaś ca param ktāntam*  
*kṛtamitapratipannān varjayitvā bahuvrīhau samāse' nṛdāttam bhavati*  
 The last syllable in the final constituent of a *bahuvrīhi*, namely one which ends in *Kta* but is not *kṛta* ‘done’, *mita* ‘measured’ and *pratipanna* ‘promised’, is marked with *udātta* when it combines after a constituent denoting *jāti* ‘class’, though not used with the signification of *ācchādana* ‘covering’ and *kāla* ‘time’, or, enumerated in the list headed by *sukha* ‘comfort, pleasure’.

EXAMPLES:

*sārṅgajagdhah* ‘he who has eaten onions’  
*palāṇḍubhaksitaḥ* ‘ibidem’  
*māsaajātaḥ* ‘born a month ago’  
*samvatsarajātaḥ* ‘born a year ago’  
*sukhajātaḥ* ‘he whose happiness has appeared’  
*dukhajātaḥ* ‘he whose misery has appeared’

1. Note that *sukhādi* refers to the listing of nominals under 3.1.18 *sukhādibhyaḥ*. . . This rule is again an exception to 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau*. . . A *bahuvrīhi* compound with *kṛta*, *mita* and *pratipanna* as its final constituent will avail accentual provisions of 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau*. . . Thus, consider *kūṇḍakṛtaḥ* ‘he by who a *kūṇḍa* is made’, *kūṇḍamitaḥ* ‘he by who a *kūṇḍa* was measured’ and *kūṇḍapratipannaḥ* ‘he by who a *kūṇḍa* was promised’. Recall that a *niṣṭhā* constituent is placed first in a *bahuvrīhi* compound (2.2.36 *niṣṭhā*). This rule serves as a *jñāpaka* for their postplacement (*paranipāta*).

6.2.171 वा जाते

*vā jāte*  
*/vā φ jāte 7/1/*  
*(udāttah #64 uttarapadasya #111 antah #143 bahuvrīhau #162 jāti-*  
*kālasukhādibhyaḥ #170)*  
*jātaśabda uttarapade vā' nta udātto havati bahuvrīhau samāse jāti-*  
*kālasukhādibhyaḥ*



The final syllable of a following constituent, namely *jāta* 'born' in a *bahuvrīhi* compound, is optionally marked with *udātta* when *jāta* combines after a constituent denoting *jāti* 'class', though not used with the signification of *ācchādana* and *kāla*, or, enumerated in the list headed by *sukha*.

EXAMPLES:

*dantajātaḥ* 'he whose teeth have appeared'  
*dantajātaḥ* 'ibidem'  
*stanajātaḥ* 'a man whose breasts have appeared?'  
*stanajātaḥ* 'ibidem'  
*māsajātaḥ* 'one month old'  
*māsajātaḥ* 'ibidem'  
*saṃvatsarajātaḥ* 'one year old'  
*saṃvatsarajātaḥ* 'ibidem'  
*sukhajātaḥ* 'he whose happiness has appeared'  
*sukhajātaḥ* 'ibidem'  
*duḥkhajātaḥ* 'he whose misery has appeared'  
*duḥkhajātaḥ* 'ibidem'

1. This option is offered in favor of retention proposal of 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau*. . . . The word *danta*, as a derivate of *dam* 'to crush down' with *taN* (*Uṇādi* III:86: *hasimgrīṇvāmi* . . .), is marked *udātta* at the beginning. Similar accent is available to *stana* 'breat' as a derivate of *ghaṆ*, where *a* of verbal root *stana* is deleted by 6.4.48 *ato lopah*. Both *danta* and *stana* receive their accent from 6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*. The word *māsa* 'month', as a derivate of *GHaṆ*, is also marked *udātta* at the beginning. But *saṃvatsara* 'year', a derivate of *saraN* (*Uṇādi* III:72: *sampūrvāc cit*), is marked with *udātta* at the end (6.1.160 *citah*). The words *sukha* and *duḥkha* are derivatives of *Ḍa* (3.2.101 *anyeṣv ap* . . .), introduced after *khan* used with *su* and *dus*. They are thus marked with *udātta* at the end by affixal accent. They also go through *ṭi*-deletion of *an* (6.4.143 *ṭeh*).

6.2.172 नञ्सुभ्याम्

*nañsubhyām*  
*/nañsubhyām 5/2 (itar. dv.)/*  
*(udāttaḥ #64 uttarapadasya #111 antaḥ #143 bahuvrīhau #162)*  
*nañsubhyām param uttaraṃ bahuvrīhau samāse 'ntodāttaṃ bhavati*  
 The final constituent of a *bahuvrīhi* compound which combines after *naṆ* and *su* is marked with *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

*avyavo deśaḥ* 'a place where barley is not produced'

*avṛ̥hiḥ* 'a place where rice is not produced'

*amāṣaḥ* 'a place where Mung beans are not produced'

*syavah* 'a place where good barley is produced'

*svṛ̥hiḥ* 'a place where good rice is produced'

1. Note that the final *udātta* applies to *samāsa* 'compound', even when *uttarapada* 'final constituent *pada*' and *samāsa* are both specified in this rule. This is what is desired (*samāsasyaitadantodāttam iṣyate*). This is how *anṛcaḥ* 'without *ṛk*' and *bahvṛcaḥ* 'with many *ṛk*', which end in the *samāsānta* affix *a* (5.4.74 *ṛkṣpūrabdhūḥ* . . .), will be marked *udātta* at the end. The *samāsānta* affix has to be accepted as part of the compound. That a reference with *samāsa* also includes its *samāsānta* affix, and also that this accentual provision is made with reference to *samāsa*, is made clear by the next rule. That is, there was no need to formulate 6.2.173 *kapi pūrvam* if this rule had to apply only with reference to *uttarapade*. An example such as *sukūmāriko deśaḥ* 'a place with beautiful girls' could have been accounted for by this rule. Affix *KaP* could have been thus excluded. Obviously, there was no need to specify *kapi pūrvam*. It also establishes that a *samāsānta* affix is considered part of *samāsa*, and not *uttarapada* (*samāsāntāḥ samāsasyaivāvayavā nottarapadasya*).

#### 6.2.173 कपि पूर्वम्

*kapi pūrvam*

*kapi* 1/1 *pūrvam* 1/1/

(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *bahuvrīhau* #162 *naṅsubhyām* #172)

*naṅsubhyām kapi parataḥ pūrvam antodāttam bhavati*

A syllable which precedes the *samāsānta* affix *kaP* of a *bahuvrīhi* compound is marked with *udātta* when its final constituent combines after *naṅ* and *su*, and affix *kaP* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*akumārīkó deśaḥ* 'a place where there are no virgins'

*avṛ̥ṣalīkáh* 'a place with no bad *vṛ̥śalas* (*śūdras*)'

*abrahmabāndhūkáh* 'a place with no unworthy *brāhmaṇas*'

*sukumārīkaḥ* 'a place with virgins in abundance'

*svṛ̥ṣalīkáh* 'a place with good *vṛ̥śalas*'

*subrahmabāndhūkáh* 'a place where good *brāhmaṇas* live'

1. Affix *KaP* is introduced by 5.4.153 *nadyrtaś ca*. This final *udātta* was available to *KaP* from the preceding rule. That is, by accepting *KaP* as final of the compound. Our present rule offers final *udātta* to the vowel which precedes *KaP*.

## 6.2.174 ह्रस्वान्तेऽन्यात् पूर्वम्

*hrasvānte' ntyāt pūrvam*

*/hrasvānte 7/1 = hrasvo' ntaḥ yasya (bv.); antyāt 5/1 pūvam 1/1*

*(udāttah #64 uttarapadasya #111 antah #143 bahuvrīhau #162 naṅsubhyām #172 kapi #173)*

*hrasvo' anto yasya tad idam hrasvāntam uttarapadam samāso vā, tatrāntyāt pūrvam udāttam bhavati kapi parato naṅsubhyām param bahuvrīhau samāse*

The next to the last syllable of a final *bahuvrīhi* constituent which ends in a short vowel (*hrasva*), and combines after *naṅ* and *su*, is marked *udātta* when *kaP* follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*ayavāko deśaḥ* 'a place where barley is not produced'

*avṛhikaḥ* 'a place where rice is not produced'

*amāśakaḥ* 'a place where Mung beans are not produced'

*suayavākaḥ* 'a place where good barley is produced'

*suṛhikaḥ* 'a place where good rice is produced'

*sumāśakaḥ* 'a place where good Mung beans are produced'

1. Our preceding rule offers *udātta* to the final vowel of the final compound constituent under the condition of the *samāsānta* affix *KaP*. This rule offers *udātta* to next to the last vowel of a following constituent. Again, when the *samāsānta* affix *KaP* followed and the final compound constituent ended in a short (*hrasva*) vowel. Affix *KaP* in *ayavakaḥ*, etc., is optionally introduced by 5.4.154 *śeṣād vibhāṣā*.

## 6.2.175 बहोर्नञ्वदुत्तरपदभूमि

*bahor naṅvad uttarapadabhūmni*

*/bahoh 5/1 naṅvat φ uttarapadabhūmni 7/1 = uttarapadasya bhūmā (ṣaṣ. tat.), tasmin/*

*(udāttah #64 uttarapadasya #111 antah #143 bahuvrīhau #162)*

*uttarapadārthabahutve yo bahuśabdo varittate tasmān naṅ iva svaro bhavati*

The final constituent of a *bahuvrīhi* compound is accented like *naṅ* when it occurs after *bahu* 'many' used with the signification of its own multiplicity (*bahutva*).

## EXAMPLES:

*bahuyavo deśaḥ* 'a place rich in barley'

*bahuvṛhīḥ* 'a place rich in rice'

*bahutīlaḥ* 'a place rich in sesame'

*bahukumārīkāḥ (deśaḥ)* 'a place with beautiful girls in abundance'

*bahuyavāko deśaḥ* 'a place with barley in abundance'

*bahuvrīhikāḥ* 'a place with rice in abundance'

*bahujarāḥ* 'a place full of old people'

*bahumarāḥ* 'a place full of dying people'

1. The accentual provision of 6.2.172 *naṅsubhyām*, under special meaning conditions, is here extended also after *bahu*. An absence of multiplicity of meaning, as in *bahuṣu manāḥ asya saḥ ayam* = *bahumānā* 'he whose mind is into many things', cannot avail this extensional provision. The compound will retain the original accent of its initial constituent.

#### 6.2.176 न गुणादयो ऽवयवाः

*na guṇādayo' vayavāḥ*

/ *na*  $\phi$  *guṇādayaḥ* 1/3 = *guṇa ādir yeṣām* (*bu.*); *avayavāḥ* 1/3

(*udāttah* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *bahuvrīhau* #162 *bahoḥ* #175)

*guṇādayo' vayavavācino bahor uttare bahuvrīhau nāntodāttā bhavanti*

The final constituents which, in a *bahuvrīhi* compound, combine after *bahu*, and are enumerated in the list headed by *guṇa*, are not marked *udātta* at the end.

#### EXAMPLES:

*bahugūṇā rajjuḥ* 'a rope with many strands'

*bahvākṣaram padam* 'a polysyllabic word'

*bahusūktāḥ* 'a text with many hymns'

*bahvādhyāyāḥ* 'a text with many chapters'

1. This rule blocks the extensional provision of the preceding rule under specified membership of a following constituent. Note that *bahu*, as a derivate of *Ku* (*Uṇādi* I.29 *laṅghibamhyor* . . .), is marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent. The *anudātta* *a* of *akṣaram* 'imperishable', occurring after the *v* replacement of *u*, will be marked *svarita* (8.2.4 *udāttasvaritayor* . . .).

The condition of *avayava* 'part of a whole', relative to the meaning of a following constituent, is important. Thus, *bahugūṇo brāhmaṇaḥ* 'a brāhmaṇa with many qualities' will serve as a counter-example since *guṇa* here denotes 'quality', and not any 'part (of a whole)'. This compound will avail the accentual provision of the earlier rule.

2. Note that *guṇādi* 'guṇa, etc.' is not a listing of *gaṇa*, per se. It is accepted as an open-ended group (*ākṛtigāṇa*).

#### 6.2.177 उपसर्गात् स्वाङ्गं ध्रुवमपरः

*upasargāt svāṅgam dhruvam aparśuḥ*

/ *upasargāt* 5/1 *svāṅgam* 1/1 *dhruvam* 1/1 *aparśuḥ* 1/1 (*nañ.*)/

(*udāttah* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *bahuvrīhau* #162)

*upasargāt svāṅgam dhruvam parśur varjita antodāttam bhavati*

The final constituent of a *bahuvrīhi* compound which signifies *svāṅga* 'one's limb' qualified with *dhruva* 'remaining in the same form', but is not constituted by *parśuḥ* 'ribs' though occurs in combination after a preverb (*upasarga*), is marked with *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

*praṇṛṣṭhaḥ* 'a man with a protuberant back'

*prodarāḥ* 'a man with a pot-belly'

*pralālāṭaḥ* 'a man with a high forehead'

1. The word *dhruva* is explained as *ekarūpam* 'that which stays in a fixed form'. *Kāśikā* offers *udbāhuḥ* (*krośati*) 'curse with his hands raised' as a counter-example to *dhruva*. Obviously, since hands are raised when cursing. Note that *parśu* 'ribs' is made an exception because it denotes *svāṅga*. Thus *utparśuḥ* and *viparśuḥ* will avail the retention proposal of 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau*. . . . Finally, a compound such as *darśanīyalālāṭaḥ* 'he whose forehead is beautiful' will also form a counter-example since *lālāṭa* does not occur after a preverb (*upasarga*).

2. The word *upasargāt* 'after a preverb' is carried through 6.2.195 *sor avakṣeṣaṇe*.

6.2.178 वनं समासे

/vanam samāse

/vanam1/1 samāse 7/1/

(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *upasargāt* #177)

*samāsamātre* 'vanam' *ity etad uttarapadam upasargāt param antodāttaṃ bhavati*

A final compound constituent, namely *vana* 'forest' which combines after a preverb (*upasarga*), is marked *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

*pravaṇe* 'in a beautiful forest; at a sloping place'

*nirvaṇe* 'in the clearing of a forest; at a level place'

1. The words *pravaṇa* and *nirvaṇa*, in a ritual context, refer to a ground which is 'low on one side' and 'level on the other', respectively. The compounds can be interpreted as *bahuvrīhi* and *tatpuruṣa* both. Thus, *prakṛṣṭam vanam asya* 'he whose forest is beautiful' and *prakṛṣṭam vanam* 'beautiful forest'. The *n* of *vana* is replaced with *ṇ*, of 8.4.5 *pranirantaḥ śare*. . . . The word *samāsa* is used here to impair the restrictive condition of *bahuvrīhau*. The accentual provision then applies to compounds in general.

6.2.179 अन्तः

*antaḥ*

/ antaḥ 1/1/

(udāttāḥ #64 uttarapadasya #111 antaḥ #143 vanam #178)

antaś śabdād uttaram vanam antodāttam bhavati

A final compound constituent, namely *vana*, which combines after *antar* 'within' is marked *udātta* at the end.

#### EXAMPLES:

antarvaṇo deśaḥ 'a place with a forest within'

1. This rule is formulated for examples where *vana* may not be used after an *upasarga* 'preverb' (*anupasargārtha ārambhaḥ*). Our compound example is a *bahuvrīhi*. The *n* of *vana* is again replaced with *ṇ*, as explained under the preceding rule. Recall that *antar* is an indeclinable (*avyaya*), listed as part of the *svarādi* group of nominals (1.1.37 *svarādinipātam avyayam*).

#### 6.2.180 अन्तश्च

antaś ca

/ antaḥ 1/1 ca φ/

(udāttāḥ #64 uttarapadasya #111 antaḥ #143 upasargāt #177)

antaś śabdaś cottarapadam upasargād atodāttam bhavati

A final compound constituent, namely *antaḥ* 'end' which occurs in combination after a preverb (*upasarga*), is also marked with *udātta* at the end.

#### EXAMPLES:

prāntaḥ 'edge, extremity'

pariyantaḥ 'extremity, circumference'

1. These compounds can be interpreted as *prādi* (*prakṛṣṭam antaḥ*) and *bahuvrīhi* (*prakṛṣṭam antaḥ yasya*), both. The word *anta* is thus marked *udātta* at the end.

#### 6.2.181 न निविभ्याम्

na nivibhyām

/ na φ nivibhyām 5/2 (itar. dv.)/

(udāttāḥ #64 uttarapadasya #111 antaḥ #143 upasargāt #177 antaḥ #180)

A final compound constituent, namely *antaḥ* 'end' which occurs in combination after the preverbs *ni* and *vi*, is not marked with *udātta* at the end.

#### EXAMPLES:

nyāntaḥ 'proximity'

vyāntaḥ 'separated, distant'

1. This negation applies against the positive provision of final *udātta* of our preceding rule. That is, *anta* combines after the two preverbs (*upasargāt*): *ni* and *vi*. These preverbs are both marked with *udātta* at the beginning (*Phīṣūtra* 80: *upasargāś* . . .). The negation of this rule will make 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau prakṛtyā* . . . apply. Recall, however, that a replacement in *y* (*yaṇādeśa*) for *i* of *ni* and *vi* will cause the following *a* to be marked with *svārita* (8.2.4 *udāttasvaritayor* . . .). A *taṭpuruṣa* interpretation of compounds will still accomplish the same accentuation. The retention proposal will then be in consonance with 6.2.2 *taṭpuruṣe tulyārtha* . . .

#### 6.2.182 परेरभितोभावि मण्डलम्

*parer abhitobhāvi maṇḍalam*

/pareḥ 5/1 abhitobhāvi 1/1 = *abhito bhavanam asyāsti* (a derivate of *inI* denoting the sense of *matUP*) *maṇḍalam* 1/1/

(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *upasargāt* #177)

*parer uttaram abhitobhāvavācīnam maṇḍalam cāntodāttam bhavati*

A final compound constituent which combines after the preverb *pari* and which either denotes the sense of *abhitobhāvin* ‘that which, by nature, is found on both sides’, or is constituted by *maṇḍala* ‘circle’, is not marked with *udātta* at the end.

#### EXAMPLES:

*parīkūlam* ‘found on both sides of a river’

*parīṭīram* ‘ibidem’

*parīmaṇḍalam* ‘all around . . .’

1. The word *abhitobhāvin*, specified as neuter (*naṇṇasaka*), is explained as ‘that which is naturally found on both sides’. Thus, *kūla* ‘(river) bank’ and *ṭīra* ‘edge’. A separate specification of *maṇḍala* ‘circle’ is made since it cannot qualify as having the signification of two sides only. A *taṭpuruṣa* or *bahuvrīhi* interpretation of these compounds will yield accentuation similar to one explained under the previous rule. An *avyayībhāva* interpretation will make this final *udātta* provision go against the retention proposal of 6.2.33 *paripratyupāpā varjyamānā* . . .

#### 6.2.183 प्रादस्वाङ्गं संज्ञायाम्

*prād asvāṅgam saṃjñāyām*

/prāt 5/1 asvāṅgam 1/1 = *na svāṅgam* (*nañ.*); *saṃjñāyām* 7/1/

(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *upasargāt* #177)

*prād uttarapadam asvāṅgavācī saṃjñāyām viśaye* ‘ntodāttam bhavati

A final compound constituent which does not denote *svāṅga* and combines after the preverb *pra* is marked with *udātta* at the end, provided the derivate signifies a name (*saṃjñā*).

## EXAMPLES:

*prakṣṣṭham* ‘enclosure, courtyard’  
*pragr̥ham* ‘a beautiful house’  
*prāvāram* ‘space in front of an entrance’

1. Note that *prahastam* ‘hand-print’, *prapadam* ‘foot-print’ and *prapīṭham* ‘pretuberant back’ are offered as counter-examples to condition of *asvāṅga* ‘not one’s own limb’ and *asaṃjñā* ‘non-name’, respectively.

## 6.2.184 निरुदकादीनि च

*nirudakādīni ca*  
 / *nirudakādīni* 1/3 = *nirudakam ādi yeṣām* (bv.); *ca* φ/  
 (udāttaḥ #64 uttarapadasya #111 antaḥ #143)  
*nirudakādīni ca śabdarūpāṇy antodāttāni bhavanti*

The final compound constituents enumerated in the list headed by *nirudaka* ‘arid; without water’ are also marked *udātta* at the end.

## EXAMPLES:

*nirudakam* ‘a place with no water’  
*nirmakṣikam* ‘a place with no flies’  
*nirmaśakam* ‘a place with no mosquitoes’  
*niṣkālakāḥ* ‘timeless’

1. These compounds can be interpreted as *prādi-tatpuruṣa*, or *bahuvrīhi*, both. A *bahuvrīhi*, paraphrased as *nirgatam udakam asmāt* ‘that from which water has disappeared’, will be marked *udātta* at the end, against provisions of 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau*. . . . A *prādi-tatpuruṣa* interpretation, paraphrased as *nirgatam udakam* ‘flowed-out water’ or *nirgatam udakāt* ‘gone out from water’ will receive this accentual provision against 6.2.2 *tatpuruṣe tulyārtha*. . . . An *avyayībhāva* interpretation is not intended. For, an *avyayībhāva* compound can avail final *udātta* by 6.1.220 *samāsasya*.

2. Note that *nirudakādi* is also accepted as an open-ended listing (*ākṛtiḡaṇa*). This will facilitate final *udātta* for a compound formed with *hasta* ‘hand’, *pāda* ‘foot’, *keśa* ‘hair’ and *karṣa* ‘pull’, used in combination after *pari*.

## 6.2.185 अभेर्मुखम्

*abher mukham*  
 / *abheḥ* 5/1 *mukham* 1/1/  
 (udāttaḥ #64 uttarapadasya #111 antaḥ #143 upasargāt #177)  
*abher uttaram mukham antodāttam bhavati*

A final compound constituent, namely *mukha* ‘face’ which combines after the preverb *abhi*, is marked *udātta* at the end.



## EXAMPLES:

*abhiṃmukhaḥ* 'facing'

1. This rule is formulated for non-*bahuvrīhi* compounds. Even within a *bahuvrīhi* interpretation, it is formulated for compounds where conditions of *dhrūva* 'fixed' and *svāṅga* 'one's own limb' are not met (6.2.177 *upasargāt svāṅgaṃ dhrūvam aparśuḥ*). Thus, consider *abhiṃmukhā śālā* 'a house in front', where *mukha* does not denote *svāṅga* 'one's limb'. This rule thus assigns final *udātta*. The examples can be interpreted both as *prādi* and *avyayībhāva*, paraphrased as *abhigataṃ mukham* 'beautiful face' and *abhigataṃ mukham asya* 'he whose face is beautiful', respectively. Here again the example cannot be interpreted as an *avyayībhāva*.

## 6.2.186 अपाच्च

*apāc ca*

/apāt 5/1 ca φ/

(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *upasargāt* #177 *mukham* #185)

*apāc cottaraṃ mukham antodāttaṃ bhavati*

A final compound constituent, namely *mukha* which combines after the preverb *apa*, is also marked with *udātta* at the end.

## EXAMPLES:

*apamukhaḥ* 'he who has a bad face'

*apamukham* 'bad face'

1. These examples can be interpreted three ways: *bahuvrīhi* = *apagataṃ mukham asmāt* '... he whose face is crooked', *prādi* = *apagataṃ mukham* 'crooked face' and *avyayībhāva* = *apa mukhāt* 'excluding the face' (2.1.11 *apaparibahir...*). An *avyayībhāva* compound will receive final *udātta* against retention proposal of 6.2.33 *paripratyupāpā...*

2. A *yogavibhāga* 'split formulation' of this rule is intended for the *anuvṛtti* of *apa* in the following rule.

## 6.2.187 स्फिगपूतवीणाञ्जोऽध्वकुक्षिसीरनामनाम च

*sphigapūtavīṇāñjo* 'dhwakukṣisīranāmanāma ca

/sphiga-pūta-vīṇā-añjas-adhvan-kukṣisīranāmanāma 1/1 = sīrasya nāma (śaṣ. tat.); sphiga... nāma (saṃ dv.); ca φ/

(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *upasargāt* #177 *apāt* #186) 'sphiga, pūta, vīṇā, añjas, adhvan, kukṣi' ity etāṇy uttarapadāni sīranāmāni ca nāmaśabdas ca apād uttarāṇy antodātṭāni bhavanti

The final compound constituents, namely *sphiga* 'hip, buttock', *pūta*

‘ibidem’, *viṇā* ‘Indian lute’, *añjas* ‘unguent’, *adhvan* ‘road’, *kuksi* ‘stomach, lap’ and *nāma* ‘name’, or those which may have names of plows as their denotatum, are marked with *udātta* at the end when they occur in combination after the preverb *apa*.

EXAMPLES:

*apasphigam* ‘malformed buttocks’  
*apapūtam* ‘ibidem’  
*apaviṇam* ‘without a Viṇā; bad Viṇā’  
*apāñjah* ‘dishonest’  
*apādhvā* ‘bad road’  
*apakukṣiḥ* ‘bad belly’  
*apasīrah* ‘bad plough’  
*apahalam* ‘ibidem’  
*apanāma* ‘someone with a bad reputation; bad name’

1. These compounds can be interpreted as *prādi*, *bahuvrīhi* and *karmadhāraya-tatpuruṣa*. A *bahuvrīhi* interpretation, i.e., with *sphiga*, *pūta* and *kuksi*, must be made outside the context of 6.2.177 *upasargāt svāṅgam*. . . . The final *udātta* provision of this rule applies only when the *samāsānta* affix *aC*, for example in *apādhvā* ‘badpath’, is not introduced by 5.4.85 *upasargād adhvanah*. A compound with a *samāsānta* affix marked with *C* as an *it* could have received the final *udātta* of 6.1.160 *citah*, anyway. This also indicates that *samāsānta* affixes are non-obligatory (*anītya*), i.e., optional. If they were obligatory, *adhvan* ‘road’ would not have been listed here.

6.2.188 अधेरुपरिस्थम्

*adher uparistham*  
 / *adheḥ* 5/1 *uparistham* 1/1 = *upari tiṣṭhatīti*/  
 (*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *upasargāt* #177)  
*adher uttaram uparisthavāci antodāttaṃ bhavati*

A final compound constituent which combines after the preverb *adhi* and denotes the sense of *uparistha* ‘sitting on top’ is marked *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

*adhīdantah* ‘a tooth on top of another’  
*adhīkarmah* ‘an ear on top of another’  
*adhīkeśah* ‘a hair with its root shared by another’

1. The word *uparisthaḥ* is explained as ‘one sitting on top of another’. Thus, *adhyārūḍho dantah* ‘a tooth on top of another’, a *prādi* compound (*vt. prādayo gatādyartho prathamayā ad* 1.4.79 *jīvikopaniṣadād* . . .). This compound

can also be interpreted as a *vyadhikaraṇa* 'appositional' *bahuvrīhi* with *ārūḍhaḥ* 'sitting on', with its following constituent (*uttarapada*) gone through deletion (*lopa*).

A counter-example to the condition of *uparisthaḥ* is offered in *adhikarāṇam* 'substratum, locus'.

#### 6.2.189 अनोरप्रधानकनीयसी

*anor apradhānakanīyasī*

/ *anoh* 5/1 *apradhāna-kanīyasī* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*)/

(*udāttah* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antah* #143 *upasargāt* #177)

*anor uttaram apradhānavāci kanīyaś cāntodāttam bhavati*

A final compound constituent which occurs in combination after the preverb *anu* is marked with *udātta* at the end, when the same denotes the sense of *apradhāna* 'non-principal', or is constituted by *kanīyas* 'younger'.

#### EXAMPLES:

*anujyēṣṭhaḥ* 'one who follows the eldest'

*anumadhyamaḥ* 'one who follows the middle one'

*anukāṇīyān* 'a young who follows his elders'

1. Note that, as indicated by paraphrases of these compounds, *jyēṣṭha* 'eldest' and *madhyama* 'middle, intermediate' are non-principal (*apradhāna*). Thus, *anugataḥ jyēṣṭham* = *anujyēṣṭhaḥ* 'one who followed the eldest' and *anugataḥ madhyamam* = *anumadhyamaḥ* 'one who followed the middle one'. A separate specification of *kanīyas* is needed because it is principal. Thus, *anugataḥ kāṇīyān* 'the young followed the elders'. There was no need for a separate specification of *kanīyas* if it was intended to be non-principal. For, the *apradhāna* 'non-principal' specification of this rule could account for it. Thus, *anugataḥ kāṇīyāṃsam* = *anukāṇīyān* 'one who followed the young ones'. A counter-example for the condition of *apradhāna* will have *anujyēṣṭhaḥ*, paraphrased as *anugataḥ jyēṣṭhaḥ* 'the eldest followed the younger one'. The *udātta* of *anu*, an indeclinable, will be retained here.

#### 6.2.190 पुरुषश्चांवादिष्टः

*puruṣaścānvādiṣṭaḥ*

/ *puruṣaḥ* 1/1 *ca*  $\phi$  *anvādiṣṭaḥ* 1/1 = *paścād ādiṣṭaḥ*/

(*udāttah* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antah* #143 *upasargāt* #177 *anoh* #189)

A final compound constituent, namely *puruṣa* 'man', which occurs in combination after *anu* with the signification of *anvādiṣṭa* 'secondary mention' is also marked with *udātta* at the end.

## EXAMPLES:

*anvādiṣṭaḥ puruṣaḥ* = *anupuruṣaḥ* ‘one who was asked subsequently . . . ; a man who was asked to do something after something (or someone) else’

1. The word *anvādiṣṭa* is explained as *apradhānaśiṣṭa* ‘not specified as principal’ and *kathitānukathita* ‘specified subsequently to something else’. Thus, consider *bhikṣām aṭa gāñ cānaya* ‘go beg for alms, also fetch the cow’. Note that ‘begging for alms’ is here accepted as ‘principal’. Fetching the cow is secondary. A counter-example to the condition of *anvādiṣṭa* will be *anugataḥ jyeṣṭhaḥ* = *anújyeṣṭhaḥ* ‘one who follows . . .’. The indeclinable will retain its original accent.

## 6.2.191 अतेरकृत्यदे

*ater akṛtpade*

/ateḥ 5/1 akṛtpade 1/2 = na kṛt (nañ); akṛt ca padaṁ ca (itar. dv.), tasmin/ (udāttaḥ #64 uttarapadasya #111 antaḥ #143 upasargāt #177)

*ateḥ param akṛdantaṁ padaśabdaś cāntodāttaḥ bhavati*

A final compound constituent which combines after the preverb *ati*, does not end in a *kṛt* affix (*akṛte*), or else, is constituted by *pada* ‘foot’, is marked *udātta* at the end.

## EXAMPLES:

*atyāñkuśo nāgaḥ* ‘an elephant gone beyond the control of the hook’

*atikāśo śvaḥ* ‘a horse gone beyond the control of the whip’

1. These compounds are formed by a *vārttika* (*nirādayo krāntādyarthe* . . . ; ad 1.4.79 *jīvikopaniṣadāv* . . .). A counter-example to the condition of *akṛte* is offered as *atikāraḥ* ‘one who does things beautifully’. A *vārttika* proposes that this final *udātta* should apply after *ati* when deletion of a root is involved. Thus, *atīkrāntaḥ kārakāt* = *atīkrāntaḥ* ‘one who has gone beyond a doer’. This statement is necessary so that *śobhanaḥ gārgyaḥ* = *ātīgārgyaḥ* ‘handsome Gārgya’ can be excluded from availing the accentual provision of this rule.

## 6.2.192 नेरनिधाने

*ner anidhāne*

/neḥ 5/1 anidhāne 7/1 (nañ.)/

(udāttaḥ #64 uttarapadasya #111 antaḥ #143 upasargāt #177)

*neḥ param uttaram antodāttaṁ bhavaty anidhāne*

A final compound constituent which combines after the preverb *ni* is marked with *udātta* at the end, when the derivate signifies something other than *nidhāna* ‘not making manifest’.

## EXAMPLES:

*nīmūlam* ‘uprooted; down to the roots’

*nyākṣam* ‘down to the axle; lowly’

*niṭṛṇam* ‘down to the blade of grass’

1. Note that *ni* is a *prādi* (1.4.58 *prādayaḥ*). It denotes an action qualified with means (*sādhana* *viśiṣṭakriyā*). Actually, in integration (*vr̥tti*), this is the nature of *prādis* in general (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś*: *prādayo hi svabhāvenaiva vr̥ttiviśaye sasāadhanām kriyām āhuḥ*).

The word *nidhāna* is here used in the sense of *aprakāśatā* ‘non-manifestness’. The condition of *anidhāne* can thus be interpreted as ‘manifest’. The example compound *nīmūlam* would thus literally mean ‘down to the root’. A counter-example with a ‘non-manifest’ meaning will be *nidaṇḍaḥ* ‘with no (use of) stick (force)’.

These compounds can be interpreted as both *prādi-tatpuruṣa* and *bahuvr̥hi*. Thus, *nīmūlam* = *nigataṃ mūlam* ‘down to the root’ and *nīmūlam* = *nigataṃ mūlam asya tat* ‘that of whose root is out; uprooted’. As usual, it cannot be interpreted as an *avyayībhāva*. For, it would then have final *udātta* already available to it (6.1.220 *samāsasya*).

## 6.2.193 प्रतेरंश्वाद्यस्तत्पुरुषे

*prater aṃśvādayas tatpuruṣe*

/ *prateḥ* 5/1 *aṃśvādayaḥ* 1/3 = *aṃśur ādir yesām* (*bv.*); *tatpuruṣe* 7/1/ (*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *upasargāt* #177)

*prater aṃśvādayas tatpuruṣe samāse* ‘ntodātā bhavanti

The final compound constituents which are enumerated in the list headed by *aṃśu* ‘ray’, and combine after the preverb *prati*, are marked *udātta* in a *tatpuruṣa* compound.

## EXAMPLES:

*pratyamśuḥ* ‘refracted ray’

*pratijanaḥ* ‘an adversary’

*pratirājā* ‘king of an enemy’

1. Here again, in examples such as *pratirājā*, this accent is made available in the absence of the *samāsānta* affix *ṬaC*. Refer to my notes under 6.2.172 *naṇsubhyām* for additional details. The condition of *tatpuruṣe* is imposed so that a *bahuvr̥hi*, for example *pratigatā aṃśavo* ‘*sya* = *pratyamśur ayam uṣṭraḥ* ‘this camel (is one who) has lost his speed (energy)’’, could not avail this accentual provision.

## 6.2.194 उपाद् द्वयजजिनमगौरादयः

*upād dvyajajinam agaurādayaḥ*

/ *upāt* 5/1 *divyajajinam* 1/1 = *dvau acau yasmin* (bv.); *divyac ca ajinam ca* (sam. dv. with int. dv.); *agaurādayaḥ* 1/3 = *gaura ādir yeṣam* (bv.); *na gaurādayaḥ* (nañ. with int. bv.)/

(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *upasargāt* #177 *tatpuruṣe* #193)

*upād uttaram divyajajinam ca cāntodāttam bhavati*

A final constituent which, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, combines after the preverb *upa* and either contains two vowels though is not one enumerated in the list headed by *gaura* 'fair', or is constituted by *ajina* 'antelope-skin', is marked *udātta* at the end.

#### EXAMPLES:

*upadevāḥ* 'a little god'

*upasomāḥ* 'one who has Soma'

*upendraḥ* 'younger to Indra; Viṣṇu'

*upājīnam* 'near the antelope skin'

1. Note that the *gaurādi* nominals are excluded because they all consist of two vowels (*divyac*). The example compounds are formed by 2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ*.

#### 6.2.195 सोरवक्षेपणे

*sor avakṣepane*

/ *soh* 5/1 *avakṣepane* 7/1/

(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *upasargāt* #177 *tatpuruṣe* #193)

*suśabdāt param uttarapadam tatpuruṣe samāse* 'ntodāttam bhavati *avakṣepane gamyamāne*

A final constituent which, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, combines after *su* is marked *udātta* at the end when the derivate denotes *avakṣepaṇa* 'to look down upon, contempt'.

#### EXAMPLES:

*iha khalu idānīm susthaṇḍile susphigābhyām*

*supratyavasitaḥ* 'now, here in this beautiful place, he indeed, is back with his fattened buttocks'

1. Note that *su*, of *supratyavasitaḥ*, is here used with the sense of *pūjā* 'praise'. But the sentence does indicate *avakṣepaṇa* 'contempt'. Examples countering the conditions of *su* and *avakṣepaṇa* are offered, respectively, as *kubrāhmaṇaḥ* 'a bad brāhmaṇa' and *sutṛṇeṣu* 'in beautiful grass'. These compounds will retain the accent of their indeclinable constituents. Incidentally, the compound with *su* denoting *pūjā* is formed in consonance with a statement (*svatī pūjāyām* ad 2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ*).

## 6.2.196 विभाषोत्पुच्छे

*vibhāṣotpucche*

/vibhāsā 1/1 utpucche 7/1/

(udāttaḥ #64 uttarapadasya #111 antaḥ #143 upasargāt #177 tatpuruṣe #193)

*utpucchaśabde tatpuruṣe vibhāṣā nta udānto bhavati*

A final constituent which, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, is constituted by *utpuccha* 'raised-tail', is optionally marked *udātta* at the end.

## EXAMPLES:

*utpucchaḥ* 'gone beyond the tail'

*utpūcchaḥ* 'with raised tail'

1. Note that *utpucchaḥ* is interpreted in two ways: *utpucchaḥ* = *utkrāntaḥ pucchāt* 'gone beyond the tail' and *puccham udasyati* 'raises (its tail)', where in this latter, affix *aC* (3.3.56 *er ac*) is introduced. The first interpretation will make the accentual provision of 6.2.2 *ṭatpuruṣe tulyārtha* . . . available. Our present rule offers final *udātta* against what was not made available (*aṣṭāṣṭa*). If the second interpretation, where *aC* is introduced after a root ending in *ṆiṆ* (3.1.20 *pucchabhāṇḍa* . . .), is accepted, an obligatory final *udātta* will be available (from 6.2.143 *thāthaghañ* . . .). This rule will then make its offer of final *udātta* against what is available (*prāṣṭa*). This rule, since it makes an optional provision against what was not made available (*aṣṭāṣṭa*), and what was made available (*prāṣṭa*), is interpreted as *ubhayatra-vibhāṣā*.

## 6.2.197 द्वित्रिभ्यां पादमूर्धसु बहुव्रीहौ

*dvi-tribhyāṃ pāddanmūrdhasu bahuvrīhau*

/dvi-tribhyāṃ 5/2 (itar. dv.); pāddanmūrdhasu 7/3 = pād ca dat ca mūrdhā

ca = pāddanmūrdhānaḥ (itar. dv.), teṣu; bahuvrīhau 7/1/

(udāttaḥ #64 uttarapadasya #111 antaḥ #143 vibhāṣā #196)

'dvi, tri' ity etābhyāṃ uttareṣu 'pād, dat, mūrdhan' ity eteṣūttarapadeṣu yo bahuvrīhis tatra vibhāṣā anta udātto bhavati

The last syllable of a *bahuvrīhi* compound is optionally marked with *udātta*, when *pād* 'foot', *dat* 'tooth' and *mūrdhan* 'head' combine to follow *dvi* 'two' and *tri* 'three'.

## EXAMPLES:

*dvipāt* 'biped'

*dvipāt* 'ibidem'

*tripāt* 'three-footed'

*tripāt* 'ibidem'

*dvidan* 'possessing two teeth'  
*dvidán* 'ibidem'  
*trīdan* 'possessing three teeth'  
*tridán* 'ibidem'  
*dvimūrdhā* 'two-headed'  
*trīmūrdhā* 'three-headed'

1. This rule specifies *pād* with deletion of its compound final *a* (5.4.138 *pādasya lopo* . . .). A similar specification is made with *dat* in 5.4.141 *vayasi*. . . . Since *mūrdhan* is specified here with no deletion of terminal element of the compound (*akṛtasamāsāntalopa*), it will refer to both kinds of forms. Thus, *dvimūrdhā* where there is no *samāsānta* affix, and *dvimūrdhaḥ*, where the *samāsānta* affix *ṣa* has been introduced (5.4.115 *dvitribhyām* . . .). These examples will get the final *udātta* of this rule. The retention proposal of 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau* . . . will be offered as another option. The words *dvi* and *tri* are marked with *udātta* at the end (*Phīṣūtra* 1: *phīṣo* 'ntodāttaḥ').

2. *Kāśikā* offers *kalyāṇāmūrdhā* and *dvihāstam* as counter-examples to conditions of *dvitribhyām* and *pāddan* . . ., etc., respectively.

#### 6.2.198 सक्थं चाक्रान्तात्

*saktham cākṛāntāt*  
 /*saktham* 1/1 *ca*  $\phi$  *akṛāntāt* 5/1 = *kraśabdo* 'nto *yasya* (*bv.*); *na krāntaḥ* (*nañ.*), *tasmāt*/  
 (*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *vibhāṣā* #196 *bahuvrīhau* #197)

*saktham iti kṛtasamāsāntaḥ sakthiśabdo* 'tra *gr̥hyate*, *so* 'krāntāt *paro vibhāṣā* 'ntodātto *bhavati*

The final constituent, namely *saktha*, which, in a *bahuvrīhi* compound, combines to follow a constituent not having *kra* at its end is also optionally marked *udātta* at the end.

#### EXAMPLES:

*gaurasakthaḥ* 'having white thighs'  
*gaurasákthaḥ* 'ibidem'  
*ślakṣṇasakthaḥ* 'having smooth thighs'  
*ślakṣṇasákthaḥ* 'ibidem'

1. The word *saktha* is here specified with its *samāsānta* affix *ṣaC* (5.4.113 *bahuvrīhau* . . .). Consequently, example compounds are interpreted as used with a *samāsānta* affix. The word *ślakṣṇa*, as a derivate of *ksna* (*Uṇādi* III:19: *śliṣer* . . .), is marked *udātta* at the end. This option of final *udātta* is again made against 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau*. . . .

2. A counter-example with *kra* will be *cakraśakthaḥ* 'bow-legged'.



## 6.2.199 परादिश्छन्दसि बहुलम्

*parādiś chandasi bahulam*

/ *parādiḥ* 1/1 = *parasya ādiḥ* (ṣaṣ. tat.); *chandasi* 7/1 *bahulam* 1/1/  
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *saktham* #198)

*chandasi viṣaye parādir udātto bhavati bahulam*

The initial syllable of a following constituent, namely *saktha*, etc., is variously marked *udātta* in the Vedic.

## EXAMPLES:

*añjīśakthām ālabheta* ‘one should offer an animal with anointed thighs’

*ṛjubāhuh* ‘straight-armed’

*vākpatih* ‘master of speech’

1. The word *para* ‘subsequent’ here refers to *saktha* of the preceding rule. A specification by *bahulam* ‘variously’ also enables this rule to apply elsewhere. Thus, *ṛjubāhuh* ‘straight-armed’, where *saktha* is not used. This provision is offered with reference to a *bahuvrīhi* compound. But *bahulam* will allow it elsewhere also. Thus, consider *vākpatih*. A *śloka-vārttika* explains that *bāhulaka* makes this accentual proposal available to *parādi* ‘initial of a constituent which follows’, *parānta* ‘final element of a constituent which follows’, *pūrvānta* ‘the end of the initial constituent’ and *pūrvādi* ‘the initial of the initial constituent’:

*parādiś ca parāntaś ca pūrvāntaś cāpi dṛśyate/  
pūrvādayaś ca dṛśyante vyatyayo bahulam tataḥ//*

Refer to the *Mahābhāṣya* for additional details.

## PĀDA THREE

## 6.3.1 अलुगुत्तरपदे

*alug uttarapade*

/ *aluk* 1/1 = *na luk* (nañ.); *uttarapade* 7/1/

*alug iti ca uttarapade iti ca etad adhikṛtaṃ veditavyam*

*aluk* ‘non-deletion of nominal endings by means of *LUK*’ and *uttarapade* ‘when a constituent word follows in combination’ should both be carried over.

## EXAMPLES:

Look under subsequent rules.

1. Note that *aluk* ‘non-deletion by *LUK*’ and *uttarapade* ‘before a following (final) constituent’ are both accepted as *adhikāra* ‘governing headings’. That is, they both must be carried over to subsequent rules, via *anuvṛtti*. It is

stated that *aluk* carries over prior to rule 6.2.25 *ānaṅ ṛto dvandve* which introduces *ānAN*. The *anuvṛtti* of *uttarapade* is valid through the end of this quarter.

Consider now the next rule: *pañcamyāḥ stokādibhyaḥ* 'a *pañcamī* which occurs after *stoka* 'a little', etc., does not go through deletion by *LUK*, provided a constituent used in combination follows'. The condition of a following constituent limits the scope of this non-deletion to compound bases only. Additionally, the endings in focus for non-deletion must occur after stems specified as initial constituents of such compounds. Recall that, generally, a constituent termed *upasarjana* 'secondary constituent' is placed first in a compound (2.2.30 *upasarjanam pūrvam*). This term is assigned to a compound constituent specified with the *prathamā* 'nominative' in a rule of compound formation (1.2.43 *prathamānirdiṣṭam samāsa upasarjanam*). Finally, we also find that 2.4.71 *supo dhātuprātipadikayoḥ* deletes a nominal ending (*sUP*) contained within a *dhātu* 'verbal root' and *prātipadika* 'nominal stem'. Rule 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhitasamāsāś ca* assigns the term *prātipadika* to bases termed compounds. Our present rule is thus: (a) an exception to 2.4.71 *supo dhātuprātipadikayoḥ*; (b) it is limited to compound bases, mostly because it blocks deletion of a nominal ending occurring after an initial compound constituent; (c) since the nominal endings which come under the scope of this non-deletion are specified to compound constituents as specified by rules of compound formation, this non-deletion cannot apply to a nominal ending found elsewhere; and (d) this non-deletion cannot apply if the initial compound constituent is not used with a following (final) constituent (*uttarapade*). The word *uttarapade*, in this grammar, is generally used in the sense of a final compound constituent.

Let us now consider *stokānmuktaḥ* 'barley freed', an example where deletion by *LUK* of *pañcamī* 'ablative' after *stoka*, is blocked. This *pañcamī* is introduced by rules 2.3.33 *karāṇe ca stokālpa* . . . and 2.3.35 *dūrāntikā* . . . A compound formation of *stoka* + *ṆasI* with *mukta* 'freed', a derivative of *Kta*, follows specifications of rule 2.1.39 *stokāntikadūrārtha* . . . Note that *stokāntika* . . . is here specified with the *prathamā* 'nominative'. This qualifies *stoka*, etc., to be termed an *upasarjana* 'secondary' and be placed first in the compound. Rule 6.3.2 *pañcamyāḥ* . . . can now block rule 2.4.71 *supodhātu* . . . which requires *LUK*-deletion of *ṆasI* of *stoka* + *ṆasI* + *mukta*. Thus, we get the compound base as *stokā* (*t*→*n*) *mukta*.

Since this non-deletion applies to endings occurring after particular constituents enumerated by rules allowing compound-formation, a specification made with a generalized ablative (*pañcamī*; *sāmānya-lakṣaṇā*) should not come under the scope of this rule. We may run into problems if this view is not accepted. For, we may then get non-deletion in *stokād apetaḥ*, as against the desired form *stokāpetah* 'barely missing'. The *pañcamī* of rule 2.1.39 *stokāntika* . . . refers to the *pañcamī* specific to bases enumerated under 2.3.33 *karāṇe ca stokālpa* . . . Any other *pañcamī* must then be disregarded. This will

also be in consonance with *paribhāṣā* (PŚ 114): *lakṣaṇapratipadoktayoh pratipadoktasyaiva grahaṇam* ‘forms specified by enumeration under a given rule are preferred over those derived via application of others’.

Finally, this non-deletion must also meet the condition of *uttarapade*. Thus, given *nistokaḥ*, parallel to *niṣkrāntaḥ stokāt*, the *pañcamī* after *stoka* must go through deletion. Obviously, *stokāt* is not used here in combination before any other constituent. But this deletion will go against the *paribhāṣā* (PŚ 114) just cited. For, the *pañcamī* of *stokāt*, deleted in the formation of *nistokaḥ*, is not a *pañcamī* introduced specifically with reference to an enumerated base. It is here characterized as one introduced by a general rule. Well, the *paribhāṣā* should then not be accepted here. This strengthens the case for accepting *uttarapade* as a condition, even for this section dealing with non-deletion (*aluk*). This, however, not denying that *uttarapade* is needed more, elsewhere, than here in this section of non-deletion.

### 6.3.2 पञ्चम्याः स्तोकादिभ्यः

*pañcamyāḥ stokādibhyaḥ*

/ *pañcamyāḥ* 6/1 *stokādibhyaḥ* 1/3 = *stoka ādir yeṣām* (bv.) /

(*alug uttarapade* #1)

*stokāntikadūrārthakṛcchrāṇi stokādīni tebhyaḥ parasyāḥ pañcamyā uttarapade alug bhavati*

Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies to the fifth triplet of nominal endings (*pañcamyāḥ*) which occur after *stoka*, etc., when a constituent in combination follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*stokānmuktaḥ* ‘hardly freed’

*alpānmuktaḥ* ‘ibidem’

*antikādāgataḥ* ‘arrived from a nearby place’

*abhyāsādāgataḥ* ‘ibidem’

*dūrādāgataḥ* ‘arrived from a far out place’

*viprakṛṣṭādāgataḥ* ‘ibidem’

*kṛcchrānmuktaḥ* ‘freed with difficulty’

1. Blocking the deletion of a nominal ending contained within a compound base termed *prātipadika* ‘nominal stem’ still allows combining two compound constituents together. This facilitates the compound to be used as a single *pada* (*aikapadya*) and to carry a single accent (*aikasvarya*). Refer also to my notes under the preceding rule.

2. Note that a compound formation with ablative dual, or plural, after *stoka*, etc., is not found in usage (*anabhidhānāt*). Thus, the *pañcamī* which goes through non-deletion of this rule has to be singular (*ekavacana*). A *pañcamī* with the denotata of dual and plural will not only block compound

formation (*aikapadaya*) but will also block accentuation (*aikasvarya*). Consequently, we will get *stokābhyāṃ muktaḥ* and *stokebhyah muktaḥ*, two separate words with separate accentual provisions.

3. A *vārttika* proposal in made for non-deletion in *brāhmaṇācchamsī*, paraphrased as *brāhmaṇāni śaṃsati* ‘... recites a brāhmaṇa text’. Why should we accept this negative provision of non-deletion when no positive provision for such a deletion of *pañcamī* is made. That is, there is no rule which introduces this *pañcamī* in the sense of *dviṭiyā* ‘accusative’. This *vārttika* proposal will then have to accomplish both the introduction as well as non-deletion of *pañcamī*.

### 6.3.3 ओजःसहोऽम्भस्तमसस्तृतीयायाः

*ojaḥsahombhastamasas tṛtīyāyāḥ*

/ *ojaḥsaha-ambhas-tamasas* 1/1 = *ojaś ca sahaś ca ambhaś ca tamaś ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *tṛtīyāḥ* 6/1/

(*alug* *uttarapade* #1)

‘*ojas, sahas, ambhas, tamas*’ *ity etebhya uttarasya tṛtīyāyā alug bhavaty uttarapade*

Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies to a *tṛtīyā* ‘third triplet; instrumental’ which occurs after *ojas* ‘vigor’, *sahas* ‘strength’, *ambhas* ‘water, strength, success’ and *tamas* ‘strength, darkness’, provided when a constituent in combination follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*ojasākṛtam* ‘performed with vigor’

*sahasākṛtam* ‘performed all of a sudden’

*ambhasākṛtam* ‘performed with success, splendorous’

*tamasākṛtam* ‘done with power’

1. Note that the example compounds are formed by 2.1.32 *kartṛkaraṇe kṛtā bahulam*. How come this non-deletion does not apply to *tamas* of *satatanaiśatamovrtām* ‘... constantly covered with night-like darkness’. Because we have the condition of *uttarapade* which, in turn, anticipates *tamas* as an initial constituent. Obviously, *tamas* is not an initial constituent of this example. A non-deletion desired after a constituent preceded by another should be made with qualifications. This indeed makes possible, for a form to be interpreted also as one ending in that (*tadantavidhi*). Consider thus, *iṣṭakacitam* and *pakveṣṭakacitam*, where *iṣṭaka* ‘brick’ can be interpreted as referring to both *iṣṭaka* and *pakveṣṭaka* ‘fired brick’. In some cases, though, an operation specified in relation to what follows is performed on what constitutes the initial. It is not performed on what precedes or on what may end in that. A case in point is 6.3.23 *ānaṁ ṛto dvandve*. Given the specification as *hotṛpotṛneṣṭodgātārah, neṣṭṛ*, or for that matter *potṛneṣṭṛ*, cannot be accepted as

initial for what follows. The operation must then be performed with reference to what follows *hotṛ* alone (PM ad *Kāś*: *yatra tadantavidhir iṣyate tatropāṭtenākṣiptaṃ pūrvapadaṃ viśeṣyate tena tasya tadantasya ca bhavati iṣṭakacitam, pakveṣṭakacitam iti. kvacit tu yad-evopāṭtaṃ tasyaivottarapade' nantare tatkāryaṃ bhavati, na tūpāṭtasya tadantasya vā pūrvapadatvam apekṣyate, yathā 'ānaṅ ṛto dvandve'. 'hotṛpotṛneṣṭodgātāraḥ' iti, atra neṣṭṛśabdaś ca na pūrvapadam, nāpi tadantaṃ pūrvapadam, kiṃ tarhi? hotṛśabdaḥ, na tasyottarapadam anantaram).*

2. A couple of *vārttika* proposals have also been made for non-deletion of *ṛtīyā* in *añjasākṛtaṃ* 'performed well'; and *puṃsānujaḥ* 'born after a male; younger brother' and *jānuṣāndhaḥ* 'blind from birth'.

#### 6.3.4 मनसः संज्ञायाम्

*manasaḥ saṃjñāyām*  
 / *manasaḥ* 5/1 *saṃjñāyām* 7/1/  
 (*alug* *uttarapade* #1 *ṛtīyāyāḥ* #3)  
*manasa* *uttarasyaś* *ṛtīyāyā* *alug* *bhavati*

Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies to a *ṛtīyā* which occurs after *manas* 'mind' when a constituent in combination follows, and the derivate denotes a name (*saṃjñā*).

EXAMPLES:

*manasādattā* 'a female name'  
*manasāguṇptā* 'a female name'  
*manasāsamaṅgatā* 'a female name'

1. *Kāśikā* offers *manodattā* 'mentally given' and *manoguṇptā* 'thought-preserved' as counter-examples where derivatives do not denote a name (*saṃjñā*). These non-names must go through deletion of their instrumental (*ṛtīyā*).

#### 6.3.5 आज्ञायिनि च

*ājñāyini ca*  
 / *ājñāyini* 7/1/ *ca* φ/  
 (*alug* *uttarapade* #1 *ṛtīyāyāḥ* #3 *manasaḥ* #4)  
*ājñāyiny* *uttarapade* *manasa* *uttarasyaś* *ṛtīyāyā* *alug* *bhavati*

Non-deletion by means of *LUK* also applies to a *ṛtīyā* which occurs after *manas*, provided *ājñāyin* 'knower' combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

*manasājñāyī* 'he whose nature is to know things intuitively'

1. This rule is intended for derivatives which do not signify a name (*asam-jñārtham*). Note that *ājñāyin*, of which *ājñāyī* is the nominative singular, is a

derivate of *ṆinI* (3.2.78 *supy ajātau . . .*) augmented with *yUK* (7.3.33 *āto yuk . . .*). It is paraphrased as: *ājñātum śīlam asya* ‘he whose nature it is to know properly’.

### 6.3.6 आत्मनश्च

*ātmanas ca*

/ *ātmanah* 5/1 *ca* 1/1/

(*alug uttarapade* #1 *ṛṭṭiyāyāḥ* #3)

*ātmana uttarasya ṛṭṭiyāyā uttarapade’ lug bhavati*

Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies to a *ṛṭṭiyā* which also occurs after *ātman* ‘self, soul’, provided a constituent in combination follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*ātmanāpañcamah* ‘fifth including one’s own self’

*ātmanāṣṣṭhaḥ* ‘sixth including one’s own self’

1. Note that *ātmanas ca pūraṇe* is read by the *Mahābhāṣya* as a *vārttika* (see *PM* ad *Kās*: *vārttikam evedaṃ sūtrarūpeṇa paṭhitam*). The *SK* accepts *ātmanas ca* as a *sūtra*, especially since its *anuvṛtti* is needed in 6.3.7 *vaiyākaraṇākhyāyām caturthyāḥ*. But this could hardly justify accepting *ātmanas ca* as a *sūtra*. For, the *SK*, though it needs the *anuvṛtti* of *kāmye* (*ut. roreva kāmye nānyasyeti niyamārthaṃ vaktavyam*; ad 8.3.38 *so’ padādau*), does not accept it as a *sūtra*. The *Kāśikāvṛtti* reads the *sūtra* as: *ātmanas ca pūraṇe*, following perhaps the traditional belief that the *vārttikakāra* ‘author of the *vārttikas*’ also deserves status as the *sūtrakāra*. Note that the *SK* reads *pūraṇa* as a *vārttika*. I have excluded *pūraṇe* from the reading of this rule. Since a non-deletion of *ṛṭṭiyā* after *ātman* is available only when a constituent with the signification of a *pūraṇa* suffix follows, accepting the *sūtra* as *ātmanas ca* alone makes sense.

Haradatta observes that *pūraṇa* is interpreted as referring to forms ending in the suffix *pūraṇa*. That is, it should not be interpreted as the word-form *pūraṇa* (*svarūpa*). He also points out that *tadantavidhi* ‘treating *x* as also ending in *x*’, as will be indicated under 6.3.50 *hṛdayasya hṛllekha . . .*, is not to be permitted in the section governed by *uttarapade*. This will create problems in accomplishing non-deletion of *ṛṭṭiyā* in *ātmanāpañcamah* ‘fifth including one’s self’. For, it is impossible to find affix *pūraṇa* used after *ātman*. A *tadantavidhi* interpretation in case of *ātman* must then be accepted as an exception. This all is an expatiation of proposals made via *vārttikas*.

How are the example compounds, i.e., *ātmanāpañcamah* and *ātmanāṣṣṭhaḥ*, formed? It is stated that *ṛṭṭiyā* after *ātman* is introduced by a *vārttika* proposal (ad 2.3.18 *karṭṭ-karaṇayos ṛṭṭiyā; ṛṭṭiyāvidhāne prakṛtyādibhya upasaṃkhyānam*). A split-interpretation (*yogavibhāga*) of *ṛṭṭiyā* of 2.1.30 *ṛṭṭiyā tatṛṭtārthena guṇavacanena* then allows the formation of these compounds. One can even accept *ṛṭṭiyā* ruled with the signification of *karaṇa* (2.3.18

*karṭṛkaraṇayos* . . .). But then this *karāṇa*, a *kāraka*, must be determined in relation to verbal root *kṛ* 'to do, make', parallel to the paraphrase: *ātmanā kṛtaḥ pañcamah* 'fifth made by one's own self'.

Deriving *pañcama* 'fifth' and *ṣaṣṭha* 'sixth' requires introducing affix *DaT* (5.2.48 *tasya pūraṇe dat*) after *pañcan* 'five' and *ṣaṣ* 'six'. Augment *mAT* (5.2.48 *nāntād* . . .) and *thUK* (5.2.51 *ṣaṭkatikatipaya* . . .), respectively, are then introduced to derive *pañcan* + *mAT* + *DaT* = *pañcan* + *ma* and *ṣaṣ* + *DaT* = *ṣaṣ* + *th* + *a*. The first example goes through deletion of *n*. The second requires replacing *th* with *ṭh* (*ṣṭutva*; 8.2.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuh*).

Why do we not get non-deletion in deriving *ātmacaturthaḥ* of *janārdanas tv ātmacaturtha eva* 'Janārdana, indeed, is the fourth himself'. The compound is a *bahuvrīhi*, and not an instrumental (*ṭṛṭiyā*) *tatpuruṣa*.

### 6.3.7 वैयाकरणाख्यायां चतुर्थ्याः

*vaiyākaraṇākhyaṃ caturthyāḥ*

/ *vaiyākaraṇākhyaṃ* 7/1 = *vaiyākaraṇānām ākhyā* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasyām*, *caturthyāḥ* 6/1/

(*alug* *uttarapade* #1 *ātmanah* #6)

*yayā samjñayā vaiyākaraṇā eva vyavaharanti tasyām ātmana uttarasyās caturthyā alug bhavati*

Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies to a *caturthī* 'fourth triplet of nominal endings; dative' which occurs after *ātman*, when a constituent in combination follows and the derivate denotes a name assigned by grammarians.

#### EXAMPLES:

*ātmanepadam* 'the second set of nine replacements of *LA* plus suffixes containing *āna*'

*ātmanepadabhāṣā* 'a term used by earlier grammarians for Pāṇini's *ātmanepadam*'

1. Note that *ātmanah* is carried from the preceding rule. The *caturthī* which goes through non-deletion denotes *tadārtha* 'intended for that' and is introduced by a *vārttika* (*tādārthye caturthī vācyā*; ad 1.4.44 *parikrayaṇe sampradānam anyatarasyām*). The compounds are formed by *caturthī*, a split interpretation of 2.1.36 *caturthī tadārthārtha*. . . .

### 6.3.8 परस्य च

*parasya ca*

/ *parasya* 6/1 *ca*  $\phi$  /

(*alug* *uttarapade* #1 *vaiyākaraṇasyākhyaṃ caturthyāḥ* #7)

*parasya ca yā caturthī tasyā vaiyākaraṇasyākhyaṃ alug bhavati*

Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies, also to a *caturthī* which occurs

in combination after *para* ‘another, subsequent’, provided a constituent in combination follows and the derivate signifies a name assigned by grammarians.

EXAMPLES:

*parasmaipadam* ‘replacements of *LA*, with the exception of those termed *ātmanepadam*’

*parasmaipadabhāṣā* ‘ibidem; an earlier term for ‘voice’ in grammar’

1. Why is this rule stated? The intended non-deletion can still be accomplished by the earlier rule. No. The word *ātmanah* is carried there. Well, we can drop *ātmanah*. But it may cause non-deletion in *taddhitāḥ*, parallel to *tebhyo hitāḥ*, which is not desired. Consequently, *parasya ca* must be stated.

It is argued that *vaiyākaraṇākhyā* can be derived parallel to *vaiyākaraṇa bhavā* = *vaiyākaraṇi* ‘that which is found in grammar’, a feminine derivate with *aṆ* (4.3.73 *aṇ ṛḡayanādibhyaḥ*). A *karmadhāraya* can then be formed, parallel to *vaiyākaraṇi cāsāv ākhyā ca* ‘that which is found in grammar and is also a name’. A masculine transformation of *vaiyākaraṇi* (6.3.42 *puṃvat karma dhāraya*) can then derive *vaiyākaraṇ(i→a) + ākhyā→vaiyākaraṇākhyā*. Since this derivation will exclude *ātmanebhāṣaḥ* and *parasmaibhāṣaḥ*, terms which are not used in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, *vaiyākaraṇa* must be derived parallel to *vyākaraṇam adhiyate vidanti vā* ‘those who study or know grammar’. Incidentally, *ātmanebhāṣaḥ* and *parasmaibhāṣaḥ*, are terms used by earlier grammarians.

2. A compound such as *ātmanepadam* is derived with *caturthī* signifying *tādārthya* ‘intended for that’, parallel to *ātmanārthaṃ padam* ‘word for one’s own self’. The compound is formed with ‘plit interpretation of *caturthī*. Why can 2.1.36 *caturthī tadārthārtha . . .*, itself, not allow the compound formation? Compounds formed with this rule are desired where modification of a material cause (*prakṛti-vikāra*) is involved.

6.3.9 हलदन्तात् सप्तम्याः संज्ञायाम्

*haladantāt saptamyāḥ saṃjñāyām*

/ *haladantāt* 5/1 = *hal ca at ca* (*sam. dv.*); *halad ante yasya* (*bv. with int. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *saptamyāḥ* 6/1 *saṃjñāyām* 7/1

(*alug uttarapade* #1)

*halantād adantāc cottarasyāḥ saptamyāḥ saṃjñāyām alug bhavati*

Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies to a *saptamī* ‘seventh triplet of a nominal ending’ which occurs after a nominal ending in a consonant (*hal*), or in *a*, when a constituent in combination follows and the derivate denotes a name (*saṃjñā*).

EXAMPLES:

*yudhiṣṭhirah* ‘the eldest of the Pāṇḍava brothers’



*tvacisārah* 'bamboo'  
*aranyetilakāh* 'wild sesame'  
*aranyemāṣakāh* 'wild Mung beans'

1. This rule allows non-deletion of *saptamī* after a constituent base which ends in a consonant (*halantāt*), or in *a* (*aT*). Of course, the compound is formed with the signification of a name (2.1.34 *saṃjñāyām*). Note that *yudh* and *tvac* in *yudhiṣṭhira* and *tvacisāra* both end in a consonant. A *saptamī* before *sthira* and *sāra* is thus retained. But what about *gaviṣṭhiraḥ*, where *go* does not end in a consonant, or in *a*? This should pose no problem. For, given *go* + (*Ṇ*)*i* + *sthira* + *sU*, one will replace the *o* of *go* by *av* (6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvah*), prior to non-deletion. But this will go against *paribhāṣā* (PŚ 53: *antaraṅgān api vidhīn bahiraṅgo lug bādhatē*) which facilitates blocking of internally conditioned operations (*antaraṅga*) by externally conditioned (*bahiraṅga*) deletion (*LUK*). Note that accepting this *paribhāṣā* will also cause non-deletion in *nadyām kukkuṭikā* = *nadīkukkuṭikā* 'hen in river' and *bhūmyām pāsāḥ* = *bhūmipāsāḥ* 'snare on ground', where one can get *nadī* 'river' and *bhūmi* 'ground' to end in *y*, through *yaṇādeśa* 'replacement in *yaN*' (6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*). Incidentally, these two constitute counter-examples for the twin conditions of *halantāt* 'after that which ends in a consonant' and *adantāt* 'after that which ends in *a*'.

2. Replacement in *ṣ* and *th*, for *s* and *th* of *sthiraḥ*, for example in *gaviṣṭhiraḥ* and *yudhiṣṭhiraḥ*, is accomplished by 8.3.96 *gaviyudhibhyām sthiraḥ*.

3. Note that *akṣaśauṇḍaḥ* 'skilled in the game of dice' is offered as a counter-example to the condition of *saṃjñā*. A *vārttika* proposal (*hṛddyudhibhyām neḥ*) is also made for non-deletion of *Ṇi* after *hṛd* 'heart' and *div* 'day, heaven' in *hṛdisprk* 'heart-touching' and *divisprk* 'ghee-touching'.

4. Why do we need *saṃjñāyām* 'when name is denoted' when *ākhyāyām* 'naming . . .' is already made available from the preceding rule? It is used for clarity (*vispaṣṭārtham*).

### 6.3.10 कारनामि च प्राचां हलादौ

*kāranāmni ca prācām halādaḥ*  
*/kāranāmni 7/1 = kāraṣya nāma (ṣaṣ. tat.), tasmin; ca 6/3 prācām 6/3 halādaḥ*  
 7/1/

(*alug uttarapade #1 haladantāt saptamyāḥ #9*)

*prācām deśe yat kāranāma tatra halādāv uttarapade halantād uttarasyāḥ saptamyā alug bhavati*

Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies to a *saptamī* which occurs after a nominal stem ending in a consonant, or in *a*, when a constituent beginning with a consonant follows in combination and the derivate denotes the name of a tax imposed on eastern people.

## EXAMPLES:

*kūpeśāṇam* 'a tax levied in the east'  
*dṛṣadimāśakaḥ* 'ibidem'  
*haledivipadikā* 'ibidem'  
*haletripadikā* 'ibidem'

1. The word *kāranāma* is explained as *vaṇigbhiḥ kṛṣakaiḥ paśupālaiś ca rājñe deyo bhāgaḥ rakṣānibandhanaḥ* 'a tax paid to the king by traders, farmers and cattle ranchers in return for guaranteed protection'. The word *kāra* 'tax' is a derivate of *aN* (5.4.38 *prañādibhyaś ca*), used with the signification of the base (*svārthika*), namely *kara* 'tax' (*karam eva kāraḥ*).

2. Why is this *sūtra* formulated when its derivatives can avail *aluk* 'non-deletion by *LUK*' within the scope of the earlier rule? A separate formulation is needed for restrictive purposes (*niyamārtham*). Thus, derivatives of this rule will be limited to three conditions: (a) non-deletion applies only when the derivate names a tax (*kāranāmnī*); (b) it has to be limited to usage in the east (*prācām*); and (c) it must apply before a constituent beginning with a consonant (*halāda*).

*Kāśikā* offers *abhyarhitapaśuḥ* 'an animal offered to the presiding priest as a gift'; *yūthapaśuḥ* 'a group of twelve cattles' and *avikātorāṇaḥ* 'a group of rams (*uraṇa*)', respectively. The conditions of *halantāt* 'after that which ends in a consonant' and *adantāt* 'after that which ends in *a*' are also valid. Thus, we get *nadyām dohanī* = *nadīdohanī* 'a tax levied on milk transported across a river'.

## 6.3.11 मध्याद् गुरौ

*madhyād gurau*  
 /*madhyāt* 5/1 *gurau* 7/1/  
 (*alug* *uttarapade* #1 *saptamyāḥ* #9)  
*madhyād uttarasyāḥ saptamyā gurāv uttarapade* *lug bhavati*  
 Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies to a *saptamī* which occurs after *madhya* 'middle' followed by *guru* 'teacher, heavy' in combination.

## EXAMPLES:

*madhyeguruḥ* 'heavy in the middle'

1. A *vārttika* proposal is also made for non-deletion after *anta* 'end' in *anteguruḥ* 'heavy at the end'.

## 6.3.12 अमूर्धमस्तकात् स्वाङ्गादकामे

*amūrdhamastakāt svāṅgād akāme*  
 /*amūrdha-mastakāt* 5/1 = *mūrdhā ca mastakaṃ ca* (*sam. dv.*); *na mūrdha-*

*mastakam* (nañ. tat.), *tasmāt*; *svāṅgāt* 5/1 *akāme* 7/1 = *na kāmah* (nañ. tat.), *tasmin*/

(*alug uttarapade* #1 *haladantāt saptamyāḥ* #9)

*mūrdha-mastaka-varjitāt svāṅgād uttarasyāḥ saptamyā akāma uttarapade* *lug bhavati*

Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies to a *saptamī* occurring after a nominal which ends in a consonant or in *a*, and signifies *svāṅga* 'one's limb' with the exclusion of *mūrdhan* 'head' and *mastaka* 'forehead', when a constituent other than one constituted by *kāma* 'desire' follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*kaṇṭhekālah* 'he on whose throat there is black'

*urasilomā* 'he on whose chest there is hair'

*udaremaṇiḥ* 'he on whose belly there are lines forming the shape of a jewel; belly-lump'

1. The word *svāṅga* is here used in its technical sense characterized as *adravādi* 'non-liquid, etc.' The *bahuvrīhi* of our examples is called *vyadhikaraṇa* 'non-appositional'. Normally, one would expect them to be a *bahuvrīhi* with its constituents in syntactic coordination (*sāmānādhikaraṇya*). These compounds are formed with reference to a *vārttika* proposal (ad 2.2.24 *anekam anyapadarthe, saptamy upamānapūrvapada . . .*).

*Kāśikā* offeres *akṣeṣu śauṇḍaḥ* = *akṣaśauṇḍaḥ* 'skilled in the game of dice' as a counter-example to *svāṅgāt*. Compounds such as *mūrdhāsikhaḥ* and *mastakasikhaḥ* are offered as counter-examples to the enumerated exclusion of *mūrdhan* and *mastaka*. Finally, *mukhe kāmah yasya* = *mukhakāmah* 'face-loving' is offered to illustrate the exclusion specified by *akāme* 'when non-desire'. The condition of *halantāt* and *adantāt* are still valid. Thus, we get *aṅgulitrāṇaḥ* 'that which protects fingers; thimble' and *jaṅghāvaliḥ* 'he on whose thighs there is a fold' as counter-examples.

#### 6.3.13 बन्धे च विभाषा

*bandhe ca vibhāṣā*

/ *bandhe* 7/1 *ca*  $\phi$  *vibhāṣā* 1/1

(*alug uttarapade* #1 *haladantāt saptamyāḥ* #9)

*bandhaśabda uttarapade halantād uttarasyāḥ saptamyā vibhāṣā* *lug bhavati*

Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies, optionally, to a *saptamī* which occurs in combination after a nominal ending in a consonant, or in *a*, provided *bandha* 'tie, knot' combines as a following constituent.

#### EXAMPLES:

*hastebandhaḥ* 'he on whose hands there is a chain; handcuffed'

*hastabandhaḥ* ‘ibidem’

*cakrebandhaḥ* ‘caught in a circular formation’

*cakrabandhaḥ* ‘ibidem’

1. Note that *svāṅgāt* is no longer carried. The provisions of this rule thus become generalized (*sāmānyenāyaṃ vidhiḥ*). The word *bandha* is here accepted as a derivate of *GHañ* with the denotatum of *bhāva* ‘root-sense’. Recall that non-deletion of *saptamī* in a *bahuvrīhi* compound is offered obligatorily by the preceding rule. But 6.3.19 *nensiddhabadhnātiṣu ca* negates it in case of a *tatpuruṣa* compound, whether the initial constituent denotes *svāṅga*, or otherwise. The *bahuvrīhi* non-deletion, in case of *svāṅga*, is thus already made available (*prāpta*). A non-deletion in *tatpuruṣa* is blocked (*aprāpta*). The option (*vibhāṣā*) of our present rule, since it offers both these options, can be aptly called *ubhayatra* or *prāptāprāpta* ‘made available and not made available’.

Recall that the twin conditions of *halantāt* and *adantāt* are still valid. Thus, consider *guṭtibandhaḥ* ‘confinement in a secured place; incarceration’ and *kārikābandhaḥ* ‘bondage (rebirth) caused by unpaid interest’ as counter-examples.

#### 6.3.14 तत्पुरुषे कृति बहुलम्

*tatpuruṣe kṛti bahulam*

/ *tatpuruṣe* 7/1 *kṛti* 7/1 *bahulam* 1/1/

(*alug uttarapade* #1 *saptamyāḥ* #9)

*tatpuruṣe samāse kṛdanta uttarapade saptamyā bahulam alug bhavati*

Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies, variously (*bahulam*), to a *saptamī* which occurs in combination after the constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound, provided a constituent ending in a *kṛt* affix follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*stamberamaḥ* ‘one who plays with the pile of grass; an elephant’

*karṇejapaḥ* ‘he who whispers in the ear; fault-finder’

*kurucaraḥ* ‘he who wanders in the country of the Kurus’

*madracaraḥ* ‘he who wanders in the country of the Madras’

1. This rule offers non-deletion via *bāhulaka* ‘variously’. Thus, observe *stamberamaḥ* and *karṇejapaḥ* where an *upapada* compound termed *tatpuruṣa* (2.2.19 *upapadam atin*) is formed with non-deletion of *saptamī*. Affix *aC* is introduced after verbal roots *ram* ‘to sport’ and *jap* ‘to mutter’ chant’ by 3.2.13 *stambakarna*. . . . Affix *Ta* (3.2.16 *careṣ taḥ*) is similarly introduced in deriving *kurucaraḥ* and *madracaraḥ*. It is at the strength of *bahulam* that deletion and non-deletion can both be found. Thus, observe: *sarasijam* and *sarojam* ‘lotus’. Now consider *brāhmaṇācchansin* ‘assistant priest’ where non-

deletion applies to a *pañcamī*, and not to a *saptamī*. Finally, consider *apsu bhavaḥ* = *apsavyaḥ* ‘found in water’, where non-deletion is accomplished before a *taddhita*-derivate, as against a derivate of *kṛt*. These examples illustrate how, as is the nature of specification by *bahulam*, non-deletion applies (*pravṛtti*), does not apply (*appravṛtti*), applies only optionally (*vibhāṣā*), or applies differently (*anyad eva*).

2. The word *kṛti* specifies a right condition constituted by derivate of a *kṛt* affix. It does not refer to a *kṛt* affix by itself. For, it is impossible to find a *kṛt* affix used in combination after a nominal ending in the locative (PM ad *Kās*: *atrāpi kṛdantasya grahaṇam na kṛnmātrasya, tatra parataḥ saptamyā asambhavāt*).

### 6.3.15 प्रावृद्शरत्कालदिवां जे

*prāvṛṣṣaratkāladivām je*  
/ *prāvṛṣṣarat-kāla-divām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*); *je* 7/1/  
(*alug uttarapade* #1 *saptamyāḥ* #9)

‘*prāvṛṣṣ*, *śarat*, *kāla*, *diva*’ *ity eteṣām ja uttarapade saptamyā alug bhavati*

Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies to a *saptamī* which occurs in combination after *prāvṛṣṣ* ‘rainy season’, *śarat* ‘autumn’, *kāla* ‘time’ and *div* ‘day, heaven’, provided *ja* follows in combination.

EXAMPLES:

*prāvṛṣṣijah* ‘born in the rainy season’  
*śaradijah* ‘born in autumn’  
*kālejah* ‘born at an appropriate time’  
*divijah* ‘born in heaven’

1. This again is an expatiation (*prapañca*) of the *bāhulaka* provision of the preceding rule. Note that *prāvṛṣṣ* and *śarad* are specified separately; *kāla* ‘time’ is interpreted as referring to its word-form (*svarūpa*) only. These examples are all *upapada* compounds where affix *Ḍa* is introduced after *jan*. Thus, we get *prāvṛṣṣ* + *Ñi* + *jan* + *Ḍa*, where *an* of *jan* goes through *ṭi*-deletion (1.1.64 *aco’ntyādi ṭi*; 6.4.143 *ṭeh*). Incidentally, *prāvṛṣṣ* is specified here with the application of *jaśtva* (*prāvṛṣṣ* (ṣ→ḍ); 8.2.39 *jhalām jaśo’ nte*) and *cartva* (*prāvṛṣṣ* (ḍ→ṭ); 8.4.55 *khari ca*; 8.4.56 *vāvasāne*).

### 6.3.16 विभाषावर्षक्षरशरवरात्

*vibhāṣā varṣakṣaraśaravarāt*  
/ *vibhāṣā* 1/1 *varṣakṣaraśaravarāt* 5/1 (*sam. dv.*)/  
(*alug uttarapade* #1 *saptamyāḥ* #9 *je* #15)

‘*varṣa*, *kṣara*, *śara*, *vara*’ *ity etebhya uttarasyāḥ saptamyā ja uttarapade vibhāṣā alug bhavati*

Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies, only optionally, to a *saptamī* which occurs in combination after *varṣa* ‘rainy season’, *kṣara* ‘cloud’, *śara* ‘reed, arrow’ and *vara* ‘enclosure’, provided *ja* follows in combination.

EXAMPLES:

*varṣejah* ‘born in the rainy season’  
*varṣajah* ‘ibidem’  
*kṣarejah* ‘cloud-born’  
*kṣarajah* ‘ibidem’  
*śarejah* ‘born in (a bed of) reeds’  
*śarajah* ‘ibidem’  
*varajah* ‘born in an enclosure’  
*varajah* ‘ibidem’

1. Here again we find *upapada* compounds with optional non-deletion of *saptamī*.

6.3.17 घकालतनेषु कालनामः

*ghakālataneṣu kālanāmnaḥ*  
 / *ghakālataneṣu* 7/3 *kālanāmnaḥ* 5/1/  
 (*alug* *uttarapade* #1 *saptamyāḥ* #9 *vibhāṣā* #16)  
*ghasamjñake pratyaye tanapratyaye ca parataḥ kālanāmna uttarasyāḥ*  
*saptamyā vibhāṣā alug bhavati*

Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies, only optionally, to a *saptamī* which occurs after a nominal used with the signification of a temporal name, provided a constituent ending in an affix termed *gha*, or one constituted by the word *kāla*, or else, one ending in affix *tana*, combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

*pūrvāhṇetare* ‘a little later in the morning’  
*pūrvāhṇatate* ‘ibidem’  
*pūrvāhṇetame* ‘extremely late in the morning’  
*pūrvāhṇatame* ‘ibidem’  
*pūrvāhṇekāle* ‘in the morning’  
*pūrvāhṇakāle* ‘ibidem’  
*pūrvāhṇetane* ‘ibidem’  
*pūrvāhṇatane* ‘ibidem’

1. The word *gha* refers here to affixes *taraP* and *tamaP* (1.1.22 *taraṭtamapau ghah*). The word *kāla* is interpreted as referring to its form (*svarūpagrahaṇa*). Of course, *kālanāmnaḥ* specifies bases signifying *kāla* ‘time’. The word *tana*

refers to affixes *ṭyu* and *ṭyuL* (4.3.23 *sāyañciram* . . . *tuḥ ca*), augmented with *tUṭ* and replaced with *ana* (7.1.1 *yuvor anākau*).

Note that *pūrvāhṇa* is a *tatpuruṣa* compound formed by 2.2.1 *pūrvāparā* . . . , where 5.4.91 *rājāhaḥ* . . . introduces affix *ṭaC* and 5.4.88 *ahno' hna etebhyaḥ* replaces *ahan* with *ahna*. Rule 8.4.7 *ahno' dantāt* finally replaces the *n* of *ahna* with *ṇ*. Affixes *taraP* and *tamaP* are then introduced with the signification of comparative excellence (*ātīśāyana*). A specification of *taraP* and *tamaP*, which denotes meanings of their bases (*svārtha*), is made to indicate the locative meaning of bases. The locative specification of *kāla* is made to show syntactic coordination. Finally, the locative specification of *tana* is made because of its association (*sāhacarya*) with *gha* and *kāla*.

*Kāśikā* offers *śuklatare* 'the two comparatively whiter' and *śklatame* 'the two comparatively whitest' as counter-examples to show how *saptamī* cannot go through non-deletion. That is, *śukla* does not denote *kāla* 'time'. The deletion is thus obligatory (*nitya*). The conditions of *halantāt* and *adantāt* are still valid. Thus, we get deletion after *rātri* 'night' in *rātritarāyām* 'comparatively late in the night'. Recall that *tadantavidhi* 'treating *x* as that which ends in *x*', as will be indicated by 6.3.50 *hṛdayasya hṛllekha* . . . , is not desired in this section of *uttarapade*.

### 6.3.18 शयवासवासिष्वकालात्

*śayavāsavāsiṣv akālāt*

/ *śayavāsavāsiṣu* 7/3 = *śayaś ca vāsaś ca vāsi ca* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu*; *akālāt* 5/1 (*nañ.*)/

(*alug uttarapade* #1 *saptamyāḥ* #9 *vibhāṣā* #16)

'*śaya*, *vāsa*, *vāsin*' *ity eteṣūttarapadeṣv akālāvācina uttarasyāḥ saptamyā vibhāṣā* *lug bhavati*

Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies, only optionally, to a *saptamī* used with the signification of something other than *kāla* 'time', when *śaya* 'reclining', *vāsa* 'dwelling' and *vāsin* 'inhabitant' combine to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*kheśayaḥ* 'reclining in the sky; floating in the air'

*khaśayaḥ* 'ibidem'

*grāmevāsaḥ* 'living in the village'

*grāmavāsaḥ* 'ibidem'

*grāmevāsi* 'resident of a village'

*grāmavāsi* 'ibidem'

1. Note that affix *aC* (3.2.15 *adhikaraṇe śeteḥ*) is introduced in deriving *kheśaya*. Examples with *vāsa* and *vāsin* entail introduction of affixes *GHaÑ* and *ṆinI* (3.2.78 *supy ajātau ṇinis* . . .), respectively. *Kāśikā* offers *pūrvāhṇaśayaḥ*

‘reclining in the morning’ as a counter-example to condition of *akālāt*. Similar counter-example in *bhūmiśayaḥ* is offered to conditions of *halantāt* and *adantāt*.

2. A *vārttika* proposal is made for non-deletion of *saptamī* when *yonī* ‘birth’, or affixes *yaT* and *matUP*, follow *ap* ‘water’. Thus, we get *apsuyoniḥ*, *apsavyaḥ* (4.3.54 *digādibhyo yat*), *apsumantau*. These compounds will be formed by split interpretation of *saptamī* (2.1.40 *saptamī śauṇḍaiḥ*).

### 6.3.19 नेनसिद्धबध्नातिषु च

*nensiddhabadhnātiṣu ca*

/ na φ in-siddha-badhnātiṣu 7/3 = in ca siddhaś ca badhnātiś ca (itar. dv.),  
teṣu/

(alug uttarapade #1 *saptamyāḥ* #9)

*innanta uttarapade siddhaśabde badhnātau ca parataḥ saptamyā alug na bhavati*

Non-deletion by means of *LUK* does not apply to a *saptamī* when a constituent ending in affix *in* (3.2.78 *supy ajātau* . . ., etc.), or one constituted by *siddha* ‘made, established’, or else, a derivate of *bandh* ‘tie’, combines to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*sthaṇḍilāśyī* ‘he who sleeps on bare grounds’

*sthaṇḍilavartī* ‘ibidem’

*sāṅkāśyasiddhaḥ* ‘made in Sāṅkāśya’

*kāmpīyasiddhaḥ* ‘made in Kāmpilya’

*caṅkrabaddhaḥ* ‘tied to a wheel’

1. This rule negates non-deletion of *saptamī* under the condition of specific right contexts. Thus, we get *sthaṇḍilavartin* ‘he who has taken a vow to sleep on bare grounds’, an *upapada* compound with *NinI* (3.2.80 *vrate*, 2.2.19 *upapadam atin*). This rule negates what is made available by 6.3.14 *taṭpuruṣe kṛti bahulam*.

It has already been indicated that, in this section of *uttarapade*, a *tadantavidhi* ‘treating *x* as that which ends in *x*’ interpretation is not desired. Why are we then accepting this interpretation with reference to *in*? It is stated that there are two types of *in* affixes: *kṛt* and *taddhita*. The first occurs only after a verbal root. The question of its occurrence after a nominal ending in *saptamī* thus does not arise. We do not find any *in* after *saptamī* in the *taddhita* derivatives, either. Accepting a *tadantavidhi* interpretation is thus appropriate (Nyāsa ad Kās: *nanu cottarapadādihikāre pratyayagrahaṇe tadantavidhir neṣyata iti jñāpitaṃ etat. saptamyā parasenpratyayasāmbhavāt . . . tasmād innatam eva gṛhyata iti yuktaṃ etat*).

The compound formation of *sāṅkāśyasiddhaḥ* and *kāmpīyasiddhaḥ* is ac-



complished by 2.1.41 *siddhaśuṣka-pakvabandhaiś ca*. The word *baddha*, in *cakrabaddhaḥ*, is a derivate of *niṣṭhā* (1.1.26 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*), where *n* of *bandh* is deleted (6.4.24 *aniditām hal . . .*). The compound is formed with the split interpretation of *saptamī* (2.1.40 *saptamī śauṇḍaiḥ*). How come the compound cannot be accepted as formed with *bandhaḥ*? Because that will be a derivate of *GHañ* where 6.3.13 *bandhe ca vibhāṣā* offers optional non-deletion.

### 6.3.20 स्थे च भाषायाम्

*sthe ca bhāṣāyām*

/ *sthe* 7/1 *ca*  $\phi$  *bhāṣāyām* 7/1/

(*alug* *uttarapade* #1 *saptamyāḥ* #16 *na*  $\phi$ )

*sthe cottarapade bhāṣāyām saptamyā alug na bhavati*

Non-deletion by means of *LUK* does not apply to a *saptamī* when *stha*, in the classical language, occurs in combination to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*samasthaḥ* 'standing on even grounds; happy'

*viśamasthaḥ* 'standing on uneven grounds; unhappy'

*kūṭasthaḥ* 'standing still'

*parvatasthaḥ* 'standing on top of a mountain'

1. This again is a negation of non-deletion offered by 6.3.14 *tatpuruṣe . . .* Rule 3.2.4 *supi sthaḥ* introduces affix *Ka* in deriving *samasthaḥ*, *viśamasthaḥ*, *kūṭasthaḥ* and *parvatasthaḥ*. The *ā* of *sthā* is deleted by 6.4.64 *āto lopa . . .*

2. The condition of *bhāṣāyām* will rule out negation of non-deletion in the Vedic, for example, *ākhare tiṣṭhati* = *ākhareṣṭhaḥ* 'stays in a hole'. The *s* of *sthā* will be replaced with *ṣ* of 8.3.106 *pūrvapadāt*.

### 6.3.21 षष्ठ्या आक्रोशे

*ṣaṣṭhyā ākrośe*

/ *ṣaṣṭhyāḥ* 6/1 *ākrośe* 7/1/

(*alug* *uttarapade* #1)

*ākrośe gamyamāne uttarapade parataḥ ṣaṣṭhyā alug bhavati*

Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies to a *ṣaṣṭhī* when a constituent in combination follows, and the derivate denotes *ākrośa* 'anger, insult'.

#### EXAMPLES:

*caurasyakulam* 'some family of a thief'

*vṛṣalasyakulam* 'some family of a Vṛṣala!'

1. Note that *ṣaṣṭhī* in these examples denotes *ākrośa* 'anger', and not *sambandha* 'relation'. A compound such as *brāhmaṇakulam* 'brāhmaṇa-clan',

where *sambandha* is denoted, will go through deletion of its *ṣaṣṭhī*.

Some *vārttika* proposals for non-deletion have also been made under this rule:

- (i) Non-deletion of *ṣaṣṭhī* should also be stated where *yukti*, *daṇḍa* and *hara* are used in combination after *vāk*, *dik* and *paśyat*, respectively (*ṣaṣṭhīprakaraṇe vāgdikpaśyadbhyo yuktidaṇḍahareṣu yathāsamkhyam alug vaktavyaḥ*). Thus, we get *vācōyuktiḥ* 'art of speaking', *diśodaṇḍaḥ* 'formation of stars in the shape of a stick' and *paśyatoharaḥ* 'he who robs right in front of your eyes; a thief; goldsmith'.
- (ii) Non-deletion by *LUK* should also be stated in *āmuṣyāyaṇa* 'an illustrious descendant', *āmuṣyaputrikā* 'sense of (duty) of an illustrious son' and *āmuṣyakulikā* 'sense of (duty) of an illustrious clan' (*āmuṣyāyaṇāmuṣyaputrikāmuṣyakuliketī ca vaktavyaḥ*).
- (iii) A non-deletion of *ṣaṣṭhī* in *devānāmpriyaḥ* 'slow-wit' should also be stated (*devānāmpriya ity atra ca ṣaṣṭhyā alug vaktavyaḥ*).
- (iv) Non-deletion of *ṣaṣṭhī* should also be stated where *śepa* 'penis, testicles', *puccha* 'tail' and *lāṅgūla* 'tail' are used in combination after *śvan* 'dog' and the derivate denotes a name (*śepapucchalāṅgūleṣu śunaḥ saṃjñāyām ṣaṣṭhyā alug vaktavyaḥ*). Thus, *śunaḥśepaḥ*, *śunaḥ-pucchaḥ* and *śunolāṅgūlaḥ*, all *bahuvrīhi* compounds with the denotatum of proper names.
- (v) Non-deletion of *ṣaṣṭhī* should be stated when *dāsa* 'slave' follows *diva* in combination (*divaś ca dāse ṣaṣṭhyā alug vaktavyaḥ*). Thus, *divodāsāya gāyati* 'sings for Divodāsa, the illustrious king of Kāśī'.

### 6.3.22 पुत्रेऽन्यतरस्याम्

*putre* 'nyatarasyām

/ *putre* 7/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/

(*alug uttarapade* #1 *ṣaṣṭhyā ākrośe* #21)

*putraśabda uttarapade ākrośe gamyamāne* 'nyatarasyām *ṣaṣṭhyā alug bhavati*

Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies, only optionally, to a *ṣaṣṭhī* when *putra* combines as a following constituent and derivatives denote *ākrośa* 'anger'.

#### EXAMPLES:

*dāsyāḥ putraḥ* 'son of a maid (*bastard*)'

*dāśīputraḥ* 'maid's son'

*vṛśalyāḥ putraḥ* 'son of a śūdra woman'

*vṛśalīputraḥ* 'ibidem'

1. *Kāśikā* offers *brāhmaṇīputraḥ* 'son of a brāhmaṇa woman' as a counter-example to non-deletion, where *ākrośa* is not denoted. The example is thus a general statement (*sāmānyakathana*).

## 6.3.23 ऋतो विद्यायोनिसम्बन्धेभ्यः

*ṛto vidyāyonisambandhebhyaḥ*

/ṛtaḥ 5/1 vidyā-yoni-sambandhebhyaḥ 5/3 = vidyā ca yoniś ca = vidyāyonī  
(itar. dv.), vidyāyonikṛtaḥ sambandhaḥ yeṣām, tebhyaḥ (bv.) /

(alug uttarapade #1 ṣaṣṭhyāḥ #21)

ṛkārāntebhyaḥ vidyāsambandhavācibhyaḥ yonisambandhavācibhyaś cottarasyaḥ  
ṣaṣṭhyā alug bhavati

Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies to a *ṣaṣṭhī* which occurs after a nominal stem ending in *ṛ* and signifying a relationship established by means of *vidyā* 'knowledge, study' and *yoni* 'birth', provided a constituent combines to follow.

## EXAMPLES:

*hoturantevāsī* 'student of a priest (*hotṛ*)'

*hotuḥputraḥ* 'son of a priest'

*piturantevāsī* 'father's student'

*pituhputraḥ* 'son of (his) father'

1. Note that non-deletion cannot be blocked in examples such as *ācārya-putraḥ* 'teacher's son' and *mātula-putraḥ* 'maternal uncle's son' because *ācārya* 'teacher' and *mātula* 'mother's brother' do not end in *ṛ*. Non-deletion will similarly be blocked in *hotṛdhanam* 'wealth of the *hotṛ*', *pitṛdhanam* 'father's wealth', *hotṛgr̥ham* 'home of the *hotṛ*' and *pitṛgr̥ham* 'father's house', where *hotṛ* and *pitṛ* end in *ṛ* but *dhanā* 'wealth' and *gr̥hā* 'home' are not relatable via *vidyā* 'knowledge' and *yoni* 'birth'.

2. Note that the *pañcamī* 'ablative' specification of *vidyāyonisambandhebhyaḥ* could only establish the intended relationship of initial constituents. A specification by *saptamī* should have been made if such a relationship was intended for the following constituents. But that would have excluded such a relationship of initial constituents. It is, therefore, concluded that both constituents must be relatable via *vidyāyonisambandha*. It is for this reason that sometimes we also find examples where constituents relatable via *vidyā* and *yoni* are juxtaposed. Thus, observe *hotuḥputraḥ* 'priest's son' and *piturantevāsī* 'father's student' (see *PM ad Kāśikā*).

Jinendrabuddhi (*Nyāsa ad Kāśikā*) thinks that a rather long formulation of this *sūtra*, especially with the inclusion of *sambandha*, carries special meaning. That is, Pāṇini intended non-deletion only where the following constituent denoted *vidyāyonisambandha* (*Nyāsa ad Kāś*: *tad etasmān mahataḥ sūtraprabandhād vidyāyonisambandhavācīny uttarapade ācāryasyāyam alug abhīṣṭa iti lakṣyata iti*).

## 6.3.24 विभाषा स्वसृपत्योः

*vibhāṣā svasṛpatyoh*

/vibhāṣā 1/1 svasṛpatyoh 7/2 = svasā ca patiś ca (itar. dv.)/  
 (alug uttarapade #1 ṣaṣṭhyā #21 ṛto vidyāyonisambandhebhyah #23)  
 'svasṛ, pati' ity etayor uttarayor ṛkārāntebhyo vidyāyonisambandhavācibhyo  
 vibhāṣā alug bhavati

Non-deletion by means of LUK applies, only optionally, to a ṣaṣṭhī which occurs in combination after a nominal ending in ṛ and denoting a relationship established by means of vidyā and yoni, provided svasṛ 'sister' and pati 'husband' combine as following constituents.

#### EXAMPLES:

mātuḥśvasā 'mother's sister'  
 mātṛśvasā 'ibidem'  
 pituḥśvasā 'father's sister'  
 pitrśvasā 'ibidem'  
 duhituḥpatiḥ 'daughter's husband'.  
 duhitṛpatiḥ 'ibidem'  
 nanānduḥpatiḥ 'husband's sister's husband'  
 nanāndṛpatiḥ 'ibidem'

1. Note that *s* of *svasṛ* is obligatorily replaced with *ṣ* when deletion of *ṣaṣṭhī* is applied (8.3.84 *mātṛpitṛbhyām svasā*). Such a replacement becomes optional when non-deletion of *ṣaṣṭhī* applies (3.3.85 *mātṛpitṛbhyām anyatarasyām*).

#### 6.3.25 आनङ् ऋतो द्वन्द्वे

ānanṛto dvandve  
 /ānanṛ 1/1 ṛtaḥ 6/1 dvandve 7/1/  
 (uttarapade #1 vidyāyonisambandhebhyah #22)  
 ṛkārāntānām vidyāyonisambandhavācīnām yo dvandvas tatrottaraṣade  
 pūrvapadasyānanṛ ādeśo bhavati

Augment ānAN is introduced to the initial constituent of a *dvandva* compound which is formed with constituents ending in ṛ and signifying a relationship established by means of *vidyā* and *yoni*.

#### EXAMPLES:

hotāpotārau 'hotṛ and potṛ, the two ritual priests'  
 neṣṭodgātārau 'priest and reciter priest'  
 mātāpitarau 'parents'  
 yātānanāndarau 'husband's brothers's wife and husband's sister'

1. Note that ānAN is marked with *Ṇ* as an *it*. Consequently, it is introduced in place of the final sound segment of a compound constituent which precedes (1.1.53 *nic ca*). Since *n* of *ān* in ānAN does not serve any purpose, and thus invariably gets deleted by 8.2.7 *nalopaḥ prātīpadikāntasya*, why was

$\bar{a}n\bar{A}\bar{N}$  not specified simply as  $\bar{a}\bar{N}$  or  $\bar{a}$ ? So that its  $n$  could block the following  $r$  which is required to follow a replacement of  $r$  (1.1.51 *ur an raparah*). Refer to the appendix of 1.1.53 *nic ca* for derivational details of *hotāpotārau* and *mātāpitārau*.

2. The condition of  $rT$  blocks  $\bar{a}n\bar{A}\bar{N}$  in *pitṛpitāmahau* ‘father and grandfather’ where *pitāmaha* does not end in  $r$ . How come  $\bar{a}n\bar{A}\bar{N}$  is allowed in *pitāputrau* and *mātāputrau*? The word *putra* is here carried from 6.3.21 *putre nyatarasyām*. But if *putra* is carried over here, it should also be carried over in 6.2.23 *vibhāṣā svasṛpatyoḥ*. This would occasion an optional derivate, i.e., *bhrātusputrah*, even when *ākrośa* is not denoted (6.3.22 *putre nyatarasyām*). Well, *putre* will be carried over only here, via *maṇḍūkapluti* ‘frog’s leap’. It will not be carried over to 6.2.23 *vibhāṣā svasṛpatyoḥ*. But there is still a problem. Augment  $\bar{a}n\bar{A}\bar{N}$  is to be introduced when the constituents end in  $r$ . Obviously, *putra* of *mātāputrau* and *pitāputrau* does not end in  $r$ . Well, a *dvandva* compound qualified with  $rT$  is different from one where *putra* will constitute the following constituent. I omit discussion of additional arguments offered by commentators relative to *ṛtaḥ* as a qualifier to *kāryin* ‘operand’. I also omit any discussion of *saptamī* in *putre*. Refer to *Nyāsa* and *PM ad Kāśikā* for details.

### 6.3.26 देवताद्वन्द्वे च

*devatādvandve ca*

/ *devatā-dvandve* 7/1 = *devatānām dvandvah*

(*ṣaṣ. tal.*), *tasmin*; *ca*  $\phi$ /

*devatāvācinām yo dvandvas tatrottaraṇapade pūrvapadasyānaṁ ādeśo bhavati*  
Augment  $\bar{a}n\bar{A}\bar{N}$  is introduced to the preceding constituent of a *dvandva* compound when the same is used in combination before a following constituent, provided the compound constituency denotes a divinity (*devatā*).

#### EXAMPLES:

*indrāvaruṇau* ‘Indra and Varuṇa’

*indrāsomau* ‘Indra and Soma’

*indrābṛhaspatī* ‘Indra and Bṛhaspati’

1. Why is *dvandva* used again in this rule when it is already available from *anuvṛtti*? So that  $\bar{a}n\bar{A}\bar{N}$  could be restricted to only those compounds where constituent combinations are most famous (*prasiddhasāhacaryārtham*), both in the classical usage as well as in the Vedic. Usages of the Vedic generally relate to compounds where divinities denoted by individual constituents are jointly referred to as recipients of ritual oblation (*sahavāpanirdiṣṭāḥ*). Thus, we cannot get  $\bar{a}n\bar{A}\bar{N}$  in examples such as *brahmaṇḍaprajāpati* ‘Brahman-Prajāpati’ and *śivavaiśravaṇau* ‘Śiva-Vaiśravaṇa’.

2. A *vārttika* proposal blocks introduction of *ānAN* to *vāyu*, irrespective of whether it is combined as an initial or following constituent (*ubhayatra vāyoḥ pratiśedho vaktavyaḥ*). Thus, we get *agnivāyū* ‘Agni and Vāyu’ and *vāyuvagnī* ‘Vāyu and Agni’.

### 6.3.27 ईदग्रे: सोमवरुणयोः

*īdagneḥ somavaruṇayoḥ*

/it 1/1 agneḥ 6/1 soma-varuṇayoḥ 7/2 (itar. dv.)/

(uttarapade #1 devatādvandve #26)

‘soma, varuṇa’ ity etayor devatādvandve’ gner ikārādeśo bhavati

A long *ī* comes in place of the final of *agni* when the same occurs in a *dvandva* compound formed with constituents signifying divinity, provided *soma* and *varuṇa* combine to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*agnīsoma* ‘Agni and Soma’

*agnīvaruṇau* ‘Agni and Varuṇa’

1. Here again, *ī* comes in place of *i* of *agni*. The *s* of *soma* is replaced with *ṣ* by 8.3.82 *agneḥ stutstomasomāḥ*.

### 6.3.28 इद वृद्धौ

*id vṛddhau*

/it 1/1 vṛddhau 7/1/

(uttarapade #1 devatādvandve #26 agneḥ #27)

*kṛtavṛddhāv uttarapade devatādvandve’ gner ikāra ādeśo bhavati*

A short *i* comes as a replacement for the final of *agni* when, in a *dvandva* compound formed with constituents denoting divinity, a constituent containing a replacement in *vṛddhi* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*āgnivāruṇīm* ‘... a ritual oblation whose deities are Agni and Varuṇa’

*āgnimārutam* ‘a ritual sacrifice whose deities are Agni and Marut’

1. This rule offers *iT* to block *ānAN* and *īT*. Our derivatives *āgnivāruṇī* and *āgnimāruta* are derived by introducing *aN* (4.2.23 *sā’ sya devatā*), parallel to *agnīvaruṇau devate asya* ‘those whose divinities are Agni and Varuṇa’ and *agnīmarutau devate asya* ‘those whose divinities are Agni and Marut’. The first example constitutes an exception to the *īT* of 6.3.27 *īd agneḥ*. . . . The second is an exception to *ānAN* of 6.3.26 *devatādvandve ca*. The *vṛddhi* of both constituents is accomplished by 7.3.26 *devatādvandve ca*. The *NiP* of these examples is introduced by 4.1.15 *ṭiddhāṇaḥ*. . . .

2. The condition of *vṛddhi* in the following constituent blocks *iT* in exam-

ples such as *āgnendraḥ*, where 7.3.24 *nendrasya parasya* negates it. A *Mahābhāṣya* proposal negates *iT* when *viṣṇu* constitutes the following constituent (*id vṛddhau viṣṇoḥ pratiśedho vaktavyaḥ*). Thus, there is no *iT* for the *ā* of *āgnāvai-ṣṇavam*.

### 6.3.29 दिवो द्यावा

*divo dyāvā*

/ *divaḥ* 6/1 *dyāvā* 1/1/

(*uttarapade* #1 *devatādvandve* #26)

‘*div*’ ity *etasya* ‘*dyāvā*’ ity *ayam ādeśo bhavati devatādvandve uttarapade*

The form *dyāvā* comes as a replacement for *div* ‘day, heaven’ in a *dvandva* compound formed with constituents denoting divinity, provided a constituent combines to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*dyāvākṣāme* ‘heaven and earth’

*dyāvābhūmī* ‘ibidem’

1. Note that *dyāvā* replaces *div* in toto (1.1.54 *anekālśit sarvasya*).

### 6.3.30 दिवसश्च पृथिव्याम्

*divasaś ca pṛthivyām*

/ *divasaḥ* 1/1 *ca* ० *pṛthivyām* 7/1/

(*uttarapade* #1 *devatādvandve* #26 *divo dyāvā* #29)

*pṛthivyām uttarapade devatādvandve divaḥ* ‘*divas*’ ity *ayam ādeśo bhavati cakārād* ‘*dyāvā*’ *ca*

The form *divasA*, and *dyāvā* as well, come as replacements for *div* of a *dvandva* compound formed with constituents denoting divinity, provided *pṛthivī* ‘earth’ is used in combination to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*divaspṛthivyau* ‘heaven and earth’

*dyāvāpṛthivyau* ‘ibidem’

1. Note that the actual replacement is *divas*. However, it has been specified in the rule as *divasa*. It is done to indicate that *s* of *divas* does not go through any modification (*vikāra*). That is, no *s* → *r* → *ḥ*, etc. (*rutvādīni*). How would one explain *dyāvā* which replaces *div* in the non-*dvandva* context of *dyāvā cid asmai pṛthivī namete*? This usage is Vedic, and hence, efforts must be made to explain it (*Kās: kartavyo tra yatnaḥ*). One can accept it as a rare exception seen in the Vedic (*dṛṣṭānuvidhiś ca chandasi*), or else, one may take recourse to the *bāhulaka* provision of *chandasi bahulam* ‘usages occur variously in the Vedic’.

## 6.3.31 उषासोषसः

*uṣāsoṣasaḥ*

/uṣāsā 1/1 uṣasaḥ 6/1/

(uttarapade #1 devatādvandve #26)

*uṣasaḥ 'uṣāsā' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati devatādvandve uttarapade*

The form *uṣāsā* comes as a replacement for *uṣas* 'dawn', in a compound formed with constituents denoting divinity, provided a constituent combines to follow.

## EXAMPLES:

*uṣāsāsūryam* 'dawn and sun'

*uṣāsānaktā* 'dawn and night'

1. This rule offers *uṣāsā* as an exception for *ānAN* of 6.3.25 *devatādvandve ca*. This same is also true of examples of next two rules.

## 6.3.32 मातरपितरावुदीचाम्

*mātarapitarāu udīcām*

/mātarapitarau 1/2 udīcām 6/3/

*'mātarapitarau' ity udīcām ācāryāṇām matenāraṇādeśo bhavati*

The word *mātarapitarau*, in the opinion of eastern grammarians (*udīcām*), is derived (with *ānAN*) via *nipātana*.

## EXAMPLES:

*mātarapitarau* 'mother and father'

1. This rule derives *mātarapitarau*, via *nipātana*. That is, the final *ṛ* (1.152 *nic ca*) of *māṭṛ* 'mother' is replaced with *arAN*. In the opinion of others, we will get *mātāpitarau* with *ānAN*.

## 6.3.33 पितरामातरा च च्छन्दसि

*pitarāmātarā ca cchandasi*

/pitarāmātarā 1/2 ca φ chandasi 7/1/

*'pitarāmātarā' iti chandasi nipātyate*

The word *pitarāmātarā* is also derived, via *nipātana*, in the Vedic.

## EXAMPLES:

*pitarāmātarā* 'mother and father'

1. This *nipātana* employs *arāN* replacing the final *ṛ* of *pitr* 'father'. The *au* 'nominative dual' after *māṭṛ* is replaced with *ā* (7.1.39 *supām suluk*). The *ṛ* of *māṭṛ* then goes through a replacement in *guṇa* (7.3.110 *ṛto nisarvanāmasthānayoḥ*).



## 6.3.34 स्त्रियाः पुंवद्भाषितपुंस्कादनूङ् समानाधिकरणे स्त्रियामपूरणीप्रियादिषु

*striyāḥ puṃvadbhāṣitaṣṭapumskādanūṇ samānādhikaraṇe striyām apūraṇī-priyādiṣu*

*/striyāḥ 6/1 puṃvadbhāṣitaṣṭapumskādanūṇ (6/1 deleted); = na ūṇ = anūṇ (nañ.); bhāṣitaḥ puṃmān yasminn arthe sa = bhāṣitaṣṭapumskāḥ (bv.), tasmāt; bhāṣitaṣṭapumskād anūṇ yasmin strīśabde sa bhāṣitaṣṭapumskādanūṇ strīśabdaḥ (bv.); samānādhikaraṇe 7/1 striyām 7/1 apūraṇīpriyādiṣu 7/3 = pūraṇī ca priyādayaś ca (itar. dv.); na pūraṇīpriyādayaḥ (nañ.) / (uttarapade #1)*

*bhāṣitaṣṭapumskādanūṇaḥ strīśabdasya puṃśabdasyeva rūpaṃ bhavati samānādhikaraṇe uttarapade strīṅge pūraṇīpriyādivarjite*

The form of a nominal which denotes feminine, and shares an identical base for usage with a corresponding masculine, is, when not ending in affix *ūṇ*, treated as that of its masculine, provided a nominal not ending in a *pūraṇa* suffix, and not belonging to the list headed by *priyā*, follows in syntactic coordination with the signification of feminine.

## EXAMPLES:

*darśanīyabhāryaḥ* 'he whose wife is beautiful'

*ślakṣṇacūdaḥ* 'he whose hairdo is beautiful'

*dīrghajāṅghaḥ* 'he whose thighs are strong'

1. The characteristic denotatum of a form is spoken of as the conditioning cause for its usage (*pravṛttinimitta*). Thus, 'worth seeing, beautiful' can be accepted as the conditioning cause for usage of *darśanīya* 'beautiful'. The word *bhāṣitaṣṭapumśka* is explained as 'a form whose denotatum conditions the denotation of its corresponding masculine'. Thus, *darśanīyā* can be accepted as *bhāṣitaṣṭapumśka*, because it denotes its masculine counterpart with the same sense which conditions its own usage. The cause for usage of both is the same. For reasons of identical denotatum (*āyāma*) conditioning their usage, such forms are accepted as having identical bases (*samānākṛti*). The word *bhāṣitaṣṭapumśka* thus refers to a form which shares the same denotatum in both masculine and feminine. The word *darśanīyā* is accepted as *bhāṣitaṣṭapumśka* since it denotes its masculine counterpart *darśanīya* with the same characteristic meaning as its own.

The word *strī* of *striyāḥ* can be interpreted with three meanings:

- (i) *strī* denotes affixes (*TāP*, etc.) used with the denotatum of feminine (*strīpratyaya*);
- (ii) *strī* denotes a thing qualified with the sense (*artha*) of a female (*strītvaviśiṣṭadravya*);
- (iii) *strī* denotes a form (*śabda*) with the denotatum of feminine.

Accepting the first interpretation, i.e., *pratyayapakṣa* ‘affixal interpretation of *strī*’, will result in deletion of feminine affixes. That is, the form after which the feminine affix was introduced will be retained. But accepting this interpretation will create problems. Thus, consider *paṭubhāryaḥ*, paraphrased as *paṭvī bhāryā* ‘he whose wife is clever’. Rule 1.1.58 *acaḥ parasmin pūrvavidhau* will offer *sthānivadbhāva*, once the feminine affix is removed from *paṭvī*. The result will be an undesired *v* coming as a replacement in *yaN* for *u* of *paṭu*, especially when *ī* of the affix is restored through *sthānivadbhāva*. Similarly, in deriving *gargavarṇārikā*, the second interpretation will make the qualified word with the meaning of a female to go through operations similar to a word qualified with the sense of masculine. The third view, since it would change the feminine form to that of its masculine, is accepted.

### 6.3.35 तसिलादिष्वाकृत्वसुचः

*tasilādiṣu ākṛtvasucaḥ*

/ *tasilādiṣu* 7/3 = *tasil ādir yeṣām* (bv.); *ā*  $\phi$  *kṛtvasucaḥ* 5/1/

(*striyāḥ puṃvad bhāṣitaṣuṃskādanūn* #33)

‘*pañcamyās tasil*’ *ity atah prabhṛti* ‘*saṃkhyāyāḥ kriyābhyāvṛttigaṇane kṛtvasuc*

*iti prāg etasmād ye pratyayās teṣu bhāṣitaṣuṃskādanūn* *striyāḥ puṃvad bhavati*

The form of a nominal which denotes feminine, and shares identical bases for usage with a corresponding masculine, is, when not ending in affix *ūN*, treated as that of its masculine counterpart, provided affixes enumerated beginning with *tasIL* through *kṛtvasUC* follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*tasyāḥ śālāyāḥ* = *tataḥ* ‘from that (house)’

*tasyām* . . . = *tatra* ‘in that (house)’

*yasyāḥ* . . . = *yataḥ* ‘from (the house) which’

*yasyām* . . . = *yatra* ‘in (the house) which’

1. Note that our earlier rule had the condition of *uttarapade*. This rule is formulated for contexts where *uttarapade* is not required. The *tasilādi* affixes have been enumerated by rules 5.3.7 *pañcamyās tasil* through 5.4.17 *saṃkhyāyā kriyābhyāvṛttigaṇane kṛtvasuc*. Since these are enumerated within the domain of 5.3.1 *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ* they are termed *vibhakti*:

2. Note that *tyad* and *yad*, which are used in *sā* and *yā*, are used with the same meaning also in their masculine counterparts *saḥ* and *yaḥ*. It is for this reason that they can be accepted as *bhāṣitaṣuṃska*. A masculine transformation on *tad* + *ṬāP* + *NasI* + *tra* and *tad* + *ṬāP* + *Ñi* + *tra*, will, subsequent to deletion of *ṬāP* and *Ñi*, yield *tad* + *tas* and *tad* + *tra*. Rule 7.2.102 *tyadādīnām aḥ* will replace *d* of *tad* with *a*. Thus, *ta(d→a)* + *tra* = *ta* + *a* + *tra* and *ya(d→a)* + *tra* = *ya* + *a* + *tra*. An application of 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* will yield *t(a + a→a)* + *tra* = *tatra* and *y(a + a→a)* + *tra* = *yatra*. Similar rules apply in deriving *tad* + *tas* =

*tatas* and *yad* + *tas* = *yatas* which, after *rutva-visarga* produce *tataḥ* and *yataḥ*, respectively. Refer to derivational details of *tatra* and other relevant derivatives under the appendix of rules 1.1.37 *svarādinipātam avyayam*, 2.4.71 *supodhātu-prātipadikayoḥ* and 2.4.82 *avyayād āpsupaḥ*.

3. The *tasilādi* listing includes ceratin affixes before which *puṃvadbhāva* 'masculine transformation' is not desired (*neṣyate*). There are certain affixes which are not contained within the *tasilādi* group, but before which *puṃvadbhāva* is desired (*iṣyate*). It is, therefore, recommended that these affixes be clearly specified. *Kāśikā* enumerates them: *tra* (5.3.10 *tratasau*) and *tas* (5.3.57 *pañcamyās tasil*); *taraP* (5.3.57 *dvivacana* . . .) and *tamaP* (5.3.55 *atiśāyane* . . .); *caraT* (5.3.53 *bhūtapūrve caraṭ*) and *jāṭīyaR* (5.3.69 *prakāravacane* . . .); *kalpaP*, *deśya* and *deśīyaR* (5.3.67 *iṣad asamāptau* . . .); *rūpyaP* (5.3.66 *prasaṃsāyām rūpaḥ*) and *pāśaP* (5.3.47 *yāpye pāśaḥ*); *thamU* (5.3.24 *idamas* . . .) and *thāL* (5.3.23 *prakāravacane thāḥ*); *dā* and *rhiL* (5.3.15 *sarvaikānya*–5.3.16 *idamo rhiḥ*); *tiL* and *tātiL* (5.4.41 *vrkajyeṣṭhābhyām* . . .).

4. The *Mahābhāṣya* proposes some additional *puṃvadbhāva* proposals as follows:

- (i) A statement should be made about *puṃvadbhāva* of nominals used with the signification of *bahu* 'many, much' and *alpa* 'little, less' when *Śas* 'accusative plural' follows (*śasi bahuvālpārthasya puṃvadbhāvo vaktavyaḥ*). Thus, *bahuśo dehi* and *alpaśo dehi*.
- (ii) A statement of *puṃvadbhāva* should be made when a nominal used with the signification of quality (*guṇavacana*) is used before affixes *tva* and *traL*. Thus, *paṭvyā bhāvaḥ* = *paṭutvam* and *paṭutā* 'cleverness'.
- (iii) A statement of *puṃvadbhāva* should be made for that which is termed *bha* when a *taddhita* affix other than *ḍha* follows (*bhasyāḍhe taddhite puṃvadbhāvo vaktavyaḥ*). Thus, *hastinīnām samūhaḥ* = *hāstikam* 'group of (female) elephants'. How can one derive *āgneyaḥ*, paraphrased as *āgnāyo devatā* 'that whose divinity is *āgnāya*'. That is, when *puṃvadbhāva* is blocked before *ḍha*? The form should be *āgnāyeyaḥ* if *ḍha* is introduced after *āgnāyī*. Efforts must be made to derive it with *puṃvadbhāva* (*kartavyo* 'tra yatnaḥ'). It is stated that this provision of *puṃvadbhāva* should be restricted where the signification is not an *apatya* 'offspring'. This masculine transformation will then restore *agni*, and there will not be any problem in deriving *āgneyaḥ*.
- (iv) This *puṃvadbhāva* must also be stated before affixes *thaK* and *chaS*. Thus, consider *bhavatyāḥ chātrāḥ* = *bhāvatkāḥ* and *bhavadyāḥ* 'your students'.

### 6.3.36 क्यङ्मानिनोश्च

*kyanmāninoś ca*

/kyañ-māninoh 7/2 = kyañ ca mānin ca (itar. dv.), tayoh; ca φ/  
(uttarapade #1 striyāḥ puṃvad bhāṣitaṇṣkādānūn #33)

kyañi parato mānini ca striyā bhāṣitaṇṣkādānūn puṃvad bhavati

The form of a nominal which denotes feminine, and shares identical bases for usage with a corresponding masculine, is, when not ending in affix  $\bar{u}\bar{N}$ , treated as that of its masculine, provided a word ending in affix  $Kya\bar{N}$  and  $mānin$  follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*etāyate* 'acts like a hind'

*śyetāyate* 'acts like a hawk'

*darśanīyamānī ayam asyāḥ* 'this (husband) of hers considers himself handsome'

*darśanīyamāninīyam asyāḥ* 'she considers herself beautiful'

1. The words *enī* and *śyenī* are derivatives of  $\bar{N}iP$  introduced after *eta* and *śyeta*, with an additional provision of  $n$  replacing their  $t$  (4.1.39 *varṇād anudāttāt* . . .). Forms such as *etāyate* and *śyetāyate*, paraphrased as *enī iva ācarati* and *śyenī iva ācarati*, respectively, are derived with the introduction of affix  $Kya\bar{N}$  after  $enī + sU$  and  $śyenī + sU$ . An application of *puṃvadbhāva* on  $enī + sU + (K)ya(\bar{N})$  and  $śyenī + sU + (k)ya(\bar{N})$ , subsequent to the removal of  $\bar{N}iP$  and deletion of  $sU$ , will produce *etu + ya* and *śyeta + ya*. A removal of  $\bar{N}iP$  will also result in the removal of  $n$  which replaced  $t$  of *eta* and *śyeta* of *enī* and *śyenī*. For,  $\bar{N}iP$  and  $(n \rightarrow t)$  were introduced concurrently (*sanniyogaśiṣṭa*). Recall that 7.4.25 *akṛtsārvadhātu* . . . will here cause  $a$  before  $ya$  to be replaced with  $\bar{a}$ . Thus, *etāya* and *śyetāya* will be roots after which  $LA\bar{T}$  can be introduced to subsequently derive *etāyate* and *śyetāyate*.

Similar steps are involved in deriving *darśanīyamānī* and *darśanīyamāninī* from  $(darśanīya + \bar{N}iP) + am + (man + \bar{N}inI) = darśanīyā + mānin$  and  $(darśanīyā + am) + (man + \bar{N}inI + \bar{N}iP) = darśanīyā + māninī$ , respectively. Our final derivatives, subsequent to the application of *puṃvadbhāva*, will be: *darśanīyamānī* and *darśanīyamāninī*, respectively.

2. Note that *mānin* is used here to cover derivatives lacking syntactic coordination (*sāmānādhikarāṇya*). That is, when the object of *dṛś* and the agent of *manin* are not the same. For, in situations where they are both in syntactic coordination, *puṃvadbhāva* can be accomplished by 6.3.34 *striyāḥ bhāṣitaṇṣkād* . . . Consider *darśanīyamāninī* which is paraphrased as *darśanīyām ātmānaṃ manyate devadattā iyaṃ* 'this daughter of Devadatta considers herself beautiful'. Now consider the example where syntactic coordination between the object of *dṛś* and agent of *man* is lacking: *darśanīyām imāṃ yajñadattāṃ manyate devadattā* 'Devadatta's daughter considers this daughter of Yajñadatta beautiful'.

## 6.3.37 न कोपधायाः

/na kopadhāyāḥ

/na φ kopadhāyāḥ 6/1 = kakāra upadhā yasyāḥ sā (bv.), tasyāḥ/  
(uttarapade #1 striyāḥ puṁvad bhāṣitapuṁskādanūn #33)

kopadhāyāḥ striyāḥ puṁvadbhāvo na bhavati

The form of a nominal which denotes feminine, shares identical bases for usage with a corresponding masculine, and contains *k* in its *upadhā* 'penultimate position', is, when not ending in affix *ūN*, not treated as that of its masculine.

## EXAMPLES:

*pācikābhāryaḥ* 'he whose wife is a cook'

*kārikābhāryaḥ* 'he whose wife is a doer'

*madrikābhāryaḥ* 'he whose wife is from Madra'

*vṛjikābhāryaḥ* 'he whose wife is from Vṛji'

*madrikāyate* 'acts like one from Madra'

*vṛjikāyate* 'acts like one from Vṛji'

*madrikāmāninī* 'considers herself from Madra'

*vṛjikāmāninī* 'considers herself from Vṛji'

1. This rule blocks *puṁvadbhāva* in examples where a feminine contains *k* in its penultimate position (*kakāropadha*). This negative provision is made against positive provision of the earlier rule. Thus, consider *pācikā* and *kārikā* which are both derivatives of *ṆvuL* terminating in the feminine affix *ṬāP*. Their *iṬ* has been introduced by 7.3.44 *pratyayasthāt*. . . . These derivatives are both *bhāṣitapuṁska*. Consequently, *puṁvadbhāva* is available to them from 6.3.34 *striyāḥ bhāṣitapuṁskād*. . . . This rule negates it. Examples such as *madrikābhāryaḥ* and *vṛjikābhāryaḥ* also had *puṁvadbhāva* of *madrikā* and *vṛjikā* available to them from 6.3.35 *tasilādi*. . . . Recall that the bases after which the feminine affix is introduced to derive *madrikā* and *vṛjikā* are derivatives of *kaN* (4.2.131 *madravṛjyoḥ* . . .). Derivates of *KyaN*, for example *madrikāyate* and *vṛjikāyate*, had *puṁvadbhāva* available from 6.3.36 *kyaṇmāninoś ca*. Our present rule negates it here.

2. This negation of *puṁvadbhāva*, specified with *kakāropadha* 'having *k* in its penultimate position', should negate *vu*, i.e., *aka*, when related to a *taddhita*. Thus, *puṁvadbhāva* should apply to *pākā* 'young female', a derivate of *ṬāP* introduced after *pāka* ending in *kaN*. An example is: *pākabhāryaḥ* 'he whose wife is young'.

## 6.3.38 संज्ञापूरण्योश्च

*saṁjñāpūraṇyoś ca*

/saṁjñāpūraṇyoḥ 6/2 (itar. dv.); ca φ/

(uttarapade #1 striyāḥ puṁvad bhāṣitapuṁskād anūn #33 na #37)

*saṃjñāyāḥ pūraṇyās ca striyāḥ puṃvadbhāvo na bhavati*

The form of a nominal which denotes feminine, shares identical bases for usage with a corresponding masculine, and is either a name (*saṃjñā*) or ends in a *pūraṇa* suffix, is not treated as that of its masculine.

EXAMPLES:

*dattābhāryaḥ* 'he whose wife is Dattā'  
*guptābhāryaḥ* 'he whose wife is Guptā'  
*dattāpāśā* 'Dattā who deserves censure'  
*guptāpāśā* 'Guptā who deserves censure'  
*dattāyate* 'someone who acts as if she was Dattā'  
*guptāyate* 'someone who acts as if she was Guptā'  
*dattāmāninī* 'she who considers herself Dattā'  
*gūptāmāninī* 'she who considers herself Guptā'  
*pañcamībhāryaḥ* 'he whose wife is the fifth'  
*daśamībhāryaḥ* 'he whose wife is the tenth'  
*pañcamīpāśā* 'the fifth who deserves censure'  
*daśamīpāśā* 'the tenth who deserves censure'  
*pañcamīyate* 'she acts as if she was the fifth'  
*daśamīyate* 'she acts as if she was the tenth'  
*pañcamīmāninī* 'she considers herself the fifth'  
*daśamīmāninī* 'she considers herself the tenth'

1. This rule negates *puṃvadbhāva* of female names and forms which end in a *pūraṇa* suffix. Note that *dāna* 'giving' and *gopana* 'preserving' condition the usage of both *datta*/*dattā* and *gupta*/*guptā*, respectively. Consequently, *dattā* and *guptā*, both derivatives of *TāP*, are accepted as *bhāṣitapuṃska*. Incidentally, *datta* and *gupta*, their masculine counterparts, end in *Kta* introduced after *dā* and *gup* (3.3.174 *kticktau ca saṃjñāyām*). The sense of *pañcamatva* 'fifthness' and *daśamatva* 'tenthness' can constitute the condition for usage of *pañcama*/*pañcamī* and *daśama*/*daśamī*. That is, *pañcamī* 'fifth' and *daśamī* 'tenth' are also *bhāṣitapuṃska*.

Why list derivatives of *KyaN* as examples when they do not differ in form? That is, whether *puṃvadbhāva* applies or not. These examples are offered to specify the scope of negation.

6.3.39 वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य च तद्धितस्यारक्तविकारे

*vṛddhinimittasya ca taddhitas्यारक्तavikāre*  
*/vṛddhinimittasya* 6/1 = *vṛddher nimittam yasmin* (bv.), *tasya*; *ca* φ/  
*taddhitasya* 6/1 *araktavikāre* = *raktam ca vikāraś ca* = *raktavikāram* (dv.);  
*na raktavikāram* (nañ.), *tasmin*/  
*(uttarapade #1 striyāḥ puṃvadbhāṣitapuṃskādanūn #33 na #37)*

*vr̥ddhinimittas taddhitaḥ yadi rakte' rthe vikāre ca na vihitah, tadantasya strīśabdasya na puṃvad bhavati*

The form of a nominal which denotes feminine, shares identical bases for usage with a corresponding masculine and ends in a *taddhita* affix conditioning *vr̥ddhi*, is not treated as that of its masculine, provided this *taddhita* affix was introduced with the signification of something other than *rakta* 'colored by means of . . . (4.2.1 *tena raktaṃ . . .*)' and *vikāra* 'a modification of . . . (4.3.134 *tasya vikārah*)'.

#### EXAMPLES:

*sraughnībhāryaḥ* 'he whose wife is from Srughna'  
*māthurībhāryaḥ* 'he whose wife is from Mathurā'  
*sraughnīpāśā* 'the one from Srughna deserves censure'  
*sraughnīyate* 'acts as one from Srughna'  
*māthurīyate* 'acts as one from Mathurā'  
*sraughnīmānini* 'she who considers herself as one from Srughna'  
*māthurīmānini* 'she who considers herself as one from Mathurā'

1. Note that the *taddhita* affixes which are accepted as conditioning *vr̥ddhi* are marked with *Ñ*, *N* (7.2.115 *aco ññiti*) and *K* as an *it* (7.2.118 *kiti ca*). Our example constituents, i.e., *sraughnī* and *māthurī*, are derivatives of *aN* (4.3.53 *tatra bhavaḥ*), used in the feminine with affix *ÑiP* (4.1.15 *ṭiddhāñ . . .*). This *aN* is obviously not introduced with the signification of *rakta* and *vikāra*. The negation of *puṃvadbhāva* thus becomes applicable.

2. *Kāśikā* offers *madhyamabhāryaḥ* 'he whose wife was born as a middle child' as a counter-example to the condition of *vr̥ddhinimitta* 'cause of *vr̥ddhi*'. Recall that *madhyama* is a *taddhita* derivative with affix *ma* (4.3.8 *madhyān mah*). But this affix does not have any *Ñ*, *N* or *K* which may cause *vr̥ddhi*. The negation of *puṃvadbhāva* is thus blocked. Now consider *kāṇḍālābhāryaḥ* 'he whose wife chops wood' which is offered as a counter-example to the condition of *taddhita*. Since *kāṇḍālāvā*, a derivative of *aN* (3.2.1 *karmany an*) used in the feminine, has an affix other than a *taddhita*, *puṃvadbhāva* still cannot be blocked. Finally, counter-examples relative to the condition of *araktavikāre* 'when not denoting *rakta* and *vikāra*', are offered as: *kāśāyabhratikah* 'he who wears a robe colored with a red dye' and *lauheṣaḥ* 'he whose cart-rails are made of iron'. The feminine affixes in *kāśāyī* and *lauhi* are introduced after *taddhita* derivatives conditioned with the signification of *rakta* and *vikāra*. Here again *puṃvadbhāva* cannot be negated.

3. Note that *vr̥ddhinimitta*, a qualifier to *taddhita*, is interpreted here as a *bahuvrīhi*, paraphrased as: *vr̥ddher nimittam yasmin* 'that in which there is the cause of *vr̥ddhi*'. A *taṭpuruṣa* interpretation will block *puṃvadbhāva* of *tāvati* and *yāvati* in *tāvadbhāryaḥ* and *yāvadbhāryaḥ*. The *ā* of *tāvati* and *yāvati* is termed *vr̥ddhi*, but it is not conditioned here by a *taddhita* affix containing *Ñ*, *N* and *K*. The *ā* in *tāvati* and *yāvati* is introduced to *tad* + *vatUP* and *yad* +

vatUP by rule 6.3.91 *ā sarvanāmnah*. The NīP in *tāvati* and *yāvati* is introduced by 4.1.6 *ugtaś ca*.

### 6.3.40 स्वाङ्गाच्चेतः

*svāṅgāc cetah*

/svāṅgāt 5/1 ca φ itaḥ 6/1/

(uttarapade #1 *striyāḥ puṁvad bhāṣitapuṁskādanūn* #33 na #37)

*svāṅgād uttaro ya ikāras tadantāyāḥ striyā na puṁvad bhavati amānini parataḥ*

The form of a nominal which, ending in *ī* used after a constituent signifying one's own limb (*svāṅga*), denotes feminine and shares identical bases for usage with a corresponding masculine, is not treated as that of its masculine when a constituent other than *mānin* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*dīrghakeśībhāryaḥ* 'he whose wife has long hairs'

*ślakṣṇakeśībhāryaḥ* 'he whose wife has shiny hairs'

*dīrghakeśīpāśā* 'she, the one with long hairs, deserves to be censured'

*ślakṣṇakeśīpāśā* 'she, the one with shiny hairs, deserves to be censured'

*dīrghakeśīyate* 'she acts like someone with long hairs'

*ślakṣṇakeśīyate* 'she acts like someone with shiny hairs'

1. This rule negates *puṁvadbhāva* of feminine derivatives used with the signification of *svāṅga* 'one's own limb'. The feminine affix *NiṢ* of *dīrghakeśī* 'she who has long hairs' is introduced by 4.1.54 *svāṅgāc copasarjanād*. . . .

2. A counter-example to the condition of *svāṅga* is offered as *paṭvībhāryaḥ* 'he whose wife is clever' where *paṭu* 'clever' denotes quality (*guṇa*). The condition of *īT* is imposed so that *akeśā bhāryā yasya* = *akeśabhāryaḥ* 'he whose wife does not have any hair', where *akeśā*, ending in *ā* of *TūP*, can avail *puṁvadbhāva*. Affix *NiṢ*, in this derivative, is blocked by 4.1.57 *sahanañvidyamāna*. . . .

3. A *vārttika* proposal allows this negation when *mānini* does not follow. *Kāśikā* reads *amānini* at the end as part of this *sūtra*. Thus, *kaṭhī* of *kaṭhamānini* 'she who considers herself a *Kaṭha*' goes through *puṁvadbhāva*.

### 6.3.41 जातेश्च

*jāteś ca*

/jāteḥ 5/1 ca φ/

(uttarapade #1 *striyāḥ puṁvad bhāṣitapuṁskād anūn* #33 na #37)

*jāteś ca striyā na puṁvad bhavati amānini parataḥ*

The form of a nominal which denotes *jāti* 'class' in the feminine, and shares identical bases for usage with a corresponding masculine, is not



treated as that of its masculine when a constituent other than *mānin* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*kaṭhībḥāryaḥ* 'he whose wife is a Kaṭha'  
*bahvṛcābhāryaḥ* 'he whose wife is a Bahvṛca'  
*kaṭhīpāsā* 'this Kaṭha woman deserves censure'  
*bahvṛcāpāsā* 'this Bahvṛca woman deserves censure'  
*kaṭhiyate* 'acts like a Kaṭha woman'  
*bahvṛcīyate* 'acts like a Bahvṛca woman'

1. Recall that affix *ṆiṢ* is introduced in *kaṭhī* and *bahvṛcī* by 4.1.63 *jāter astrīviṣayā*. . . . The condition of *amānini* still applies.

2. A proposal not to negate *puṃvadbhāva* specified by enumeration (*aupasaṃkhyānika*) is also made. This mainly concerns *puṃvadbhāva* proposal of a *vārttika*, ad 5.3.35 *tasilādiṣu* . . . (cf. *bhasyādhe taddhite*).

6.3.42 पुंवत्कर्मधारयजातीयदेशीयेषु

*puṃvat karmadhārayajātīyadeśīyeṣu*  
 /*puṃvat* φ *karmadhāraya-jātīya-deśīyeṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*)/  
*uttarapade* #1 *striyāḥ bhāṣitapuṃskādanūn* #33)  
*karmadhāraye samāse 'jātīya, deśīya' ity etayoś ca pratyayor bhāṣitapuṃskād anūn striyāḥ puṃvad bhavati*

The form of a nominal which denotes feminine, does not end in affix *ūN* and shares identical bases for usage with a corresponding masculine, is treated as that of the masculine when this same combines in a *karmadhāraya* compound, and affixes *jātīyaR* and *deśīyaR* follow.

EXAMPLES:

*pācakavṛndārikā* 'a female cook'  
*pācakajātīyā* 'like a cook'  
*pācakadeśīyā* 'almost a cook'  
*dattavṛndārikā* 'a cook named Dattā'  
*dattajātīyā* 'like Dattā'  
*dattadeśīyā* 'almost like Dattā'  
*pañcamavṛndārikā* 'the fifth cook'  
*pañcamajātīyā* 'like the fifth cook'  
*pañcamadeśīyā* 'almost like the fifth cook'  
*sraughnabhāryā* 'a wife born in Srughna'  
*sraughnajātīyā* 'a wife like someone born in Srughna'  
*sraughnadeśīyā* 'almost like one born in Srughna'  
*ślakṣṇamukhavṛndārikā* 'a cook with a shining face'  
*ślakṣṇamukhajātīyā* 'like one with a shining face'

*ślakṣṇamukhadeśīyā* 'almost like someone with a shining face'  
*kāṭhavarṇdārikā* 'a Kāṭhī who is a cook'  
*kāṭhajātīyā* 'like a Kāṭhī'  
*kāṭhadeśīyā* 'almost like a Kāṭhī'

1. This rule is formulated so that *puṃvadbhāva* can apply where it has been denied. Thus, consider the following:

- (a) *pācakavarṇdārikā* and *pācakajātīyā*, where the negation of 6.1.37 *na kopadhāyāḥ* does not apply;
- (b) *dattavarṇdārikā* and *pañcamavarṇdārikā*, where the negation of 6.3.38 *saṃjñāpūraṇayoś ca* does not apply;
- (c) *sraughnajātīyā* and *sraughnadeśīyā*, where the negation of 6.3.39 *vṛddhinimittasya ca . . .* does not apply;
- (d) *ślakṣṇamukhavarṇdārikā*, *ślakṣṇamukhajātīyā* and *ślakṣṇamukhadeśīyā*, where the negation of 6.3.40 *svāṅgāc cetaḥ* does not apply;
- (e) *kāṭhavarṇdārikā*, *kāṭhajātīyā* and *kāṭhadeśīyā*, where the negation of 6.3.41 *jāteś ca* does not apply.

Note, however, that this rule is not formulated so that *puṃvadbhāva* can apply, even where the two conditions of *bhāṣitapuṃskāt* and *anūn* are not satisfied. Thus, *khaṭvābhāryaḥ* and *brahmabandhūvarṇdārikā*, where *khaṭvā*, of the first compound, is obligatorily feminine, and *brahmabandhū*, of the second, ends in *ūN*.

2. Rules 5.3.69 *prakāravacane jāṭiyar* and 5.3.67 *iśad asamāptau* introduce affixes *jāṭiyaR* and *deśīyaR*, respectively.

3. There are some additional proposals made in the *Mahābhāṣya*:

- (i) *kukkuṭi* 'hen', etc., avail *puṃvadbhāva* when *aṇḍa* 'egg', etc., are used in combination after them. Thus, *kukkuṭyā aṇḍam* = *kukkuṭyāṇḍam* 'hen's-egg' and *mṛgyāḥ paḍam* = *mṛgapadam* 'foot of a female deer'. It has also been suggested that such a provision is not to be made. For, since the initial constituents of these compounds denote their class in general, and not the female within that class, *puṃvadbhāva* is not needed.
- (ii) Shortening (*hrasva*), as against *puṃvadbhāva*, should be applied where an affix marked with *KH* as an *it*, or an affix termed *gha* (1.1.22 *tarāptamaṇḍau ghaḥ*), follows. Thus, *kālīmmanyā/hariṇimmanyā* (3.2.83 *ātmamāne khaś ca*) and *paṭvitarā/paṭvitamā*.

6.3.43 घरूपकल्पचेलड्ब्रुवगोत्रमतहतेषु ड्योऽनेकाचो ह्रस्वः

*gharūpakalpacelaḍbruva-gotramatahateṣu ŋyo' nekāco hrasvaḥ*  
 / *gha-rūpa-kalpa-celaḍ-bruva-gotra-mata-hateṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu; ŋyaḥ* 6/  
 1 *anekācaḥ* 1/1 = *anekaḥ ac yasmin (bv.)*; *na anekāc (nañ.)*; *hrasvaḥ* 1/1/  
 'gha-rūpa-kalpa-celaḍ-bruva-gotra-mata-hata' *ity eteṣu parato bhāṣitapuṃskāt*  
*paro yo nīpratyayas tadantasyānekāco hrasvo bhavati*

A *Ñi* at the end of a polysyllabic (*anekāc*) nominal which denotes feminine, does not end in affix *ūÑ*, and shares identical bases for usage with a corresponding masculine, is replaced with its short counterpart when *gha*, *rūpa*, *kalpa*, *celaṭ*, *bruva*, *gotra*, *mata*, and *hata* follow.

EXAMPLES:

*brāhmaṇitarā* 'a better brāhmaṇa woman'  
*brahmaṇitamā* 'the best brāhmaṇa woman'  
*brāhmaṇirūpā* 'an excellent brāhmaṇa woman'  
*brāhmaṇikalpā* 'kind of a brāhmaṇa woman'  
*brāhmaṇicelī* 'not quite a brāhmaṇa woman'  
*brāhmaṇibruvā* 'a brāhmaṇa woman by name only'  
*brāhmaṇigotrā* 'a brāhmaṇa woman by *gotra* only'  
*brāhmaṇimatā* 'a brāhmaṇa woman deserving of censure'  
*brāhmaṇihatā* 'ibidem'

1. This rule offers shortening (*hrasva*) against *pumvadbhāva*. The word *gha* here refers to forms ending in affixes *taraP* and *tamaP* (1.1.21 *tarapta-māpau ghaḥ*). Similar references are made by affixes *rūpaP* (5.3.66 *praśaṃsāyām . . .*) and *kalpaP* (5.3.67 *īṣad asamāptau . . .*). A reference with *celaṭ*, *bruva*, *gotra*, *mata* and *hata* is made to words used with the signification of *kutsā* 'censure'. These are not affixes.

The first two, i.e., *cela* and *bruva*, are derivatives of *aC* (3.1.134 *nandigrahīpacādy . . .*). A specification of *cela*, with *Ṭ* as an *it*, is made so that *ÑiP* could be introduced by 4.1.15 *ṭiddhāṇaṇ . . .* Note that *brū* 'to speak' gets *aC* and no replacement in *vac*, via *nīpātana*. A compound formation with *cela*, etc., is allowed by 2.1.52 *kutsitāni kutsanaiḥ*. A compound with *mata* and *hata* is allowed by 2.1.56 *viśeṣaṇaṃ viśeṣyeṇa . . .*

The word *brāhmaṇi* is a derivative of *ÑiṢ*. The shortening of this rule applies to its final *ī*. This shortening, however, still maintains the condition of *bhāṣitapūṃska*. Thus, no shortening is allowed in *āmalakītarā* and *kuvalītarā*, where *āmalakī* and *kuvalī* are obligatorily feminine.

#### 6.3.44 नद्याः शेषस्याऽन्यतरस्याम्

*nadyāḥ śeṣasyānyatarasyām*  
 / *nadyāḥ* 5/1 *śeṣasya* 6/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/  
 (uttarapade #1 *gharūpacelaḍbruva gotramatahateṣu hrasvaḥ* #43)  
*nadyāḥ śeṣasya ghādiṣu parataḥ hrasvo bhavati*

The final vowel of remaining nominals, namely those which are termed *nadī*, is replaced with its corresponding short only optionally, when *gha*, *rūpa*, *kalpa*, *celaṭ*, *bruva*, *gotra*, *mata*, and *hata* follow.

EXAMPLES:

*brahmabandhutarā* 'a better brahmabandhū'

*brahmabandhūtarā* 'ibidem'  
*brahmabandhutamā* 'the best brahmabandhū'  
*brahmabandhūtamā* 'ibidem'  
*vīrabandhūtarā* 'a better vīrabandhū'  
*vīrabandhūtarā* 'ibidem'  
*stritarā* 'better woman'  
*strītarā* 'ibidem'  
*stritamā* 'best woman'  
*strītamā* 'ibidem'

1. This rule offers optional shortening to *nadī* words, not covered by the preceding rule. That is, *nadī* words which do not end in *Ñi*, and also those which end in *Ñi* but are constituted by a single vowel (*ekāc*). Recall that 1.4.3 *yūstryākhyau* *nadī* assigns the term *nadī* to feminine forms ending in *ī* and *ū*.

2. A *vārttika* proposal is made to negate this shortening when a *nadī* word happens to be a derivate of affix *kṛt* (*vt*: *kṛmnadyāḥ pratiṣedho vaktavyaḥ*). Thus, consider *lakṣmītarā* and *tantrītarā*, where *lakṣmī* and *tantrī* are derivatives of *kṛt* (III:158–9: *avitṣ . . . / lakṣmer muṭ ca*).

#### 6.3.45 उगितश्च

*ugitaś ca*  
*/ugitaḥ 5/1 = uk it yasya = ugit (bv.), tasmāt, ca φ/*  
*(uttarapade #1 gharūpakalpaceladbruvagotramatahateṣu hrasvaḥ #43*  
*anyatarasyām nadyāḥ #44)*

*ugitaś ca parasyā nadyā ghāḍiṣu anyatarasyām hrasvo bhavati*

The final sound segment of a nominal termed *nadī* when occurring in combination after a form with *uK*, i.e., *u*, *ṛ*, *ḷ*, as an *it*, is also replaced with its short counterpart, provided *gha*, *rūpa*, *kalpa*, *cela*Ṭ, *bruva*, *gotra*, *mata*, and *hata* follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*śreyasītarā* 'comparatively more superior'  
*śreyasitarā* 'ibidem'  
*śreyastarā* 'ibidem'  
*viduṣītarā* 'comparatively more learned'  
*viduṣitarā* 'ibidem'  
*vidvattarā* 'ibidem'

1. This rule allows optional shortening in case of a *nadī* word derived with a *taddhita* affix marked with *U* and *Ṛ* as an *it*. Of course, the right context of *gha*, etc., is still valid. Thus, *śreyasītarā*, *śreyasitarā*. Recall that *śreyasī* is derived with *ÑiP* (4.1.6 *ugitaś ca*) introduced after *śreyas*. The word *śreyas* itself is a derivate of *īyasUN* (5.3.57 *dvivacana . . .*), where *praśasya* 'excellent', of *praśasya* + *īyasUN*, is replaced with *śra* (5.3.60 *praśasyasya śrah*).

Note that *viduṣītarā* is a derivate of *taraP* introduced after *viduṣī* 'learned female'. Affix *ÑiP* is introduced here after *vidvas* 'knowledgeable' which, in turn, is a derivate of *ŚatR* (3.2.124 *laṭaḥ śatṛśānacāv . . .*) replacing *LAṬ*. A further replacement in *vas* for *ŚatR* is then ordered by 7.1.36 *videḥ śatur vasuḥ*. Deriving *viduṣī* from *vidvas* + *ÑiP* involves *samprasāraṇa* of *vas* (6.4.131 *vasoḥ . . .*), followed by a single replacement similar to the preceding (*pūrvarūpa*) *u* of the sequence *u + a*.

Note that *Kāśikā* also desires *pumvadbhāva* 'masculine transformation' as an alternate to shortening. Bhaṭṭoji (ad *SK*) states that 6.3.35 *tasilādiṣu . . .* could itself account for masculine transformation. Besides, it cannot be blocked in the absence of shortening. This renders forms with long vowels, i.e., *śreyasītarā*, a suspect.

#### 6.3.46 आन्महतः समानाधिकरणजातीययोः

*ān mahataḥ samānādhikaraṇajāṭīyayoḥ*

/āt 5/1 mahataḥ 5/1 samānādhikaraṇa-jāṭīyayoḥ 7/2 (itar. dv:), tayoh/  
(uttarapade #1)

*samānādhikaraṇa uttarapade jāṭīye ca pratyaye parato mahata ākārādeṣo bhavati*

The final *t* of *mahat* 'great' is replaced with *ā* when a syntactically coreferential *pada*, or affix *jāṭīyaR*, follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*mahādevaḥ* 'the great god; Śiva'

*mahābrāhmaṇaḥ* 'a great brāhmaṇa'

*mahābāhuḥ* 'he whose arms are long'

*mahābalaḥ* 'he who has great strength'

*mahājāṭīyaḥ* 'moderately large'

1. This rule introduces *āT* (*ā*; 1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*) as a replacement for the final *t* (1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*) of *mahat* when the same is followed, either by a *pada* in syntactic coordination or by *jāṭīyaR*. Thus we get *mahādevaḥ* and *mahājāṭīyaḥ*, etc. But consider *mahāputraḥ*, paraphrased as *mahataḥ putraḥ* 'son of a great man', where this replacement does not apply. For, *mahat* is used in the genitive with *putraḥ* in the nominative. Obviously, they are not in syntactic coordination.

A specification by *samānādhikaraṇaḥ* is made so that *mahat* could not be limited to refer to the enumeration of 2.1.51 *sanmahat . . .* This interpretation is in consonance with *paribhāṣā* (114): *lakṣaṇapratipaddoktayoh pratipadok-tasyaiva grahaṇam* 'a specification made by specific enumeration alone is accepted when the same comes into conflict with one made by a generalized specification of a given rule'. This would limit the application of this rule to *tatpuruṣa* compounds only. But since its application is also desired in case of

*bahuvrīhi* compounds, for example *mahābāhu*, *samānādhikaraṇaḥ* ‘coreferential’ must be stated in this rule. Why is this replacement in *ā* not applied to *mahat* of *mahaccandramāḥ* ‘big moon’, paraphrased as *amahān mahān sampanno mahadbhūtaś candramāḥ* ‘a previously not so big moon has become big’. Because the meaning of *mahat* here is secondary (*gauṇa*; *Kāś*: *gauṇatvān mahadarthasya na bhavaty ātvam*).

2. The *t* in *āt* of this rule is used for clarity (*vispaṣṭārtham*). It could not be accepted as used for indicating *ā*, via *taparakaraṇa* (1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*). For, *ā* alone could accomplish that.

3. A *vārttika* proposal is made to also allow *ā*, and *pumvadbhāva* as well, where *ghāsa* ‘grass, food’, *kara* ‘hand’ and *viśiṣṭa* ‘distinguished’ occur as following constituents, and a meaning with no syntactic coordination is involved. Thus, *mahatyā ghāsaḥ* = *mahāghāsaḥ*, *mahākaraḥ* and *mahāviśiṣṭaḥ*.

A second *vārttika* proposal is made for *ā* with reference to *aṣṭan* ‘eight’ when the same combines with *kapāla* ‘bowl’ as a following constituent, and the derivate denotes *haviṣ* ‘ritual oblation of food’. Thus, consider *aṣṭasu kapāleṣu saṃskṛtam* = *aṣṭākapālam* of *aṣṭākapāle caruṃ nirvāpet* ‘should offer ritual oblation of *caru* in *aṣṭākapāla*’. We will get *aṣṭākapālam* in contexts outside the meaning of *haviṣ*.

An additional proposal for *ā* is made, again with reference to *aṣṭan* ‘eight’, when *go* follows and the derivate denotes the sense of *yukta* ‘equipped, associated’. Thus, *aṣṭāgavena śakaṭena* ‘by a cart pulled by eight bulls’. But consider *aṣṭāgavaṃ brāhmaṇasya* ‘eight cows of the brāhmaṇa’, where no meaning of *yukta* is present.

### 6.3.47 द्व्यष्टनः संख्यायामबहुव्रीह्यशीत्योः

*dvy-aṣṭanaḥ saṃkhyāyām abahuvrīhyaśītyoḥ*  
 / *dvy-aṣṭanaḥ* 6/1 = *dvaṇ ca aṣṭa ca* = *dvy-aṣṭa* (*saṃ. dv.*), *tasya*; *saṃkhyāyām*  
 7/1 *abahuvrīhyaśītyoḥ* 7/2 = *bahuvrīhiś ca aṣṭiś ca* = *bahuvrīhya-aṣṭi* (*nañ*);  
*na bahuvrīhyaśīti* (*nañ. with int. dv.*), *tayoḥ*/  
 (*uttarapade* #1 *āt* #46)

‘*dvi*, *aṣṭan*’ *ity etayor ākārādeśo bhavati saṃkhyāyām uttarapade abahuvrīhyaśītyoḥ*

The final sound segment (*aL*) of *dvi* and *aṣṭan* is replaced with *ā* when a constituent denoting *saṃkhyā* ‘number’, with the exception of *aṣṭi* ‘eighty’, combines to follow and the compound is not a *bahuvrīhi*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*dvādaśa* ‘twelve’  
*dvāviṃśatiḥ* ‘twenty-two’  
*dvātriṃśat* ‘twenty-three’  
*aṣṭādaśa* ‘eighteen’

*aṣṭāviṃśatiḥ* ‘twenty-eight’  
*aṣṭātriṃśat* ‘eighty-three’

1. This rule allows a replacement in *ā* to *dvi* and *aṣṭan*, when a number word other than *aśīti* combines to follow and the compound is not a *bahuvrīhi*. Thus, consider *dvāviṃśati* and *aṣṭāviṃśati*.

2. This replacement will be blocked in *dvaimāturaḥ* ‘son of two mothers’ and *aṣṭamāturaḥ* ‘son of eight mothers’ where a constituent denoting number does not combine to follow. This replacement will also be blocked in *tridaśāḥ*, paraphrased as *trīṭhīyā yauvanākhyā daśā sadā yeśām* ‘those whose third state of life named ‘youth’ is eternal’. Incidentally, it is a *bahuvrīhi* compound (2.2.25 *saṃkhyayā* *vyayā* . . .) where the *saṃāsānta* affix *ḌaC* is introduced (5.4.73 *bahuvrīhau* . . .) to follow. A replacement in *ā* will also be blocked in *dvyaśīti* ‘eighty-two’ because *aśīti* combines to follow *dvi*.

3. A *vārttika* proposal is made to restrict this replacement in *ā* only to contexts where the following constituent denotes a number lower than a hundred (*prāk śatāt*). Thus *dviśatam* ‘two hundred’ and *dvisahasram* ‘two thousand’ will be counter-examples.

#### 6.3.48 त्रेस्त्रयः

*trestrayah*

/treḥ 6/1 trayah 1/1/

(uttarapade #1 *saṃkhyāyām abahuvrīhyaśītyoḥ* #47)

‘tri’ ity etasya śabdasya trayas ādeśo bhavati *saṃkhyāyām uttarapade bahuvrīhyaśītyoḥ*

The final sound segment of *tri* is replaced with *trayas* when a constituent denoting *saṃkhyā* ‘number’ with the exception of *aśīti* combines to follow and the compound is not a *bahuvrīhi*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*trayodaśa* ‘thirteen’

*trayoviṃśatiḥ* ‘twenty-three’

*trayastrīṃśat* ‘thirty-three’

1. This rule offers *trayas* as a replacement of *tri* when *tri* combines in a non-*bahuvrīhi* compound with a following constituent other than *aśīti*. Thus, consider *trayodaśa*, *trayoviṃśati* and *trayastrīṃśat*.

Note that the restriction of a number lower than a hundred still applies. In addition, we still have conditions of *abahuvrīhau* and *aśīti*. This replacement will thus be blocked in *tridaśāḥ*/ *tryaśītiḥ*, and *trīśatam*/ *trisahasram*, etc.

#### 6.3.49 विभाषा चत्वारिंशत्प्रभृतौ सर्वेषाम्

*vibhāṣā catvāriṃśatprabhṛtau sarveṣām*

/vibhāṣā 1/1 catvāriṃśatprabhṛtau 7/1 = catvāriṃśat prabhṛti yasyāḥ (bv.), tasyām; sarveṣām 6/3/

(uttarapade #1 abahuvrīhyaśītyoḥ #47)

Replacements stated in place of all, i.e., *dvi*, *aṣṭan* and *tri*, apply, only optionally, when a constituent denoting number, namely *catvāriṃśat*, etc., with the exclusion of *aśīti*, combine to follow and the compound is not a *bahuvrīhi*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*dvicatvāriṃśat* 'forty-two'  
*dvācatvāriṃśat* 'ibidem'  
*tripañcāśat* 'fifty-three'  
*trayaḥpañcāśat* 'ibidem'  
*aṣṭapañcāśat* 'fifty-eight'  
*aṣṭāpañcāśat* 'ibidem'

1. Replacements offered under the preceding two rules are here made optional. That is, when *dvi*, *tri* and *aṣṭan* combine in a non-*bahuvrīhi* compound with a following number word which denotes forty and above and is not *aśīti*. Additionally, the restriction of a number word denoting less than a hundred still applies. Thus, we get *dvicatvāriṃśat*/*dvācatvāriṃśat*, etc. Compounds such as *dviśatam*, *dviśahasram*, etc., will be excluded because of their *śata* 'hundred'.

#### 6.3.50 हृदयस्य हृल्लेखयदणलसेषु

*hṛdayasya hṛllekhyadāṇlāseṣu*

/hṛdayasya 6/1 hṛt 1/1 lekha-yad-aṇ-lāseṣu 7/3 (itar. dv.), teṣu/

(uttarapade #1)

*hṛdayasya* 'hṛt' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati 'lekha, yat, aṇ, lāsa' ity eteṣu parataḥ

The word *hṛdaya* is replaced with *hṛt* 'heart' when *lekha* 'line', *yat*, *aṇ* and *lāsa* 'jumping' follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*hṛllekhaḥ* = *hṛdayam* *likhati* 'heart-writing'

*hṛdyam* = *hṛdayasya* *priyam* 'dear to heart'

*hārdam* = *hṛdayasyedam* 'pertaining to one's heart'

*hṛllāsaḥ* = *hṛdayasya* *lāsaḥ* 'heart's joy'

1. This rule offers *hṛt* as a replacement for *hṛdaya* when *lekha*, *yaT* and *aṇ* follow. Note that *yaT* and *aṇ* are affixes, and this specification does not involve interpretation via *tadantavidhi*. That is, they are here understood as introduced after *hṛdaya*. This is in consonance with *paribhāṣā* (26): *uttarapadādhikāre tadantagrahane tadantāgrahanasya* 'a specification made by an affix in the domain of *uttarapade* does not involve interpretation via *tadantavidhi*'.



The word *lekha* is here understood as derived with *aN*. That is, it is not interpreted here as derived with *GHaÑ*. A *GHaÑ* interpretation of *lekha* will thus not permit this replacement. Thus, *hṛdayasya lekhaḥ* = *hṛdayalekhaḥ*.

### 6.3.51 वा शोकष्यजोगेषु

*vā śokaṣyañrogeṣu*

/ *vā* φ *śoka-ṣyañ-rogeṣu* '7/3 (itar. dv.), *teṣu*/

(uttarapade #1 *hṛdayasya hṛt* #50)

'*śoka, ṣyañ, roga*' ity *eteṣu parato hṛdayasya vā 'hṛt' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*

The word *hṛdaya* is replaced with *hṛt*, only optionally, when *śoka* 'grief, sadness', *ṣyañ* and *roga* 'disease' combine to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*hṛcchokaḥ* 'heart's grief'

*hṛdayaśokaḥ* 'ibidem'

*sauhārdyam* 'good-heartedness; friendship'

*sauhṛdayyam* 'ibidem'

*hṛdrogaḥ* 'heart disease'

*hṛdayarogaḥ* 'ibidem'

1. This rule renders a replacement by *hṛt* optional when *hṛdaya* is followed by *śoka*, *ṣyañ* and *roga*. The *ṣyañ* of this specification is here interpreted as affix *ṣyañ*. Recall that this affix is introduced after *hṛdaya*, based on its listing in the *brāhmaṇādi* group of nominals (5.1.124 *guṇavacana-brāhmaṇādi* . . .). Thus, we get *hṛcchokaḥ/hṛdayaśokaḥ* and *sauhārdyam/suhṛdayyam* 'good heartedness', etc.

2. A replacement in *vṛddhi* (7.3.19 *hṛdbhagasindhvante* . . .) is accomplished for both constituents, i.e., *su* and *hṛt*, when *hṛdaya* is replaced with *hṛt*, as in *suhṛdaya* + (Ṣ) *ya(Ñ)*. If *hṛdaya* is not replaced with *hṛt*, we will get initial *vṛddhi* of 7.2.117 *taddhiteṣu acām* . . ., where the final *a* of *hṛdaya* will be deleted by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*. The *t* of *hṛt* in *hṛcchoka* is replaced with *c* (8.4.39 *stoḥ ścunā ścuḥ*). A similar replacement of *ś* of *śoka* with *ch* is accomplished by 8.4.62 *śaś cho' ti*.

3. Why do we have to state this replacement of *hṛdaya* with *hṛt* when they are recognized as two separate bases. That is, these two separate bases can account for desired forms independently. An optional provision thus made for *hṛt* to replace *hṛdaya* is nothing but expatiation (*prapañca*; *Kāś*: *hṛdayaśabdena samānārtho hṛtśabdaḥ prakṛtyantaram asti tenaiva siddhe vikalpa-vidhānaṃ prapañcārtham*).

### 6.3.52 पादस्य पदाज्यातिगोपहतेषु

*pādasya padājyātigopahateṣu*

/pādasya 6/1 pada-āji-āti-ga-upahateṣu 7/3 (itar. dv.)/  
(uttarapade)

pādasya 'pada' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati 'āji, āti, ga, upahata' ity eteṣūttara-padeṣu

The word *pāda* is replaced by *pada* 'foot' when *āji* 'he who goes', *āti* 'he who comes', *ga* and *upahata* 'struck by' combine to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*padājiḥ* = *pādābhyām ajati* 'goes by foot'

*padātiḥ* = *pādābhyām atati* 'foot-goer; infantryman'

*padagaḥ* = *pādābhyām gacchati* 'ibidem'

*padopahataḥ* = *pādenopahataḥ* 'kicked by foot'

1. This rule replaces *pāda* with *pada* when *āji*, *āti*, *ga* and *upahata* combine to follow. Note that *āji* and *āti* are derivatives of the *Uṇādi* affix *iN*, introduced after *aj* and *at*. A replacement in *vī*, required for *aj* (22.4.56 *ajer vyaghañapoh*), is blocked because of *iN*. Thus we get *padājiḥ*, etc.

2. Note that this replacement in *pada* also has accentual consequences. The word *pāda*, as a member of the *vṛṣādi* group of nominals (6.1.202 *vṛṣādīnām ca*), is marked *udātta* at the beginning. Its replacement in *pada* is offered *udātta* at the end (6.1.168 *ūdidampadā* . . .). Consequently, in a compound such as *padopahataḥ*, *pada* retains its final *udātta* (6.2.48 *ṛtīyā karmanī*). That is, the compound is *udātta* at the beginning. The other derivatives, i.e., *padātiḥ*, *padājiḥ* and *padgaḥ*, are marked *udātta* at the end, via *kṛt* accent.

3. Incidentally, a replacement in *pada* is here offered as ending in *a*. A replacement ending in *d* is offered by the next rule.

#### 6.3.53 पद्यत्यतदर्थे

*pad yaty atadarthe*

/pad 1/1 yati 7/1 atadarthe 7/1 = *tasmai idam* = *tadartham*; *na tadartham* (*nañ.* with int. *cat tat.*), *tasmin*/

*yatpratyaḥ parataḥ pādasya pad ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*

The word *pāda* is replaced with *pad* when affix *yaT*, used with the signification of something other than *tadārtha* 'intended or beneficial for that', follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*padyāḥ* = *śarkarāḥ, pādau vidhyanti* 'gravel which hurts feet'

*padyāḥ* = *kaṇṭakāḥ* 'thorns which pierce feet'

1. This rule offers *pad* as a replacement for *pāda* when it is used before affix *yaT*, signifying something other than *tadārtha* 'intended for that'. Recall that rule 5.4.25 *pādārghyām ca* introduces affix *yaT* after *pāda* under the

meaning condition of *tādarthya*. This rule cannot allow this replacement in that context. We will still get *pādyartham udakam* ‘ritual water for wiping feet’. This rule will allow *pad* as a replacement when, for example, *yaT* is introduced by 4.4.83 *vidhyaty adhanuṣā*. We can then get *padyāḥ*, paraphrased as *pāḍau vidhyanty = padyāḥ kaṇṭakāḥ* ‘thorns which pierce feet’.

2. A *vārtika* proposal is made to also allow this replacement where *ika* combines to follow with the signification of *carati* ‘goes, moves’. Thus, *pādābhyām carati = padikaḥ*. This *ika* is a replacement of affix *ṣṭhaN* (4.4.10 *parpādibhyaḥ ṣṭhan*). Incidentally, *pāda* in this proposal denotes ‘foot’, and not a measure (*pramāṇa*). That is, *dvipādyam*, etc., of 5.1.34 *pañapādamaṣa* . . . will not qualify for this replacement.

### 6.3.54 हिमकाषिहतिषु

*himakāṣihatiṣu ca*

/ *hima-kāṣi-hatiṣu* 7/3 = *himaṃ ta kāṣi ca hatiṣ ca = himakāṣihatayaḥ* (*itar. dv.*), *tāsu*; *ca*  $\phi$ /

(*uttarapade* #1 *pādasya* #52 *pad* #53)

‘*hima*, *kāṣin*, *hati*’ *ity eteṣu pādaśabdasya ‘pad’ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*

The word *pāda* is also replaced with *pad*, when *hima* ‘snow’, *kāṣin* ‘rubbing’ and *hati* ‘stroking’ combine to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*paddhimam* ‘foot-cold’

*patkāṣiṇaḥ* ‘pedestrian’

*paddhatiḥ* ‘sidewalk, dirtroad’

1. This rule allows *pad* as a replacement for *pāda*, also when *hima*, *kāṣin* and *hati* combine to follow. Note also that *paddhima* is a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound, where *h* of *hima* gets replaced with *dh* (8.4.61 *jhayo ho’ nyatarasyām*). Affix *NinI* (3.2.78 *syṣy ajātau* . . .) is introduced in deriving *patkāṣin*, where *d* of *pad* gets replaced with *t* (8.4.55 *khari ca*).

### 6.3.55 ऋचः शे

*ṛcaḥ śe*

/ *ṛcaḥ* 6/1 *śe* 7/1/

(*uttarapade* #1 *pādasya* #52 *pad* #53)

*ṛksambandhināḥ pādaśabdasya śe parataḥ ‘pad’ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*

The word *pāda*, when used in relation to *ṛk* ‘hymn’, is replaced with *pad*, provided *śe* (affix *śas*; 5.4.43 *saṃkhyai kavacanāt* . . .) follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*paccho gāyatrīm śaṃsati* ‘praises Gāyatrī by its quarters’

1. This rule allows *pāda* to be replaced with *pad* when affix *śas* follows, and the derivate relates to the signification of a hymn. Affix *śas* (5.4.43 *saṃkhyaiḥkavacanāc ca*) is introduced in *pacchaḥ* with the signification of *vīpsā* 'pervasion, repetition'. Thus, (*pāda*→*pad*) + *śas*→*pad* + *śas*, where *d* gets replaced with *c* (*ścutva*; 8.4.10 *stoś ścunā ścuḥ*). The *ś* of *śas* is also replaced with *ch* of 8.4.62 *śas cho' ṭi*.

This replacement will not be allowed in case of *pādaśaḥ*, of *pādaśaḥ kārṣāpaṇaṃ dadāti* 'gives a quarter of Kārṣāpaṇa each', because the derivate meaning does not relate to a hymn.

### 6.3.56 वा घोषमिश्रशब्देषु

*vā ghoṣamiśraśabdeṣu*

/ *vā* φ *ghoṣa-miśra-śabdeṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*) /

(*uttarapade* #1 *pādasya* #52 *pad* #53)

'*ghoṣa*, *miśra*, *śabda*' *ity eteṣū cottareṣu pādasya* 'pad' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*  
The word *pāda* is optionally replaced with *pad* when *ghoṣa* 'noise', *miśra* 'mixed' and *śabda* 'noise, word' combine to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*padghoṣaḥ* 'foot-noise'

*pādaghoṣaḥ* 'ibidem'

*panmiśraḥ* 'foot-mixed'

*pādamiśraḥ* 'ibidem'

*pacchabdaḥ* 'foot-noise'

*pādaśabdaḥ* 'ibidem'

1. This rule makes the replacement optional when *pāda* combines with *ghoṣa*, *miśra* and *śabda* to follow. A *vārttika* proposal is additionally made to allow this replacement when *niṣka* 'gold coin' combines to follow. Thus, *panniṣkaḥ* 'one quarter of a gold coin, named *niṣka*' and *pādaniṣkaḥ*.

2. Note that *pāda* of these examples combines with *ghoṣa* and *śabda* to form a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound. A compound with *miśra* is interpreted as instrumental *tatpuruṣa* (2.1.31 *pūrvasadṛśa* . . .). Incidentally, the *d* of *padmiśraḥ*, is replaced with *n* (8.4.44 *yaro' nunāsike* . . .). For phonological changes in deriving *pacchabda* from *padśabda*, follow rules similar to *pacchaḥ* of the preceding rule.

### 6.3.57 उदकस्योदः संज्ञायाम्

*udakasyodaḥ saṃjñāyām*

/ *udakasya* 6/1 *udaḥ* 1/1 *saṃjñāyām* 7/1/

(*uttarapade* #1)

*udakaśabdasya saṃjñāyām viśaye* 'uda' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*

The word *udaka* 'water' is replaced with *uda* when a constituent follows, and the derivate signifies a name (*saṃjñā*).

EXAMPLES:

*udamegho nāma yasya audamegghiḥ putraḥ* 'Audameghi is the son of (he whose name is) Udamegha'

*udavāho nāma yasya audavāhiḥ putraḥ*

'Audavāhi is the son of (he whose name is) Udavāha'

1. This rule allows *udaka* to be replaced with *uda* when the same combines with a following constituent and the derivate denotes a name (*saṃjñā*). Thus, consider *audamegghiḥ* and *audavāhiḥ* where *udamegha* is a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound. It can even be interpreted as a *tatpuruṣa* where the middle constituent is deleted and the compound is paraphrased as *udakapūromeghaḥ*. The base, i.e., *udavāha*, of our next example, i.e., *audavāhiḥ*, is a derivate of 3.2.1 *karmanya aṇ*. This replacement in *uda* will be blocked in *udakagiriḥ* 'a mountain with water'. Obviously, this example does not denote a name.

2. A *vārttika* proposal is made for *uda* to replace *udaka* when it is used as a following constituent and the derivate denotes a name. Thus, *lohitodaḥ* 'red-water', *kṣīrodaḥ* 'milk-water' and *nīlodaḥ* 'blue-water'.

### 6.3.58 पेचंवासवाहनधिषु च

*peṣaṃvāsavāhanadhiṣu ca*

/ *peṣaṃ-vāsa-vāhana-dhiṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*) *ca*/

(*uttarapade* #1 *udakasyodaḥ* #56)

'*peṣam*, *vāsa*, *vāhana*, *dhi*' *ity eteṣu cottarapadeṣu udakasya 'uda' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*

The word *udaka* is replaced with *uda* when *peṣam* 'grinding', *vāsa* 'living', *vāhana* 'carrier' and *dhi* 'receptacle' combine to follow.

EXAMPLES:

*udapeṣaṃ pīnaṣṭi* '... grinds something into a paste by adding water'

*udavāsaḥ* = *udakasya vāsaḥ* 'residing in water; reservoir'

*udavāhanah* = *udakasya vāhanah* 'water-carrier'

*udadhiḥ* = *udakaṃ dhīyate* *smin* 'that which holds water; ocean'

1. This rule allows *udaka* to be replaced with *uda* when *peṣa* 'paste', *vāsa* 'residence' and *dhi* 'that in which something is placed' follow in combination.

### 6.3.59 एकहलादौ पूरयितव्येऽन्यतरस्याम्

*ekahalādaū pūrayitavye' nyatarasyām*

/ekahalādaḥ 7/1 = *eko hal ādir yasya* (bv. with three constituents (*tripada*)), *tasmin; pūrayitavye* 7/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/  
(*uttarapade* #1 *udakasyodaḥ* #57)

*ekahalādaḥ pūrayitavyavācīny anyatarasyām udakasya 'uda' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*

The word *udaka* is optionally replaced with *uda* when a constituent which contains a single consonant (*hal*) at its beginning and signifies the sense of *pūrayitavya* 'that which is to be filled up' combines to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*udakumbhaḥ* 'pitcher of water'

*udakakumbhaḥ* 'ibidem'

*udapātram* 'water vessel'

*udakapātram* 'ibidem'

1. This rule allows *udaka* to be replaced with *uda* when it combines with a following constituent beginning with a single consonant and denoting the sense of *pūrayitavya* 'that which is to be filled up'. This replacement will not be available to *udakasthalaḥ* 'water-place' and *udakaparvataḥ* 'water-mountain', where the first has *sthala* beginning with two consonants and the second does not denote something to be filled up.

#### 6.3.60 मन्थौदनसक्तुबिन्दुवज्रभारहारवीवधगाहेषु

*manthaudanasaktubinduvajrabhārahāravīvadhagāheṣu*

/mantha-odana-saktu-bindu-vajra-bhāra-hāra-vīvadhagāheṣu 7/3 (*itar. dv.*),  
*eteṣu/*

(*uttarapade* #1 *udakasyodaḥ* #57 *anyatarasyām* #59)

'mantha, odana, saktu, bindu, vajra, bhāra, hāra, vīvadhā, gāha' ity  
*eteṣūttarapadeṣūdakasya 'uda' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*

The word *udaka* is optionally replaced by *uda* when *mantha* 'mixed beverage', *odana* 'rice', *saktu* 'barley (roasted and powdered) meal', *bindu* 'drop', *vajra* 'water-jar', *bhāra* 'load', *hāra* 'carrier', *vīvadhā* 'carrying pole, yoke' and *gāha* 'plunger' follow in combination.

#### EXAMPLES:

*udamanthaḥ* = *udakena manthaḥ* 'churned by means of water'

*udakamanthaḥ* 'ibidem'

*udaudanaḥ* = *udakenaudanaḥ* 'rice with water'

*udakaudanaḥ* 'ibidem'

*udasaktuḥ* = *udakena saktuḥ* 'saktu with water'

*udakasaktuḥ* 'ibidem'

*udabinduḥ* = *udakasya binduḥ* 'water drop'

*udakabinduh* 'ibidem'

*udavajrah* = *udakasya vajrah* 'water-jar; 'water with force like Vajra'

*udakavajrah* 'ibidem'

*udabhārah* = *udakaṃ bibharttiḥ* 'water-carrier'

*udakabhārah* 'ibidem'

*udavivadhah* = *udakasya vivadhah* 'load of water'

*udakavivadhah* 'ibidem'

*udagāhah* = *udakaṃ gāhate* 'he who measures the depth of water; 'diver'

*udakagāhah* 'ibidem'

1. This rule allows *uda* as an optional replacement for *udaka* when *mantha*, etc., combine to follow. This, *udakena manthah* = *udamanthah*, etc.

### 6.3.61 इको ह्रस्वोऽङ्यो गालवस्य

*iko hrasvo' nyoh gālavasya*

/ikaḥ 6/1 hrasvaḥ 1/1 aṇyoh 6/1 gālavasya 6/1/

(uttarapade #1 anyatarasyām #58)

*igantasyāṇyantarasyottarapade hrasvo bhavati gālavasyācāryasya matenānya-*  
*tarasyām*

The final of a nominal which ends in *iK*, with the exception of *Ñi*, in the opinion of Gālava, is optionally replaced with its short counterpart when a constituent combines to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*grāmaṇiṣputrah* 'son of a village leader'

*grāmaṇiṣputrah* 'ibidem'

*brahmabandhūputrah* 'son of a bad brāhmaṇa'; 'son of a brāhmaṇa woman, but by name . . .'

*brahmabandhūputrah* 'ibidem'

1. This rule allows a short replacement for the final *iK* vowel of an initial constituent, provided the *iK* vowel is not the *ī* of a feminine affix marked with *Ñ* (*Ñi*). This, of course, is Gālava's opinion. Others may have their own options. Is this rule optional? Yes, but not because of *gālavasya*. Notice that *anyatarasyām* is also carried. Why then use *gālavasya*? Commentators explain that *gālavasya* is used for denoting respect (*pūjārtham*; *Kāś*: *gālavagrahanam pūjārtham*). The option, however, is interpreted as *vyavasthitavibhāṣa* 'fixed option'.

2. The condition of an *iK* is imposed so that non-*iK* vowels, for example in *khaṭvārūḍha* and *mālāpāda*, do not qualify for this replacement. The condition of *aṇyoh* is imposed to similarly exclude *gārgīputra* and *vātsīputra*, where *gārgī* and *vātsī* are feminine forms ending in *Ñi*. Since this is a fixed option, examples such as *kāñṣagandhīpati* will be excluded. Such examples will come under the purview of 6.3.139 *samprasāraṇasya*.

3. A *vārttika* proposal blocks this replacement in *avyayībhāva* compounds, and also where constituents may qualify for replacements in *iyAN* and *uvAN*. Thus, consider *śrīkulam* and *bhrūkulam*; *kāṇḍībhūtam* and *vṛṣālībhūtam*.

Yet another *vārttika* proposal restores the short replacement for the long *ū* of *bhrū* in *bhrūkukṃsaḥ* and *bhrūkuṭiḥ*. A different proposal (*apara āha*) would have *ū* of *bhrū* replaced with *a*, instead. Thus, *bhraṅkusah* and *bhrakuṭi*.

### 6.3.62 एक तद्धिते च

*eka taddhite ca*

/ *eka* (deleted 6/1) *taddhite* 7/1 *ca*  $\phi$ /

(*uttarapade* #1 *hrasvaḥ* #61)

*ekaśabdasya taddhite uttarapade ca hrasvo bhavati*

The final *ā* of *eka* is replaced with its short counterpart when a *taddhita* affix, or a constituent in combination, follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*aikarūpyam* = *ekasyā āgatam* 'having arrived from one; descendants of the same woman'

*ekamayam* 'consisting of one'

*ekatvam* = *ekasyā bhāvaḥ* 'unity; sense of oneness'

*ekakṣīram* = *ekasyāḥ kṣīram* 'milk of one and same cow'

*ekadugdham* 'ibidem'

1. This rule allows a short replacement for the *ā* of *ekā* when a *taddhita* affix, or a constituent in combination, follows. Notice that *eka* is used here without any nominal ending (*avibhaktiko nirdeśaḥ*). This short replacement must apply to the long *ā* of *ekā*. For, to state that the short final *a* of *eka* be replaced with its short counterpart will not make any sense. Thus, what is specified with *eka* is the feminine *ekā* (*liṅgaviśiṣṭasya*). Could the proposal mean shortening of *e* of *eka*? No. For, the short replacement is here ordered for a final long. Note also that shortening of the final *ā* of *ekā*, used as a qualifier (*guṇavacana*), is already available through masculine transformation (*pumvadbhāva*; *vt. tvatalor guṇavacanasya*, (ad 6.3.35 *tasilādiṣ . . .*)). This rule therefore allows shortening outside the scope of a qualifier meaning.

### 6.3.63 उयापोः संज्ञाछन्दसोर्बहुलम्

*nyāpoḥ samjñāchandasor bahulam*

/ *nyāpoḥ* 6/2 = *nī ca āp ca* = *nyāpau* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoh*; *samjñāchandasoh*

7/2 = *samjñā ca chandaś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoh*; *bahulam* 1/1/

(*uttarapade* #1 *hrasvaḥ* #61)

*nyantasyābantasya ca samjñāchandasor bahulam hrasvo bhavati*

The final vowel of a nominal which ends in *Nī* and *āP* is variously



(*bahulam*), in the context of a name or Vedic usage, replaced with its short counterpart when a constituent follows.

EXAMPLES:

*revatīputraḥ* 'son of Revatī'  
*rohinīputraḥ* 'son of Rohiṇī'  
*nāndīkaraḥ* 'speaker of a prologue (in a stage play)'  
*nāndīghoṣaḥ* 'announcement of a prologue'  
*nāndīviśālāḥ* 'a divinity'  
*kumārīdā* 'bestower of a daughter'  
*urvidā* 'bestower of the earth'  
*phālgunīpaurṇamāsī* 'full-moon night of the month of Phālguna'  
*jagatīcchandaḥ* 'a meter named *jagatī*'  
*śilaprastham* 'name of a place'  
*śilavaham* 'ibidem'  
*lomakāgṛham* 'name of a place'  
*lomakāṣaṇḍam* 'ibidem'  
*ajakṣīreṇa juhōti* 'offers oblations with goat's milk'  
*ūrṇāsūtरेणा कवयो वयन्ति* 'weavers weave with threads of wool'

1. This rule allows shortening of the final of a form ending in feminine affixes *Ō* and *āP*, variously (*bahulam*). Of course, when the derivate denotes a name and the usage is Vedic. Thus, the *ī* of *revatī* and *rohinī*, etc., are shortened. But consider *nāndī* of *nāndīkaraḥ*, etc., where, because of *bāhulaka*, this shortening does not apply. This same applies to *kumārī* and *urvī*, as against *phālgunī* and *jagatī*. Now consider *śilā*, as an example of a constituent ending in *āP*, where shortening applies. But then the same does not apply in case of *lomakā*. Examples with *ajā* and *ūrṇā* are: *ajakṣīreṇa juhōti* and *ūrṇāsūtरेणा कवयो वयन्ति*. The first goes through shortening but the second does not.

### 6.3.64 त्वे च

*tve ca*  
 /tve 7/1 ca φ/  
 (hrasvaḥ #61 nyāpoḥ bahulam #63)  
*tvapratyaye parato nyāpor bahulam hrasvo bhavati*

The final vowel of a nominal which ends in *Ō* and *āP* is, variously, replaced with its short counterpart when affix *tva* (5.1.119 *tasya bhāvas* . . .) follows.

EXAMPLES:

*ajatvam* = *ajāyā bhāvaḥ* 'sense of being a she-goat'  
*ajātvam* 'ibidem'

*rohinitvam* = *rohinyā bhāvaḥ* 'sense of being Rohiṇī'  
*rohinūtvam* 'ibidem'

1. This rule extends the *bāhulaka* proposal of the earlier rule to constituents where *tva* (5.1.119 *tasya bhāvas . . .*) follows. Note that examples with the denotata of names are impossible to find.

### 6.3.65 इष्टकेषीकामालानां चित्तुलभारिषु

*iṣṭakeṣīkāmālānām citatūlabhāriṣu*  
 / *iṣṭakeṣīkāmālānām* = *iṣṭakā ca iṣīkā ca mālā ca* (*itar. dv.*); *cita-tūla-bhāriṣu*  
 7/3 (*itar. dv.*) /  
 (*uttarapade* #1 *hrasvaḥ* #61)  
*iṣṭakeṣīkāmālānām* 'cita, tūla bhārin' *ity eteṣūttarapadeṣu yathāsaṃkhyam*  
*hrasvo bhavati*

The final vowel of *iṣṭakā*, *iṣīkā* and *mālā* are replaced with a corresponding short when *cita*, *tūla*, and *bhāra* combine to follow, respectively.

EXAMPLES:

*iṣṭakacitam* 'heap of ritual bricks'  
*iṣīkatūlam* 'bundle of reeds'  
*mālābhāriṇī kanyā* 'a girl who wears garlands'

1. This rule allows shortening where *iṣṭakā*, *iṣīkā* and *mālā* occur in combination before *cita*, *tūla* and *bhārin*, respectively. Compounds ending in *iṣṭakā*, *iṣīkā* and *mālā* also qualify for this replacement, provided *cita*, *tūla* and *bhārin* also combine to follow. Obviously, this interpretation takes recourse to *tadantavidhi*, interpreting *iṣṭakā*, *iṣīkā* and *mālā* as also what may end in them. Thus, we get *pakveṣṭakacitam* 'heap of fired bricks', *muñjeṣīkatūlam* 'bundle of Muñja reeds' and *utpalamālābhāriṇī kanyā* 'a girl who wears lotus garlands'.

### 6.3.66 खित्यनव्ययस्य

*khity anavyayasya*  
 / *khiti* 7/1 = *kha it yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmin*; *anavyayasya* 6/1 = *na avyayasya*  
 (*nañ.*) /  
 (*uttarapade* #1 *hrasvaḥ* #61)  
*khidante uttarapade* 'navyayasya hrasvo bhavati'

The final vowel of a word, with the exception of an indeclinable (*avyaya*), is replaced with its corresponding short when a constituent marked with *KH* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*kālimmanyā* 'she who considers herself Kālī (dark)'  
*harinimmanyā* 'she who considers herself a deer'

1. This rule allows shortening of the final vowel of a non-indeclinable (*anavyayasya*) when what follows in combination also ends in an affix marked with *KH* as an *it*. Thus, consider *kālimmanyā* and *hariṇimmanyā*, where *kālim* and *hariṇim* are non-indeclinables and *manya* is a derivate of *KHaS* (3.2.83 *ātmanāne khaś ca*). Refer to notes and appendix of 3.2.83 for relevant details. The condition of *anavyayasya* is imposed so that shortening does not apply to *doṣā* and *divā* of *doṣāmanyam ahaḥ* ‘a night-like day’ and *divāmanyā rātriḥ* ‘a day-like night’. For, *doṣā* and *divā* are both indeclinables.

2. Note that *kṛiti* is here interpreted via *tadantavidhi*. That is, it refers to a form which follows a non-indeclinable in combination, and also ends in an affix marked with *KH* as an *it*. That is, *kṛiti* cannot be interpreted as referring to an affix alone, as one may expect in view of the *paribhāṣā* (26): *uttarapadādadhikāre*. . . . The negation of *anavyayasya* would not be necessary if an *avyaya* ended in an affix marked with *KH* as an *it*. Such affixes are introduced after a *dhātu* ‘verbal root’.

3. Note that augment *mUM*, for example one introduced by the following rule, will not block this shortening. For, it will be useless to provide for shortening when the same can be blocked by *mUM* (*Kāś*: *mumā hrasvo na bādhyate, anyathā hi hrasvaśāsanam anarthakaṃ syāt*).

### 6.3.67 अरुद्विषदजन्तस्य मुम्

*arurdviṣadajantasya mum*

/arurdviṣad-ajantasya 6/1 = *ac ante yasya = ajantaḥ* (bv.); *arus ca dviṣac ca ajantaś ca* (sam. dv.), *tasya; mum 1/1/*

(*uttarapade* #1 *kṛity anavyayasya* #65)

‘*arus, dviṣat*’ *ity etayor ajantānām ca khidanta uttarapade mum āgamo bhavati anavyayasya*

Augment *mUM* is introduced to *arus, dviṣat* and a non-indeclinable word ending in a vowel (*aC*) when a constituent with *KH* as its *it* combines to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*aruntudaḥ* ‘that which hurts the wound’

*dviṣantapaḥ* ‘he who makes his enemy suffer’

*kālimmanyā* ‘she who considers herself dark’

1. This rule introduces augment *mUM* to non-indeclinable stems constituted by *arus* and *dviṣat*, or to stems which may end in a vowel. Of course, when a constituent ending in an affix marked with *KH* as an *it* combines to follow. Consider *aruntudaḥ* and *dviṣantapaḥ* where the final *s* and *t* of *arus* and *dviṣat* get deleted by 8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopah*. Other derivational details can be found under the appendix of 3.2.39 *dviṣatparayos tāpeḥ*.

2. A compound such as *vidvanmanyā* ‘she who considers herself schol-

arly' will not be allowed *mUM* because this rule does not include *vidvat* in its specification. Similar exclusion will apply to *doṣāmanyam* and *divāmanyā*.

3. The word *anta* is included so that *mUM* is introduced subsequent to the shortening of bases ending in a vowel (*Kāś*: *kṛtājantakāryapratipatyartham*).

### 6.3.68 इच एकाचोऽप्रत्ययवच्च

*ica ekāco' m pratyayavac ca*

/icaḥ 6/1 ekācaḥ 6/1 = eko'c yasmin sa ekāc (bu.), tasya; am 1/1 pratyayavat  
 φ ca φ/

(uttarapade #1 khiti #66)

*ijantasya ekācaḥ khidante uttarapade' m āgamo bhavati, ampratyayavac ca  
 dviṭīyāikavacanavac ca sa bhavati*

Augment *am* is introduced to a monosyllabic word which ends in a vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term *iC* (Śs. 1–4), with the additional provision that *am* be treated as if an affix, provided a constituent marked with *KH* as an *it* combines to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*gāmanyah* 'thinking about one's self as cow

*strīmanyah* 'thinking about one's self as a woman'

*striyammanyah* 'ibidem'

*narammanyah* 'thinking about one's self as a man'

*śriyammanyah* 'thinking about one's self as a brāhmaṇa'

1. This rule introduces augment *am* to a monosyllabic constituent which ends in a vowel denoted by *iC*, provided a constituent ending in an affix marked with *KH* as an *it* follows. Note that *am* is additionally treated as if it was affix *am* 'accusative singular'. This extensional provision requires *am* to be read twice in interpreting this rule (*dvir āvartate*).

Interpreting augment *am* as if it was the accusative singular affix *am* will facilitate operations such as: (a) *ātva*, as in *gām*, where the final *o* of *go* and the following *a* of *am* are both replaced with a single *ā*; (b) *pūrvasavarṇa-ekādeśa* 'single replacement homogeneous with the preceding', as in *strī* + *am* → *strīm* (6.1.103 *ami pūrvah*), of *strīmanyah*; (c) *guṇādeśa*: a replacement in *guṇa* for *r*, as in *nṛ* + *am* → *naram*, of *narammanyah* (7.3.113 *ṛto nīsarvanā-masthānayoh*); and (d) *iyaṇuvaṇ* 'replacement in *iyAN* and *uvAN*', as in *śr(i→iy)* + *am* = *śriyam* and *bhr(ū→uv)* + *am* = *bhruvam* (6.4.81 *abhyāsasyā-savarṇe*), of *śriyammanyah* and *bhruvammanyah*. The *am*, however, goes through deletion by *LUK* when it follows *śrī*, used as a neuter (7.1.23 *svamor naḥpumsakāt*). Thus, *śriyamanyam*, paraphrased as *śriyam ātmānam manyate brāhmaṇakulam* 'this clan of the brāhmaṇas considers itself to be rich'. This, however, is Patañjali's view. Others may still accept *śriyammanyam*.

## 6.3.69 वाचंयमपुरन्दरौ च

*vācamyamaṣpurandarau ca*

/ *vacamyama-purandarau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*); *ca*  $\phi$ /

(*mum* #67)

'*vācamyama, purandara*' *ity etau nipātyete*

The words *vācamyama* and *purandara* are derived with the introduction of augment *mUM*, via *nipātana*.

## EXAMPLES:

*vācamyama āste* 'stays with a vow of not speaking'

*purandarah* 'destroyer of cities'

1. This rule offers *am*, and shortening as well, in deriving *vācamyama* and *purandara* via *nipātana*. Note that *KHaC* is introduced after *yam* under the cooccurrence condition of *vāc* as an object (3.2.40 *āci yamo vrate*). Thus, *vācamyama āste*. An *uapada* compound is similarly formed with *dāra* under the cooccurrence condition of *pur* 'city', ending in the accusative (3.2.42 *pūḥ sarvayor dārisahoh*).

## 6.3.70 कारेसत्यागदस्य

*kāre satyāgadasya*

/ *kāre* 7/1 *satyāgadasya* 6/1 = *satyaṃ ca agadaś ca* = *satyāgadam* (*sam. dv.*), *tasya/*

(*uttarapade* #1 *mum* #67)

*kāraśabda uttarapade* '*satya, agada*' *ity etayor mum āgamo bhavati*

Augment *mUM* is introduced to *satya* 'truth' and *agada* 'non-affliction' when *kāra* combines to follow.

## EXAMPLES:

*satyaṅkārah* = *satyaṃ karoti*; *satyasya kārah vā* 'he who proves something to be true'

*agadaṅkārah* 'he who makes someone free of afflictions'

1. This rule introduces *mUM* to *satya* and *agada* when *kāra* combines to follow. The following summarizes several *vārttika* proposals made under this rule:

(1) *asti, dhenu, loka* receive *mUM* when *kāra, bhāvya* and *pr̥ṇa* combine to follow them, respectively. Thus, *astumkārah* 'he who says, 'so be it'; *dhenumbhavyā* 'a cow soon to be milk-giving'; *lokampr̥ṇā* 'pleasant to people'.

(2) *mUM* is also introduced to *bhakṣa* when *kāra* combines to follow, in the Vedic. Thus, *bhakṣamkārah*.

(3) *mUM* is also introduced to *anabhyāsa* when *itya* combines to follow. Thus, *anabhyāsamityah* 'he who goes without eating?'

(4) *mUM* is also introduced to *bhrāṣṭra* and *agni* before *indha*. Thus, *bhrāṣṭramindhah* 'firewood for roasting' and *agnimindhah* 'firewood'.

(5) *mUM* is also introduced to *gila*, provided what precedes is not *gila* itself. Thus, *timṅgilah* 'firefly'; but not *\*gilāṅgilah*. The *mUM* could, however, be introduced before *gilagila*. Thus, *timṅgilagilah*.

(6) *mUM* is also introduced to *uṣṇa* and *bhadra* when occurring before *karaṇa*. Thus, *uṣṇaṅkaraṇam* 'warming' and *bhadraṅkaraṇam* 'making something look good'.

(7) A replacement in *putraṭ* is optionally recommended for *duhitṛ* when occurring after *sūta*, *ugra*, *rāja*, *bhoja* and *meru*. Thus, *sūtaputṛī* and *sūtaduhitā*, etc. The *ṭ* as an *it* in *putraṭ* is intended for the feminine affix *ÑiP* (4.1.15 *ṭiddhāṇā* . . .).

### 6.3.71 इयेनतिलस्य पाते जे

*śyenatilasya pāte ñe*

/śyena-tilasya 6/1 = śyenaś ca tilaś ca= śyenatīlam (sam. dv.), tasya; pāte 7/1 ñe 7/1/

(uttarapade #1 mum #67)

'śyena, tila' ity etayoḥ pātaśabda uttarapade ñapratyaye pare mum āgamo bhavati

Augment *mUM* is introduced to *śyena* and *tila* when *pāta*, followed by affix *Ña*, combines to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*śyainampātā mrgayā* = *śyenapāto* 'syām kṛṇḍāyām' 'a sport (hunting) in which falcons hunt'

*tailampātā* 'a sport where a sesamum seeds are thrown'

1. This rule introduces *mUM* after the final vowel (1.1.47 *mid aco* 'ntyāt paraḥ) of *śyena* and *tila* when *pāta* combines as following constituent and affix *Ña* follows. Thus we get *śyainampātā* and *tailampātā*.

This augment cannot be introduced to *śyena* of *śyenapāta* where *pāta* is a derivate of affix *GHaÑ*. Refer to notes under rule 4.2.58 *ghaṇaḥ sāsyām kriyeti* for further details.

### 6.3.72 रात्रेः कृति विभाषा

*rātreḥ kṛti vibhāṣā*

/rātreḥ 6/1 kṛti 7/1 vibhāṣā 1/1/

(uttarapade #1 mum #67)

*rātreḥ kṛdante uttarapade vibhāṣā* mum āgamo bhavati

Augment *mUM* is optionally introduced to *rātri* when a constituent ending in a *kṛt* affix combines to follow.

## EXAMPLES:

*rātriñcaraḥ* 'night-wanderer'  
*rātricaraḥ* 'ibidem'  
*rātrimataḥ* 'ibidem'  
*rātryaṭaḥ* 'ibidem'

1. This option (*vibhāṣā*) is interpreted as *aprāpta-vibhāṣā* since it has not been made available earlier. Thus, we get *rātriñcaraḥ*, an *upapada* compound with *Ṭa* (3.2.15 *careṣ ṭaḥ*), i.e., *rātri* + *am* + *car* + *Ṭa*. We similarly get *rātrimataḥ* with *aC* (3.1.134 *nandigrahipacādy...*), i.e., *rātri* + *am* + *aṭ* + *aC*.

Recall that 6.3.67 *arurdviṣad...* offers *mUM* before a constituent ending in an affix marked with *KH* as an *it*. This will offer a single form *rātriṃmanyah*, since the provision is obligaroy (*nitya*). Our present rule applies when a *kṛt* affix not marked with *KH* as an *it* follows.

## 6.3.73 नलोपो नञः

*nalopo nañah*  
 / *nalopaḥ* 1/1 = *nakārasya lopaḥ* (*śāṣ. tat.*); *nañah* 6/1/  
 (*uttarapade* #1)

*naño nakārasya lopo bhavaty uttarapade*

The *n* of *nañ* is deleted by *LOPA* when a constituent combines to follow.

## EXAMPLES:

*avṛśalaḥ* 'someone other than a *Vṛśala*'  
*asurāpaḥ* 'someone other than one who drinks liquor'  
*asomapaḥ* 'someone other than one who drinks Soma'

1. This rule allows deletion of *n*, of *nañ* 'not', when the same combines with a following constituent.

A *vārttika* proposal is also made to delete *n* when the following constituent ends in a *tiñ*, and the derivate denotes contempt (*avakṣepa*). Thus, *akaroṣi tvam jālm!* 'hey, you, how come you are not doing this'.

## 6.3.74 तस्मान्ननुडचि

*tasmān nuḍ aci*  
 / *tasmāt* 5/1 *nuṭ* 1/1 *aci* 7/1  
 (*uttarapade* #1 *nañah* #73)

*tasmāl luptanakārān nañah nuḍ āgamo bhavati ajādāv uttarapade*

Augment *nUT* is introduced after that *nañ* which goes through deletion of its *n*, provided a *pada* beginning with a vowel follows in combination.

## EXAMPLES:

*anajaḥ* 'non-goat'  
*anaśvaḥ* 'non-horse'

1. This rule introduces *nUT* after a *nañ* which has lost its *n* to deletion and which combines with a following constituent beginning with a vowel. Since *nUT* is marked with *T* as an *it*, one may be tempted to introduce *nUT* before the *a* of *nañ* (1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau*). But why delete *n*, and subsequently restore the same with *nUT*? It is, therefore, claimed that *tasmāt* facilitates introduction of *nUT* at the beginning of a constituent which occurs after *nañ*.

## 6.3.75 नभ्रान्नपान्नवेदानसत्यानमुचिनकुलनखनपुंसकनक्षत्रनक्रानाकेषु प्रकृत्या

*nabhrāñnapāñnavedāñnāsatyāñnamuciñnakulañnakhañnapuṃsakañnakṣatranakranākeṣu prakṛtyā*  
 /*nabhrāt-napāt-navedāḥ-nāsatyāḥ-namuci-nakula-nakha-napuṃsaka-nakṣatra-nakra-nākeṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu; prakṛtyā* 3/1/  
 (*nañah* #73)

'*nabhrāt, napāt, navedāḥ, nāsatyāḥ, namuci, nakula, nakha, napuṃsaka, nakṣatra, nakra, nāka*' *ity eteṣu nañ prakṛtyā bhavati*  
 The *nañ* in *nabhrāt, napāt, navedāḥ, nāsatyāḥ, namuci, nakula, nakha, napuṃsaka, nakṣatra, nakra* and *nāka* remains as is.

## EXAMPLES:

*nabhrāt* = *na bhrājata iti* 'cloud'  
*napāt* = *na pātīti* 'nephew'  
*navedāḥ* = *na vetīti* 'ignorant'  
*nāsatyāḥ* = *satsu sādhaḥ satyāḥ, na satyāḥ* =  
*usatyāḥ* = *na asatyāḥ* 'twins; the Aśvins'  
*namuciḥ* = *na muñcatīti* 'demon'  
*nakulaḥ* = *nāsyā kulam asti* 'mongoose'  
*nakham* = *nāsyā khamastīti* 'nail'  
*napuṃsakam* = *na strī na puṃmān* 'neuter'  
*nakṣatram* = *na kṣarate kṣiyata iti* 'asterism, constellation'  
*nakraḥ* = *na krāmātīti* 'that which does not walk; alligator'  
*nākam* = *nāsmīn akam asti* 'heaven; that in which there is no absence of happiness'

1. These derivatives constitute an exception to the two preceding rules, via *nipātana*. That is, the *n* of their *nañ* does not go through deletion.

## 6.3.76 एकादिश्चैकस्य चादुक्

*ekādiś caikasya cāduk*



/ekādiḥ 1/1 = *eka ādir yasya* (bv.); *ca* ∅ *ekasya* 6/1 *ca* ∅ *āduk* 1/1  
(uttarapade #1 *nañah* #73 *prakṛtyā* #75)

*ekādiś ca nañ prakṛtyā bhavati ekaśabdasya cādug āgamo bhavati*

The *nañ* with *eka* at its beginning also remains as is, when a constituent combines to follow; additionally, augment *āduK* is introduced to *eka*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*ekānnaviṃśatiḥ* = *ekena na viṃśatiḥ* ‘nineteen’

*ekānnatṛiṃśat* ‘twenty-nine’

1. This rule retains *nañ* when the same combines with a preceding *eka*. Additionally, *eka* receives augment *ādUK*. Thus, *eka* + *Ṭā* + *naviṃśati* + *sU* = *eka* + *ād* + *naviṃśati* = *ekādnaviṃśati*, where a compound between *nañ* and *viṃśati* is formed first. Note that *eka* and *naviṃśati* combine to form a *tṛtīyā-tatpuruṣa* under the split-interpretation (yogavibhāga) of 2.2.21 *tṛtīyā*. . .

Note that *ādUK* is introduced at the end of *eka* which precedes. This way, an optional replacement in *n* (*anunāsika*) can be accomplished for *d*, when occurring at the end of a *pada* (8.4.44 *yaro’ nunāsike* . . .). This end of the *pada* status will be impaired if *ādUK* is introduced at the beginning of the following constituent. Consequently, an optional *n*-replacement for *d* which may occur at the end of a *pada* cannot be accomplished. This is how we can also get *ekādnaviṃśati* and *ekādnatṛiṃśat*.

#### 6.3.77 नगोऽप्राणिष्वन्यतरस्याम्

*nago’ prāṇiṣu anyatarasyām*

/nagaḥ 1/1 *aprāṇiṣu* 7/3 = *na prāṇinaḥ* (*nañ.*), *teṣu*; *anyatarasyām* 7/1/  
(uttarapade #1 *nañah* #73 *prakṛtyā* #75)

*nañ prakṛtyā bhavaty anyatarasyām aprāṇiṣu vartamāno yo nagaśabdas tatra nañ prakṛtyā vikalpena bhavati*

The *nañ* in *naga*, used with the signification of *aprāṇin* ‘non-sentient’, optionally remains as is, when a constituent combines to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*nagāḥ* (*vṛkṣāḥ* / *parvatāḥ*) ‘trees; mountains’

*agā vṛkṣāḥ* ‘ibidem’

1. Note that *ga* of *naga* is a derivate of the *Uṇādi* affix *Ḍa* (235: *gamer dah*), where *am* of *gam* goes through *ṭi*-deletion. This optional retention of *nañ* is not available to *agah*, of *ago vṛṣalaḥ śīlena* ‘a vṛṣala (lowly untouchable) who cannot move because of cold’, since the derivate denotes a *prāṇin* ‘living being’. That is, *n* of *nañ* cannot be retained.

## 6.3.78 सहस्य सः संज्ञायाम्

*sahasya saḥ saṃjñāyām*

/sahasya 6/1 saḥ 1/1 saṃjñāyām 7/1/

(uttarapade #1)

*sahaśabdasya sa ity ayam ādeśo bhavati saṃjñāyām.viśaye*

The word *saha* is replaced with *sa* when it combines with a following constituent and the derivate denotes a name.

## EXAMPLES:

*sāśvattham* 'a forest with Aśvattha trees'

*sapaḷāśam* 'a forest with Palāśa trees'

*saśiṃśāpam* 'a forest with Śiṃśapa trees'

1. This rule offers *sa* as a replacement for *saha* combining with a following constituent and the derivate signifying a name. Thus, *saha aśvatthena* = *sāśvattham*, etc., where a *bahuvrīhi* compound is formed by 2.2.28 *tena sheti tulyayoge*. This replacement will be blocked in *sahayudhvā* and *sahakṛtvā* where an *upapada* compound is formed with affix *KvaNIP* (3.2.96 *sahe ca*) and derivatives do not denote a name.

2. This replacement is also consequential for accent. The word *saha* is marked *udātta* at the beginning. Its *ha* then becomes *anudātta*. A substitute, here *sa*, which replaces *saha*, must then be marked with an accent somewhere in between the *udātta* and *anudātta*. The *sa* is therefore marked with *svarita*. But this could be true only where the compound is a *bahuvrīhi*. Elsewhere, for example, in the *avyayībhāva* compounds *seṣṭi* and *sapaśu*, this accent will be blocked by *udātta* at the end (*antodātta*; 6.1.220 *samāsasya*).

## 6.3.79 ग्रन्थान्ताधिके च

*granthāntādhike ca*

/granthāntādhike 7/1 = *granthasya antaḥ* (ṣaṣ. tat.); *granthāntaś ca adhikañ ca* (sam. dv.), *tasmin*; *ca* φ/

(uttarapade #1 *sahasya saḥ* #78)

*granthānte, adhike ca vartamānasya sahaśabdasya sa ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*

The word *saha*, when used with the signification of 'end of a treatise (*granthānta*)' and 'more than . . .' (*adhika*), is replaced with *sa*, provided a constituent combines to follow.

## EXAMPLES:

*sakalam jyautiṣam adhīte* 'studies the entire Jyautiṣa'

*sasaṃgrahaṃ vyākaraṇam adhīyate* 'grammar is studied along with the Saṃgraha'

*sadronā khārī* 'a khārī in excess of a droṇa'

*samāsaḥ kārṣāpaṇaḥ* 'a kārṣāpaṇa in excess of a māśa'

1. This rule replaces *saha* with *sa* when it denotes the sense of *anta* 'end' and *adhika* 'more than, in excess of'. Note that this replacement is restricted to *avyayībhāva* compounds formed by 2.1.6 *avyayaṃ vibhaktisamīpa*. . . . It is for this reason that, elsewhere, this replacement is allowed by 6.3.81 *avyayībhāve cākāle*. That is, where *saha* is combined with a following constituent used with the signification of something other than *kāla* 'time'.

### 6.3.80 द्वितीये चानुपाख्ये

*dviṭīye cā nuṣākhye*

/dviṭīye 7/1 ca ḥ anuṣākhye 7/1/

(uttarapade #1 sahasya saḥ #78)

*anumeṣe dviṭīye uttarapade parataḥ sahasya sa ity ayaṃ ādeśo bhavati*

The word *saha* is also replaced with *sa* when a constituent with the denotatum of an indirectly perceived non-principal entity combines to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*sāgniḥ kapotaḥ* 'a pigeon whose presence is indicative of fire'

*sapīśācā vāṭyā* 'a hurricane indicative of the presence of goblins'

*sarākṣasikā śālā* 'a house indicative of the presence of demons'

1. The word *dviṭīya* is explained as *dvayoḥ sahayuktayor apradhānaḥ* 'the non-principal among two entities associated with *saha*'. Thus, *agni* is non-principal in *sāgniḥ kapotaḥ* = *agninā saha yuktaḥ kapotaḥ* 'pigeon in association with fire'. The word *anuṣākhyā* is explained as *upākhyād anyañ = anumeṣañ* 'something not directly perceived; assumed'. Fire is non-principal here since its presence can always be assumed via presence of a pigeon. Conversely, *kapota* is principal since its presence cannot necessarily be assumed via presence of fire.

### 6.3.81 अव्ययीभावे चाकाले

*avyayībhāve cākāle*

/avyayībhāve 7/1 ca ḥ akāle 7/1 = na kālaḥ (nañ.), tasmin/

(uttarapade #1 sahasya saḥ #78)

*avyayībhāve ca samāse' kālavācīny uttarapade sahasya sa ity ayaṃ ādeśo bhavati*

The word *saha* is replaced with *sa*, also in a compound termed *avyayībhāva* which ends in a following constituent with the signification of something other than *kāla* 'time'.

#### EXAMPLES:

*sacakram (dhehi)* '... with the wheel'

*sadhuram (prāja)* '... with the axle'

1. This rule allows *saha* to be replaced with *sa* when *saha* combines in an *avyayībhāva* compound with a following constituent denoting something other than *kāla* 'time'. The condition of *akāle* is needed so that a compound such as *sahapūrvāhṇam* does not qualify for this replacement. Obviously, since *pūrvāhṇa* 'first half of a day' denotes time. Incidentally, *sadhuram* and *sacakram* are both *avyayībhāva* compounds formed by 2.1.6 *avyayaṃ vibhaktisamīpa . . .*, where *sadhuram* also involves the *samāsānta* affix *ṬaC* (5.4.74 *ṛkṣpūrabdhūḥ . . .*).

### 6.3.82 वोपसर्जनस्य

*vopasarjanasya*

/va φ *upasarjanasya* 6/1/

(*sahasya saḥ* #78)

*yasya sarve* 'vayavā *upasarjanābhūtāḥ sa sarvopasarjano bahuvrīhiḥ; tadavayavasya sahasābdasya vā sa ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*

The *saha* of a compound formed with all constituents termed *upasarjana* is replaced with *sa*, only optionally.

#### EXAMPLES:

*saputrah* 'with (his) son'

*sahaputrah* 'ibidem'

*sacchātrah* 'with (his) student'

*sahachātrah* 'ibidem'

1. This rule allows *saha* to be optionally replaced with *sa* when contained within a compound formed with all constituents termed *upasarjana* (1.2.45 *prathamānirdiṣṭa . . .*). This option, as one understands from 2.2.24 *anekam anyapadārthe*, is only available to *bahuvrīhi* compounds.

2. Note that *upasarjana* is not used here as a qualifier to *saha*. It is, instead, used as a qualifier to all compound constituents. Thus, the interpretation: 'where all compound constituents are termed *upasarjana*'. The word *upasarjana*, denoting the property of a part of the compound, is thus manipulated to refer to the property of its whole (*Nyāsa: avayavadharmena samudāyadharmasya tathā nirdeśāt*).

The *saha* of *sahayudhvā* and *sahakṛtvā* cannot be replaced with *sa* since these *taṭpuruṣa* compounds have *saha* alone as an *upasarjana*. This replacement can also not be allowed in *sahakṛtvapriyaḥ* and *priyasahakṛtvā* where *saha* is part of the *bahuvrīhi*. But the constituent which immediately follows *saha* is not directly relatable to the *bahuvrīhi* in reference. The first example has an intervening *kṛtvā*. The second has *sahakṛtvā* as the following constituent.

### 6.3.83 प्रकृत्याशिषि

*prakṛtyāśiṣi*

/prakṛtyā 3/1 āśiṣi 7/1/

(sahasya #78)

prakṛtyā sahaśabdo bhavati āśiṣi viṣaye

The word *saha* remains as is when a constituent combines to follow and *āśiṣi* 'benediction' is denoted.

#### EXAMPLES:

svasti devadattāya sahaṣputrāya sahaśchātrāya

sahāmātyāya 'blessings to Devadatta, along with his son; . . . student; . . . his minister'

1. *Kāśikā* reads this *sūtra* as: *prakṛtyāśiṣy agovatsahaleṣu*, where *agovatsahaleṣu* 'when a constituent other than *go* 'cow', *vatsa* 'calf' and *hala* 'plough' follows' is an addition made in view of a *vārttika* proposal. The *gavādi* 'go, etc.' of this *vārttika* proposal is illustrated by Patañjali with *svasti bhavate sagave savatsāya sahalāya* 'blessings to you with your cow, calf and plough'. The option of the preceding rule will still offer *sahagave*, etc. I have decided not to include *agovatsahaleṣu* as part of the reading of this *sūtra*.

#### 6.3.84 समानस्य छन्दस्यमूर्धप्रभृत्युदकेषु

samānasya chandasi amūrdhaṣprabhṛtyudarkeṣu

/samānasya 6/1 chandasi 7/1 amūrdhaṣprabhṛtyudarkeṣu 7/3 = mūrdhā ca prabhṛtiś ca udarkaś ca = mūrdhaṣprabhṛtyudarkāḥ (itar. dv.); na mūrdhaṣprabhṛtyudarkāḥ (nañ. with int. dv.)/  
(uttarapade #1 saḥ #78)

samānasya 'sa' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati chandasi viṣaye 'mūrdhan, prabhṛti, udarka' ity etāny uttarapadāni varjayitvā

The word *samāna* is replaced with *sa*, in the Vedic, when a constituent other than *mūrdhan*, *prabhṛti* and *udarka* combines to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

anubhrātā sagārbhyaḥ 'younger brother'

anusakhā sayūthah 'a companion who follows'

yo naḥ sanūtyaḥ 'he who is an outsider for us'

1. This rule allows *samāna*, in the Vedic, to be replaced with *sa*, provided the following constituent is not *mūrdhan*, *prabhṛti* and *udarka*. Consider *sagarbhyaḥ*, a derivate of affix *yaN* (4.4.114 *sagarbhasayūtha* . . .), introduced after *sagarbha* + *Ñi*. Thus, *samānaḥ garbhaḥ* = *sagarbhaḥ*, *tatra bhavaḥ* = *sagarbhyaḥ* 'same womb, born there = born in the same womb'. These example compounds are all formed by 2.1.58 *pūrvāparaprathama*. . . This *sa* replacement is negated for *samānamūrdhā*, *samānaprabhṛtayaḥ* and *samānodarkāḥ*. But how would one derive *samānaḥ pakṣo* 'sya = *sapakṣaḥ* 'he who is on the

same side', *samāno dharmo* 'sya = *sādharmyam* '... whose *dharma* is the same' and *samānā jātir asya* 'he whose class is the same'. A split-interpretation of this *sūtra* as *samānasya* accomplishes the derivation. The *samāna* of example compounds is replaced with *sa* after formation of a *bahuvrīhi*.

### 6.3.85 ज्योतिर्जनपदरात्रिनाभिनामगोत्ररूपस्थानवर्णवयोवचनबन्धुषु

*jyotirjanapadarātrinābhināmagotrarūpasthānavarṇavayovacanabandhuṣu*  
/ *jyotir-janapada-rātri-nābhi-nāman-gotra-rūpa-sthāna-varṇa-vayas-vacana-*  
*bandhuṣu* 7/3/

(*uttarapade* 31 *saḥ* #78 *samānasya* #84)

'*jyotis, janapada, rātri, nābhi, nāman, gotra, rūpa, sthāna, varṇa, vayas, vacana, bandhu*' *ity eteṣūttarapadeṣu samānasya 'sa' ity ayam ādeṣo bhavati*  
The word *samāna* is replaced with *sa* when *jyotis, janapada, rātri, nābhi, nāman, gotra, rūpa, sthāna, varṇa, vayas, vacana*, and *bandhu* combine to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*sajyotiḥ* 'having the same glow'  
*sajanapadaḥ* 'belonging to the same principality'  
*sarātriḥ* 'similar night'  
*sanābhiḥ* 'having the same center (navel)'  
*sanāmā* 'having the same name'  
*sagotraḥ* 'having the same *gotra*'  
*sarūpaḥ* 'having the same appearance'  
*sasthānaḥ* 'residing at the same place'  
*savarṇaḥ* 'having the same color (sub-class)'  
*savayāḥ* 'being of the same age'  
*savacanaḥ* 'having similar speech'  
*sabandhuḥ* 'having same clansman'

1. These examples are mostly interpreted as *bahuvrīhi* compounds. Thus, *samānā jyotir asya* 'that whose glow is the same', etc. Note, however, that a *tatpuruṣa* interpretation of these compounds cannot be ruled out. Thus, *samānam jyotiḥ* = *sajyotiḥ* 'same glow', etc.

### 6.3.86 चरणे ब्रह्मचारिणि

*carane brahmacāriṇi*

/ *carane* 7/1 *brahmacāriṇi* 7/1/

(*uttarapade* #1 *saḥ* #78 *samānasya* #84)

*carane gamyamāne brahmacāriṇy uttarapade samānasya sa ity ayam ādeṣo bhavati*

The word *samāna* is replaced with *sa* when *brahmacārin* combines as a following constituent, and *carana* is denoted.

## EXAMPLES:

*sabramhacārī* 'a fellow student with similar vows of studying the same branch of the Veda'

1. The word *brahma* here means *veda*. The word *carāṇa* is used in the sense of a Vedic branch. The word *brahmacārīn* 'pursuer of the Brahman', in the context of *carāṇa*, thus refers to a person who has taken the vow of pursuing the study of a Vedic branch. A fellow student with similar vow of study is called *sabrahmacārīn*. Note that *carāṇa* is a relative term. It can refer to the four principal branches of the Vedas. It can also refer to sub-branches within these four principal branches.

## 6.3.87 तीर्थे ये

*tīrthe ye*

/ *tīrthe* 7/1 *ye* 7/1/

(*uttarapade* #1 *saḥ* #78 *samānasya* #84)

*tīrthaśabde uttarapade yatpratyaṅyānte samānasya vibhāṣā sa ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*

The word *samāna* is replaced with *sa* when *tīrtha*, terminating in *yaT*, combines to follow.

## EXAMPLES:

*satīrthyah* 'he who studies at the same teacher's place'

1. This rule allows *samāna* to be replaced with *sa* when *tīrtha* combines as a following constituent ending *ya*. Note that *samānatīrtha* is a *karmadhāraya* ending in the *taddhita* affix *yaT* (4.4.107 *samānatīrthe vāsī*). The word *tīrtha* is used here in the sense of a teacher's place.

## 6.3.88 विभाषोदरे

*vibhāṣodare*

/ *vibhāṣa* 1/1 *udare* 7/1/

(*uttarapade* #1 *saḥ* #78 *samānasya* #84)

*udaraśabda uttarapade yatpratyaṅyānte samānasaya vibhāṣā sa ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*

The word *samāna* is replaced with *sa* only optionally when *udara*, terminating in affix *yaT*, combines to follow.

## EXAMPLES:

*sodaryah* 'brother

*samānodaryah* 'ibidem'

1. This rule optionally allows *samāna* to be replaced with *sa* when *udara*

'belly, womb', ending in *yaT*, combines to follow. Thus, *samānodaryah* and *sodaryah*, where *samānodara* and *sodara* receive affixes *yaT* and *ya*, respectively (4.4.108 *samānodare śayita* . . . ; 4.4.109 *sodarād yah*).

### 6.3.89 दृग्दृशवतुषु

*dr̥gdr̥śavatuṣu*

/ *dr̥g-dr̥śa-vatuṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*) /

(*uttarapade* #1 *saḥ* #78 *samānasya* #84)

'*dr̥k*, *dr̥śa*, *vatu*' *ity eteṣu parataḥ samānasya* 'sa' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*

The word *samāna* is replaced with *sa* when *dr̥k*, *dr̥śa* and *vatU* combine to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*sadr̥k* 'similar to . . . '

*sadr̥śaḥ* 'ibidem'

1. This rule allows *samāna* to be replaced with *sa* when *dr̥k*, *dr̥śa* and *vatU* combine to follow. Recall that affixes *kañ* and *Kuñ* are introduced after verbal root *dr̥śIR* when *tyad*, etc., occur in conjunction (3.2.60 *dr̥śādiṣu* . . .). A *vārtika* proposal is made under that rule to also allow these affixes when *samāna* and *anya* are used in conjunction with *dr̥śIR* (*samānānyayoś ceti vaktavyam*). This gives us *sadr̥k* and *sadr̥śa*. A *vārtika* proposal is additionally made there to allow affix *ksa* after *dr̥śIR* to derive *dr̥kṣa*. This with *samāna* will yield *sadr̥kṣa*.

How come no examples for *vatU* are offered here? It is specified here for *anuvṛtti* in the following rule (*Kāś: vatugrahaṇam uttarārtham*). Note that affix *vatUP* is introduced only after *yad*, *tad* and *etad*, when the signification is *parimāṇa* 'measure' (5.2.39 *yattadetebhyah parimāṇe*). Obviously, examples of *vatU* with *samāna* are impossible (*asambhavāt*) to find.

### 6.3.90 इदं किमोरीशकी

*idaṅkimorīśkī*

/ *idaṅkimoh* 6/2 = *idaṃ ca kiṃ ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoh*; *īśkī* (deleted 1/1) /

(*uttarapade* #1 *dr̥gdr̥śvatuṣu* #89)

'*idaṃ*, *kiṃ*' *ity etayor īś*, *kī*, *ity etau yathāsamkhyam ādeśau bhavato dr̥gdr̥śvatuṣu*

The word *idaṃ* and *kiṃ* are replaced, respectively, with *īś* and *kī*, when *dr̥k*, *dr̥śa*, and *vatU* combine to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*īdr̥k* 'like this'

*īdr̥śaḥ* 'ibidem'



*iyān* 'this large'  
*kīdṛk* 'like what'  
*kīdṛśaḥ* 'ibidem'  
*kiyān* 'how large'

1. This rule offers *iṣ* and *kī* as replacement for *idam* and *kim*, respectively, when *ḍṛk*, *ḍṛśa* and *vatU* follow. Refer to notes under 5.3.39 *yattadeteḥbyaḥ* *parimāṇe* and 5.3.40 *kimidambhyām* . . . for deriving *iyān* and *kiyān*. A *vārttika* proposal is also made to allow these replacements when *ḍṛkṣa* follows in combination after *kim* and *idam*. Thus, we also get *īdṛkṣaḥ* and *kīdṛkṣaḥ*.

### 6.3.91 आ सर्वनाम्नः

*ā sarvanāmnah*  
 / *ā* (1/1 deleted) *sarvanāmnah* 6/1/  
 (uttarapade #1 *ḍṛg-ḍṛś-vatuṣu* #89)  
*sarvanāmna ākārādeṣo bhavati ḍṛgḍṛśvatuṣu*  
 The final sound segment of a pronominal (*sarvanāman*) is replaced with *ā* when *ḍṛk*, *ḍṛśa* and *vatU* combine to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*tāḍṛk* 'like that'  
*tāḍṛśaḥ* 'ibidem'  
*tāvān* 'that much, that large'  
*yāḍṛk* 'like that which . . .'  
*yāḍṛśaḥ* 'ibidem'  
*yāvān* 'as much as . . .'

1. This rule offers *ā* as a replacement for the final sound (1.1.52 *alo ntyasya*) of a pronominal (*sarvanāma*; 1.1.27 *sarvādīni sarvanāmāni*) when *ḍṛk*, *ḍṛśa* and *vatU* follow in combination. Here again we find a *vārttika* proposal (*ḍṛkṣe ceti ca vaktavyam*) to include *ḍṛkṣa* as a following constituent. Thus, we get *tāḍṛkṣaḥ* and *yāḍṛkṣaḥ*.

### 6.3.92 विष्णुदेवयोश्च टेदृयञ्चतौ वप्रत्यये

*viṣvagdevayoś ca teradryañcatau vaṇpratyaye*  
 / *viṣvag-devayoḥ* (itar. dv.), *tayoḥ*; *ca*  $\Phi$  *teḥ* 6/1 *adri* (1/1 deleted) *añcatau*  
 7/1 *vaṇpratyaye* 7/1 = *vaḥ* *pratyayo yasmāt* (bv.), *tasmin*/  
 (uttarapade 7/1 *sarvanāmnah* #91)  
*'viṣvak, deva' ity etayoḥ sarvanāmnas ca teḥ 'adri' ity ayam ādeṣo bhavati añcatau vaṇpratyayānta uttarapade*  
 The form *adri* comes in place of the *ṭi* (1.1.64 *aco ntyādi ṭi*) of *viṣvak*, *deva*, and a *sarvanāman* as well, when verbal root *añcU*, terminating in affix *va*, combines to follow.

## EXAMPLES:

*viṣvadryaṇ* = *viṣvag aṇcati* ‘all-pervading’  
*devadryaṇ* ‘turned towards divine’  
*tadryaṇ* ‘turned towards that’  
*yadryaṇ* ‘turned towards the thing which . . .’

1. This rule offers *adri* as a replacement for the *ṭi* part (1.1.64 *aco’ ntyādi ṭi*) of *viṣvak* and *deva*, and of pronominals as well, when a constituent with *aṇc* ending in *vA* (3.2.59 *ṛtvigdadhr̥ksrag* . . .) follows. Thus, *viṣv(a→adri) + aṇ = viṣvadri(i→y) + aṇ = viṣvadryaṇ* and *dev(a→adri) + aṇ = devadri(i→y) + aṇ = devadryaṇ*, through application of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*. Refer to the appendix of rule 3.2.59 *ṛtvigdadhr̥ksrag* . . . for deriving *aṇ* from *aṇc* + *KvIN*. Similar rules apply in deriving *tadryaṇ* and *yadryaṇ*, derivatives with pronominal *tad* and *yad*.

A *vārttika* proposal is made to mark *adri* and *sadhri* with a final *udātta*, via *nīpātana*. This will block the *kṛt* accent of 6.2.139 *gatikāraḥkopapadāt kṛt*. Consequently, after the *i* is replaced with *y* (*yaṇādeśa*), the following constituent will receive *svārīta* (8.2.4 *udāttasvarītaḥ* . . .).

*Kāśikā* offers *aśvam aṇcati* = *aśvācī* ‘moves the horse’, *viṣvagryuk* and *viṣvagaṇcanam* as counter-examples where *adri* cannot be used as a replacement. The first example does not have *viṣvak* and *deva*; the second lacks *aṇc*; and the third does not have affix *v*. That is, *aṇcana* is a derivate of *Lyuṭ*.

Why state *vaṇpratyaye* when *aṇcatau* itself could have served the purpose. This specification with *vaṇpratyaye* is made to indicate that, elsewhere, a specification made by a verbal root alone could be interpreted as referring to the entire form, beginning with the verbal root ending in the affix (*Nyāsa*: *anyatra dhātugrahaṇe dhātuvādeḥ prakṛtipratyayasamudāyasya pratīpattiḥ*). This *tadādividhi* ‘beginning with that . . .’ interpretation will facilitate a *s*-replacement for *ḥ* (*visarga*; 8.3.46 *ataḥ kṛkamikaṃsa* . . .) also in *ayaḥ + kṛtam→ayaskṛtam* and *ayaskāraḥ*. Otherwise, *s* could replace *ḥ* only where *kṛ* alone was used as the following constituent, for example, in *ayaskṛt*. Incidentally, the final *t* (*tUK*) will be treated as part of *kṛ*.

Yet another *vārttika* proposal states that, in the Vedic, especially in the feminine, *adri* is found variously (*bahulam*). Consider *viśvācī* and *ghṛtācī* where it is not found, and *kadrīcī* where it is found.

## 6.3.93 समः समि

*samaḥ sami*

/samaḥ 6/1 sami (1/1 deleted)/

(uttarapade #1 *aṇcatau vaṇpratyaye* #92)

‘*sam*’ *ity etasya* ‘*sami*’ *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati aṇcatau vaṇpratyayānte uttarapade*

The form *sami* comes in place of *sam* when verbal root *aṇcU*, terminating in affix *vA*, combines to follow.

## EXAMPLES:

*samyak* ‘nominative singular; turned together in one direction;

*samyañcau* ‘nominative dual’

*samyañcaḥ* ‘nominative plural’

1. This rule offers *sami* as a replacement for *sam* when verbal root *añc* terminating in *va* follows. Thus, consider *samyāñ/ samyañcau/ samyañcaḥ*.

## 6.3.94 तिरसस्तिर्यलोपे

*tirasas tiry alope*

/ *tirasah* 6/1 *tiri* 7/1 *alope* 7/1 (*nañ. tat., tasmin*) /

(*uttarapade* #1 *añcatau va pratyaye* #92)

‘*tiras*’ *ity etasya* ‘*tiri*’ *ity ayam ādeśo bhavaty añcatau va pratyayānte uttarapade*

The form *tiras* is replaced with *tiri* when verbal root *añcU* terminates in affix *va* and combines to follow without going through any deletion.

## EXAMPLES:

*tiryāñ* ‘nominative singular; crooked, slanted, oblique’

*tiryāñcau* ‘nominative dual’

*tiryāñcaḥ* ‘nominative plural’

1. This rule allows *tiras* to be replaced with *tiri* when *añc*, ending in *va*, follows, provided the *a* of *añc* has not gone through deletion. Recall that the *a* of *añc* gets deleted by 6.4.138 *acah*, as in *tiraścā* and *tiraśce*. Note that *alope* is not desired to be interpreted as: *asya lopah*, *tasmin* ‘when deletion of *a* has occurred’.

## 6.3.95 सहस्य सध्रिः

*sahasya sadhriḥ*

/ *sahasya* 6/1 *sadhriḥ* 1/1 /

(*uttarapade* #1 *añcatau va pratyaye* #92)

‘*saha*’ *ity asya* ‘*sadhri*’ *ity ayam ādeśo bhavaty añcatau va pratyayānte uttarapade*

The word *saha* is replaced with *sadhri* when a constituent with *añcU* terminating in affix *va* combines to follow.

## EXAMPLES:

*sadhryāñ* ‘nominative singular of *sadhryañc* ‘turned in the same direction’

*sadhryāñcaḥ* ‘nominative plural . . .’

*sadhriñcaḥ* ‘accusative dual . . .’

*sadhriñcā* ‘instrumental singular’

1. Note that the *a* of *añc* is deleted (6.4.138 *acaḥ*) in *sadhṛīcaḥ* and *sadhṛīcā*, the accusative dual and instrumental singular forms, and the short *i* is replaced with long (6.4.138 *cau*). Also recall that the *ñ* of *añc* will be deleted by 6.4.24 *anidilām hala*. . . .

### 6.3.96 सध मादस्थयोश्छन्दसि

*sadha mādashthayōś chandasi*

/ *sadha* (1/1 deleted) *māda-stha-yoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*) *chandasi* 7/1/

(*uttarapade* #1 *sahasya* #95)

*chandasi viśaye* ‘*māda, stha*’ *ity etayor upapadayoḥ sahasya* ‘*sadha*’ *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*

The word *saha* is replaced with *sadha* when, in the Vedic, *māda* and *stha* combine to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*sādhāmādo dyumninīrāpāḥ*

*sadhasthā*

1. Note that *sadhāmāda* is paraphrased as *mādena saha* where *māda*, as a derivate of *GHaN*, combines to follow *saha*. A similar interpretation applies to *sadhastha* where *sthā* ends in affix *ka* (3.2.3 *āto* ‘*nupasarge kaḥ*’).

### 6.3.97 द्व्यन्तरुपसर्गेभ्योऽप ईत्

*dvyan tarupasargebhyo* ‘*pa it*

*dy-antar-upasargebhyāḥ* 5/3 (*itar. dv.*) *apaḥ* 6/1 *it* 1/1/

(*uttarapade* #10)

‘*dvi, antar*’ *ity etābhyām upasargāc cottarasya āb ity etasya ikārādeśo bhavati*

The initial (1.1.53 *ādeḥ parasya*) sound segment of *ap* is replaced with *īT* (1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*) when *ap* occurs in combination after *dvi*, *antar* and a preverb (*upasarga*).

#### EXAMPLES:

*dvīpam* ‘island’

*antarīpam* ‘a portion of land stretching out into the sea’

*saṁīpam* ‘near, proximate’

1. This rule offers *īT* (1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*) as a replacement for *ap* ‘water’. Note that *īT* replaces the *a* of *ap* in accord with 1.1.54 *ādeḥ parasya*. Refer to the appendix of 1.1.54 for derivational details. Incidentally, the *saṁāsānta* affix *a* (5.4.74 *ṛkṣūrabdhūḥ* . . .) is introduced in deriving *dvīpam*. *Kāśikā* offers *saṁgatā āpaḥ asmin* = *saṁgam*, *vīgatā āpaḥ asmin* = *vīpam* and *nīgatā āpaḥ asmin* = *nīpam* as examples where an *upasarga* is in combination. Incidentally, the last should have been *nīrtā āpaḥ* = *nīrīpam*.

2. A *vārttika* proposal blocks this replacement in *samā āpaḥ asmin; samāpam nāma devayajanam = samāpah* ‘a sacrifice’. Some say that this replacement in long *ī* should not apply when *ap* is used with a prefix ending in *a*. Thus, *pra* + *ap* + *a* = *prāpa*. The word *upasarga* here refers to *pra*, etc., in general. The technical sense of *upasarga* will require *kriyāyoga* ‘association with a verbal root signifying an action’ (1.1.59 *upasargāḥ kriyāyoge*). Obviously, *ap* is not a verbal root.

### 6.3.98 ऊदनोर्देशे

*ūdanor deśe*

/ūt 1/1 anoḥ 6/1 deśe 7/1/

(uttarapade #1 *apaḥ* #97)

*anor uttarasya ap ūkārādeśo bhavati deśābhidhāne*

The initial (1.1.53 *ādeḥ parasya*) sound segment of *ap* is replaced with *ūt* (1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*) when *ap* occurs in combination after *anu* and the derivate denotes *deśa* ‘place’.

#### EXAMPLES:

*anūpo deśaḥ = anugatā āpo* ‘a place named Anūpa’

1. This rule offers *ūt*, as a replacement for the *a* of *ap*, when the derivate signifies a *deśa* ‘place’. We will get *anvīpam* ‘a place close to water’ when the derivate does not signify a place.

### 6.3.99 अषष्ठ्यतृतीयास्थस्यान्यस्य दुगाशीराशास्थास्थितोत्सुकोत्तिकारकरागच्छेषु

*aṣaṣṭhyatrītiyāsthasyānyasya dug āśīrāśāsthāsthītotsukolīkārakarāgaccheṣu*  
/aṣaṣṭhyatrītiyāsthasya 6/1 = na ṣaṣṭhī = aṣaṣṭhī; na trītiyā = atrītiyā (nañ.);  
*aṣaṣṭhī ca atrītiyā ca = aṣaṣṭhyatrītiye* (itar. dv.); *tayoḥ tiṣṭhati = aṣaṣṭhyatrītiyāsthāḥ, tasya; anyasya 6/1 duk 1/1 āśīr-āśā-āsthā-āsthita-utsuka-*  
*ūti-kāraka-rāga-ccheṣu 7/3* (itar. dv.)/

(uttarapade #1)

*aṣaṣṭhīsthasya atrītiyāsthasya cānyaśabdasya dug āgamo bhavati* ‘āśis, āśā, āsthā, āsthita, utsuka, ūti, kāraka, rāga, cha’ ity eṣeṣu parataḥ

Augment *dUK* is introduced to *anya*, when not used with *ṣaṣṭhī* and *trītiyā*, provided *āśis* ‘benediction’, *āśā* ‘hope’, *āsthā* ‘faith, regard’, *āsthita* ‘preoccupied’, *utsuka* ‘eager’, *ūti* ‘help, assistance’, *kāraka* ‘doer, agent’, *rāga* ‘attachment, passion’, and affix *cha*, combine to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*anyadāśīḥ = anyā āśīḥ* ‘a different benediction’

*anyadāśā = anyā āśā* ‘a different hope’

*anyadāsthā = anyā āsthā* ‘a different consideration’

*anyadāsthitaḥ = anyā āsthitaḥ* ‘differently preoccupied’

*anyadutsukaḥ* = *anya utsukaḥ* 'eager for something else'  
*anyadūtiḥ* = *anyā ūtiḥ* 'a different help'  
*anyatkāraḥ* = *anyaḥ kāraḥ* 'a different agent'  
*anyadrāgaḥ* = *anyo rāgaḥ* 'a different passion'  
*anyādīyaḥ* = *anyasmin bhavaḥ* 'belonging to another'

1. This rule offers *dUK* as an augment to *anya*, when *anya* is not used with genitive and instrumental. Additionally, *anya* must combine before *āśiḥ*, etc., its following constituents. Thus, we get *anyadāśiḥ*, etc. Note that affix *cha* is introduced to derive *anyasmin bhavaḥ* = *anyādīyaḥ* from *anya* + *Ñi* + *cha* (4.2.138 *gahādibhyaś ca*; 7.1.2 *āyaneyi* . . .).

*Kāsikā* offers *anyasya āśiḥ* = *anyāśiḥ* and *anyena āsthitaḥ* = *anyāsthitaḥ* as counter-examples to the condition of *aṣaṣṭhy-atṛtīyāsthasya* 'when not ending in the genitive and instrumental'. We do not get augment *dUK*. We get a similar long vowel replacement.

How do we get *anyasya kārakam* = *anyatkārakam* and *anyasya idam* = *anyādīyam*, where *anya* is used with genitive? This negation of genitive and instrumental is non-obligatory (*anītya*). How do we know this? The use of negatives in *ṣaṣṭhī* and *tṛtīyā* both serve as a mark (*jñāpaka*). For, Pāṇini would have simply stated *aṣaṣṭhūtṛtīyāsthasya*. A verse summarizes this introduction of *dUK* as follows:

*dugāgamo* 'viśeṣeṇa vaktavyaḥ kārakacchayoḥ/  
*ṣaṣṭhūtṛtīyayor neṣṭa āśīrādiṣu saptasu* //  
 'augment *dUK* is to be generally stated before *kāraḥ* and *cha*; it is not desired before the other seven items listed beginning with *āśiḥ*, especially when *anya* is used with *ṣaṣṭhī* and *tṛtīyā*'

### 6.3.100 अर्थे विभाषा

*arthe vibhāṣā*  
 / *arthe* 7/1 *vibhāṣā* 1/1/  
 (uttarapade #1 *aṣaṣṭhyatṛtīyāsthasya anyasya duk* #99)  
*arthaśabde uttarapade anyasya vibhāṣa dug āgamo bhavati*  
 Augment *dUK* is optionally introduced to *anya*, when not used with *ṣaṣṭhī* and *tṛtīyā*, provided *artha* combines to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*anyadarthaḥ* 'for some other purpose'  
*anyārthaḥ* 'ibidem'

1. This rule makes *dUK* optional when *anya*, not used in the genitive and instrumental, is followed by *artha* in combination. Thus, *anyadarthaḥ* and *anyārthaḥ*. These compound are formed with the signification of *anyasmai idam* 'intended for someone else' (2.1.36 *caturthī tadarthārtha* . . .).

## 6.3.101 कोः कत् तत्पुरुषेऽचि

*koḥ kat tatpuruṣe' ci*

/koḥ 6/1 kat 1/1 tatpuruṣe 7/1 aci 7/1/

(uttarapade #1)

'ku' ity etasya 'kad' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati tatpuruṣe samāse' jādāu uttarapade ku is replaced with kat when, in a compound termed tatpuruṣa, a constituent beginning with a vowel (ajādi) combines to follow.

## EXAMPLES:

*kadajaḥ* 'bad goat'

*kadaśvaḥ* 'bad horse'

*kaduṣṭraḥ* 'bad camel'

*kadannam* 'bad food'

1. Consider *ku* + *sU* + *aja* + *sU* → *kat* + *aja*, a *prādi* compound (2.2.18 *kugati prādayaḥ*) where *t* of *kat* is replaced with *d* through *jaśva* (8.3.39 *jhalāṃ jaśo'nte*). Other examples are similarly derived.

2. Note that a non-tatpuruṣa compound, for example, a *bahuvrīhi* such as *kūṣṭraḥ* 'he whose camel is bad' (as in *kūṣṭro rājā*), will not qualify for this replacement. A similar exclusion will be made for *kubrāhmaṇaḥ* and *kuṣuruṣaḥ*, where *brāhmaṇa* and *puruṣa* begin with a consonant.

3. A *vārttika* proposal is made to allow this replacement when *tri* combines after *ku*. Thus, *kutsilāḥ trayāḥ* = *kattrayaḥ* 'three bad ones'.

## 6.3.102 रथवदयोश्च

*rathavadayoś ca*

/ratha-vadayoḥ 7/2 (itar. dv.), tayoḥ; ca φ/

(uttarapade #1 koḥ kad #101)

'ratha, vada' ity etayoś cottarapadayoḥ koḥ 'kad' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati

The word *ku* is replaced with *kad* when *ratha* and *vada* combine to follow.

## EXAMPLES:

*kadrathaḥ* 'a bad chariot'

*kadvadaḥ* 'a bad speaker'

1. This rule allows *ku* to be replaced with *kat* when *ratha* and *vada* combine to follow. Thus, *kadrathaḥ* and *kadvadaḥ*. This, and rules which follow, are formulated so that *kad* replaces *ku* even when a constituent not beginning with a vowel (*anajādi*) follows.

## 6.3.103 तृणे च जातौ

*tṛṇe ca jātau*

/tṛṇe 7/1 ca φ jātau 7/1/

(uttarapade #1 koḥ kad #101)

tṛṇaśabda uttarapade jātāv abhidheyāyām koḥ kad ādeśo bhavati

The word *ku* is replaced with *ka* also when *tṛṇa* combines to follow, and the derivate denotes *jāti* 'class'

#### EXAMPLES:

*kattṛṇā nāma jātiḥ* 'any class of bad vegetation'

1. This rule allows *ku* to be replaced with *kad* when *tṛṇa* combines to follow and the derivate denotes *jāti* 'class'. Thus, *kattṛṇā* 'bad grass; leek'. This replacement will not be available to *kutṛṇāni* 'bad grass', where the derivate denotes *nindā* 'reproach'.

#### 6.3.104 का पथ्यक्षयोः

*kā pathyakṣayoh*

/kā (1/1 deleted) pathya-kṣayoh 7/2 (itar. dv.)/

(uttarapade #1 kioḥ #101)

'*pathin*, *akṣa*' ity etayor uttarapadayoh koḥ 'kā' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati

The word *ku* is replaced with *kā* when *pathin* 'path' and *akṣa* 'eye' combine to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*kāpathaḥ* = *kutsitaḥ panthāḥ* 'a bad road'

*kākṣaḥ* = *kutsite akṣiṇy asya* 'he whose eyes are bad (evil)'

1. This rule offers *kā* as a replacement for *ku* when *pathin* and *akṣa* combine to follow. Thus, *kutsitaḥ panthāḥ* = *kāpathaḥ* 'bad road' and *kutsite akṣiṇī yasya* = *kākṣaḥ* 'he whose eyes are bad', where *kā* replaces *ku* of (*ku*→*kā*) + *pathin* and 5.4.74 *ṛkṣpūrabdhūḥ* . . . introduces the *samāsānta* affix *a*. We thus get *kāpath(in)* + *a* = *kāpatha*, through *ṭi*-deletion (6.4.144 *nas taddhite*). The *bahuvrīhi* compound *kākṣa* is derived with the *samāsānta* affix *ṢaC* (5.4.113 *bahuvrīhau* . . .). Note that *kākṣaḥ* can also be interpreted as a *tatpuruṣa* compound paraphrased as *kutsito* 'kṣaḥ' = *kākṣaḥ* 'bad axle'.

#### 6.3.105 ईषदर्थे च

*īṣadarthe ca*

/īṣadarthe 7/1 = īṣadaḥ arthaḥ (ṣaṣ. tat.), tasmāt; ca φ/

(uttarapade #1 koḥ #101 kā #104)

*īṣadarthe vartamānasya koḥ 'ka'* ity ayam ādeśo bhavati

The word *ku*, when used with the signification of *īṣad* 'slight', is replaced with *kā*, provided a constituent combines to follow.



## EXAMPLES:

*kāmadhūram* 'slightly sweet'  
*kālavaṇam* 'slightly salted'  
*kāmlam* 'slightly sour'  
*koṣṇam* 'slightly warm'

1. This rule allows *ku* to be replaced with *kā* when the same is used with the signification of *īṣat* 'a little'. Thus, *īṣan madhūram* = *kāmadhūram* 'a little sweet' and *īṣad āmlam* = *kāmlam* and *īṣal lavaṇam* = *kālavaṇam* 'a little salt'. Note that *īṣad āmlam* = *kāmlam* and *īṣad uṣṇam* = *koṣam*, where *āmlam* and *uṣṇam* begin with a vowel (*ajādi*), get *kā* from this rule on the basis of *paratva* 'subsequent in order'. They should have received *kat*, instead, because *āmla* and *uṣṇa* begin with a vowel (6.3.101 *koḥ kat tatpuruṣe* 'ci').

## 6.3.106 विभाषा पुरुषे

*vibhāṣā puruṣe*  
 / *vibhāṣā* 1/1 *puruṣe* 7/1/  
 (uttarapade #1 *koḥ* #101 *kā* #104)  
*puruṣaśabda uttarapade vibhāṣā koḥ 'kā' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*  
 The word *ku* is optionally replaced with *kā* when *puruṣa* combines to follow.

## EXAMPLES:

*kāpuruṣaḥ* 'a coward; contemptible person'  
*kupuruṣaḥ* 'ibidem; a bad person'

1. Commentators remind that this option is to be understood as *aprāpta-vibhāṣā*, an option which was not available. Why can this option not be accepted as *ubhayatra-vibhāṣā* 'an option which is, and also is not, available'. It is available when the sense is *īṣadārtha*. It is not available elsewhere. It is stated that the provision made under the condition of *īṣadārthe* is obligatory (*nitya*). Consequently, *kā* is obligatorily selected as a replacement on the basis of *pūrvavipratishedha* 'conflict of equal strength where a prior rule wins'.

## 6.3.107 कवञ्जोष्णे

*kavañ coṣṇe*  
 / *kavam* 1/1 *ca* *uṣṇe* 7/1/  
 (uttarapade #1 *koḥ* #101 *kā* #104 *vibhāṣā* #106)  
*uṣṇaśabda uttarapade koḥ kavam ity ayam ādeśo bhavati kā ca vibhāṣa*  
 The word *ku* is optionally replaced with *kavañ* when *uṣṇa* 'hot' combines to follow.

## EXAMPLES:

*kavoṣṇam* 'slightly warm'  
*koṣṇam* 'ibidem'  
*kaduṣṇam* 'not warm enough'

1. This rule allows *ku* to be optionally replaced with *kavaN* when *uṣṇa* follows in combination. Thus, we get (*ku*→*kava*) + *uṣṇam* = *kavoṣṇam*. The *ca* in this rule is used to attract *kā*. Thus, we also get (*ku*→*kā*) + *uṣṇam*→*koṣṇam*. Note that *vibhāṣā* is also carried. That is, we get a third form where *ku* gets replaced with *kat*. Thus, (*ku*→*ka*(*t*→*d*)) + *uṣṇam* = *kaduṣṇam*.

## 6.3.108 पथि च चन्दसि

*pathi cac , handasi*  
 /*pathi* 7/1 *ca*  $\phi$  *chandasi* 7/1/  
 (uttarapade #1 *koḥ* #101 *kā* #103 *vibhāṣa* #106 *kavam* #107)  
*pathiśabda* uttarapade *chandasi viṣaye koḥ* 'kava, *kā*' ity etāv ādeṣau bhavato  
*vibhāṣā*

The word *ku* is optionally replaced with *kavaN*, in the Vedic, when *pathin* 'path' combines to follow.

## EXAMPLES:

*kavaṇpathaḥ* 'a bad road'  
*kāṇpathaḥ* 'ibidem'  
*kupaṇpathaḥ* 'ibidem'

1. This rule applies to Vedic when *pathin* combines to follow *ku*. Thus, we get (*ku*→*kava*) + *pathin* = *kavaṇpath*(*in*→ $\phi$ ) + *a* = *kavaṇpatha*, through the *samāsānta* affix (5.4.74 *ṛkṣurabdhūḥ* . . .) and *ṭi*-deletion. Another form will be *kāṇpatha* with a replacement in *kā*. If no option is accepted, we will get *kupaṇpatha* with no replacement.

## 6.3.109 षुषोदरादीनि यथोपदिष्टम्

*ṣṛṣodarādīni yathopadiṣṭam*  
 /*ṣṛṣodarādīni* 1/3 = *ṣṛṣodara ādīḥ yeṣām tāni* (bv.); *yathopadiṣṭam* = *yāni*  
*yāni upadiṣṭāni* = (*avyayibhāva*)/  
*ṣṛṣodarādīni śabdarūpāni* (*yeṣu lopāgamavarṇavikārāḥ śāstreṇa na vihitāḥ*,  
*dṛśyante ca, tāni*) *yathopadiṣṭāni bhavanti*

Words such as *ṣṛṣodara*, etc., are accepted as derived.

## EXAMPLES:

*ṣṛṣodarām* = *ṣṛṣad udaram yasya* 'he whose belly is spotted'  
*ṣṛṣodvānam* = *ṣṛṣad udvānaṃ yasya* 'he whose vomit is . . .'  
*balāhakaḥ* = *vārivāhakaḥ* 'he who carries water; cloud'

*jīmūtaḥ* = *jīvanasya mūtaḥ* 'container for water'

*śmaśānam* = *śavānām śayanam* 'reclining of corpses; crematorium'

*ulūkhalaḥ* = *ūrdhvaṃ kham asya* 'that which opens upward; a mortar'

*piśācaḥ* 'goblin'

*mayūraḥ* 'peacock; that which cries on ground'

1. Note that *yathopadiṣṭa* is here used in the sense of *śiṣṭocārita* 'as used by the learned'. This rule is needed to account for *prṣodara*, etc., with no need to explain what rules apply to accomplish *LOPA* 'deletion', *āgama* 'augment', *varṇavikāra* 'sound modification', etc. Consider *prṣad udaram yasya* = *prṣodaraḥ* and *prṣad udvānam yasya* = *prṣodvānam*, where the final *t* of *prṣat* gets deleted. A replacement in *ba* for *vāri*, and in *l* for *v* of *vāhaka*, produces (*vāri* → *ba*) + (*v* → *l*) *āhakaḥ* = *ba* + *lāhakaḥ* = *balāhakaḥ*. We can similarly accept *śavānām śayanam* = *śmaśānam*, where *śava* and *śayana* are, respectively, replaced with *śma* and *śāna*, to produce *śmaśāna*. The word *ulūkhala* is similarly derived by replacing *ūrdhva* with *ulū* and *kha* with *khala* to produce *ulūkhala*, paraphrased as *ūrdhvaṃ kham yasya*. A replacement in *pi* and *śāca* is ordered to derive *piśāca* from *piśita* and *āśa*. Thus, *piśitā āśa yasya* = *piśācaḥ* 'he whose hopes are shattered'. Or else, *piśitam ācāmati* 'he who sips on powdered food'. The word *mayūra* is derived parallel to *mahyām rauti*, where affix *aC* (3.1.62 *acaḥ*) is introduced after *ru* used in construction with *mahī* + *Ñi*. We get *mayūra* by replacing *mahī* with *mayū* and deleting the *u* of *ru*. Thus (*mahī* → *mayū*) + *r(u* →  $\phi$ ) = *aC* = *mayūra*. Similar details can also be offered for deriving *aśvattha* and *kapittha*, etc.

2. A series of *vārttika* proposals are also offered to derive *uttaratāram* and *dakṣinatāram*, optionally, to *uttaratīram* and *dakṣinatīram*. Refer to the *Mahābhāṣya* for additional details.

### 6.3.110 संख्याविसायपूर्वस्याह्नयतरस्यां डौ

*saṃkhyāvisāyapūrvasyāhnasyāhan anyatarasyām nau*

/ *saṃkhyā-vi-sāya-pūrvasya* 6/1 = *saṃkhyā ca viś ca sāyaś ca* = *saṃkhyā-*

*visāyam* (*saṃ. dv.*); *saṃkhyāvisāyam pūrvam yasya* (*bv. with int. dv.*);

*ahnasya* 6/1 *ahan* 1/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1 *nau* 7/1/

'*saṃkhyā, vi, sāya*' *ity evam pūrvasya ahnaśabdasya* 'ahan' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavaty anyatarasyām nau parataḥ*

The word *ahna*, when used in combination after *saṃkhyā, vi* and *sāya*, is optionally replaced with *ahan* when *Ñi* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*dvayahnaḥ* = *dvayor ahnor bhavaḥ* 'born of two days'

*dvyahni* 'locative singular ...'

*dvayahni* 'ibidem'

*dvayahne* 'ibidem'

*vyahnah* 'he whose day has elapsed'  
*vyahni* 'locative singular . . .'  
*vyahani* 'ibidem'  
*vyahne* 'ibidem'  
*sāyāhnaḥ* 'end of the day; evening'  
*sāyāhni* 'locative singular'  
*sāyāhani* 'ibidem'  
*sāyāhne* 'ibidem'

1. This rule allows *ahna*, when used before the locative singular *Ñi*, to be optionally replaced with *ahan*, provided *saṃkhyā* 'number word', *vi*, and *sāya* are used in combination to precede. Thus, *dvaḥor ahnor bhavaḥ* = *dvi* + *ahan* + *Ñi* + *ṭhaÑ* = *dvi* + *ahna* + (*Ñi* →  $\phi$ ) + (*ṭhaÑ* →  $\phi$ ) = *dvi* + *ahna*, where the compound is formed by 2.1.51 *taddhitārthottarapada*. . . . Affix *ṭhaÑ* is introduced by 4.3.11 *kālāt ṭhañ*, and is subsequently deleted by 4.1.88 *dvigoraḥ lug anapatye*. Our present rule then introduces *ahan* as a replacement for *ahna*, thereby producing *dvi* + (*ahna* → *ahan*) = *dv(i → y)* + *ahan* = *dvyaḥan*. We will get *dvyaḥna* if the option of replacing *ahna* with *ahan* is not accepted. An introduction of *Ñi* after *dvaḥna* will again involve the replacement of *ahna* with *ahan* in deriving *dvyaḥni* and *dvyaḥani*, where the *a* of *an* of *ahan* will be optionally deleted by 6.4.134 *vibhāṣā niśyoh*. A compound with *sāya* is formed at the strength of the formulation of this rule.

### 6.3.111 द्रलोपे पूर्वस्य दीर्घोऽणः

*ḍhralope pūrvasya dīrgho' naḥ*  
*/ḍhralope 7/1 = ḍhakāraś ca rephaś ca = ḍhrau (itar. dv.); tayaḥ lopo yasmin*  
*(bv.), tasmin; pūrvasya 6/1 dīrghaḥ 1/1 aṇaḥ 1/1/*  
*ḍhralope pūrvasyāṇo dīrgho bhavati*

A sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *aN*, when occurring before that which causes the deletion of *ḍh* and *r*, is replaced with its long counterpart.

#### EXAMPLES:

*upagūḍham* 'concealed, embraced'  
*mūḍhaḥ* 'idiot, infatuated'  
*nīraktaḥ* 'with no blood'  
*anīrathaḥ* 'fire-chariot'

1. This rule allows a long replacement for a short sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *aN*, provided a deleted *ḍh* and *r*, and what caused this deletion, follows. Consider the derivation of *līḍha*, a derivate of the *niṣṭhā* suffix *Kta* introduced after *lih* 'to lick, taste', where 8.2.31 *ho ḍhaḥ* replaces the *h* of *lih* with *ḍh*. Rules 8.2.40 *jhaṣastatho* . . . and 8.4.40 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ* then

apply on *liḍh + ta* to yield *liḍh + (t → dh → ḍh)a = liḍh + ḍha*. Rule 8.3.13 *ḍho ḍhe lopaḥ* then causes deletion of *ḍh* of *liḍh + ḍha*, whereby we get *li(ḍh → ∅) + ḍha = liḍha*. Our present rule then applies on *liḍha* to replace its short *i* with its long counterpart *ī*. We thus get *l(i → ī) + ḍha = liḍha*. Similar application of rules are witnessed in deriving *mīdham*, *upagūḍham* and *nīraktam*. The *r* of *nir + raktam*, subsequent to compound formation by 2.2.18 *kugati* . . ., goes through deletion of 8.3.14 *ro ri*. Similar rules also apply in deriving *agnir + rathaḥ = agnīrathaḥ* and *indūrathaḥ*.

2. The word *ḍhralope* is interpreted as a *bahuvrīhi* with internal *dvandva*, paraphrased as *ḍhakāraś ca repḥaś ca = ḍhrau 'ḍh and r'; ḍhryor lopo yasmin = ḍhralopaḥ* 'that which conditions deletion of *ḍh* and *r*'; *tasmin* 'when that follows'. A genitive *tatpuruṣa* interpretation of *ḍhralope* will yield the following meaning: 'when deletion of *ḍh* and *r* follows'. This will make it impossible for the rule to apply, since *LOPA* means non-appearance (*adarśana*) and hence, there will be nothing there to follow. Why can we not revive the deleted *ḍh* and *r* by means of *sthānivadbhāva* 'treating a *LOPA* as what it replaced'? This will create problems in deriving *karaṇīya*, where, after an assumed deletion of *r*, the *a* of *ka* will be subject to lengthening. It is to resolve such problems that *ḍhralope* is interpreted as a *bahuvrīhi*.

### 6.3.112 सहिवहोरोदवर्णस्य

*sahivahor od avarṇasya*

/sahivahoḥ 6/2 = sahiś ca vahaś ca (itar. dv.), tayoh; ot 1/1 avarṇasya 6/1 = aś cāsau varṇaś ca (karmadhāraya), tasya / (ḍhralope #111)

'sahi, vahi' ity etayor avarṇasyaukāra ādeśo bhavati ḍhralope

The *a* of verbal roots *sahl* and *vahl* is replaced with *oT* (1.1.70 *taparas* . . .) when deletion of *ḍh* and *r*, by means of *LOPA*, occurs.

#### EXAMPLES:

*soḍhā* 'he who endures'

*soḍhum* 'to endure'

*soḍhavyam* 'that which is to be endured'

*voḍhā* 'he who carries'

*voḍhum* 'to carry'

*voḍhavyam* 'that which is to be carried'

1. This rule offers *o* as a replacement for the *a* of *sah* and *vah*, when that which caused deletion of *ḍh* and *r* follows. Thus, we get (*sah + Kta*) + *TāP* = *soḍha + ā* = *soḍhā*, etc. Note that *soḍha* of *soḍhā* is similar in derivation to *liḍha*, where we do not get a replacement in *o*.

2. Note that the *a* which here gets replaced with *o* is specified with the qualification of *varṇa* 'sound'. Consequently, *a* represents all sounds homo-

geneous with it. That is, it also represents its long counterpart *ā*. Why can we not get this reference to *ā* by simply using *a*, without the specification of *varṇa*? That is, in consonance with 1.1.69 *aṇudit savarṇasya*. . . . This would have served the purpose, had it not been for the specification of *o* with *t* (*taparakaraṇa*). This *t* would then have also been interpreted with *a* in consonance with *tād api taparaḥ* ‘also what occurs after *l*’, a second interpretation of *taparaḥ* (see 1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*). That is, *a* would then have been restricted to refer to itself only. This would have blocked the *o*-replacement of *ā* of *vāh* in *udavoḍhām*, deriving from *ud* + *a* + *v* (*a* → *ā* → *o*) + (*h* → *ḍh*) + *LUN*)). The *vr̥ddhi*-replacement of *a* in *vah* is accomplished by 7.2.3 *vadavraja*. . . .

### 6.3.113 साढ्यै साढ्वा साढेति निगमे

*sāḍhyai sāḍhvā sāḍheti nigame*

/ *sāḍhyai* ϕ *sāḍhvā* ϕ *sāḍhā* 1/1 *iti* ϕ *nigame* 7/1/

‘*sāḍhyai*, *sāḍhvā*, *sāḍhā*’ *iti nigame nipātyante*

The words *sāḍhyai*, *sāḍhvā* and *sāḍhā* are derived in the Vedic via *nipātana*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*sāḍhyai* ‘having prevailed, or conquered’

*sāḍhvā* ‘ibidem’

*sāḍhā* ‘overcome, prevailed’

1. This rule offers *sāḍhyai* and *sāḍhvā* as derived, via *nipātana*, in the Vedic. That is, a replacement in *dhyai* for *Ktvā*, and a lack of replacement in *o* for *a* of *saha* can both be accomplished, via *nipātana*. The word *sāḍhvā* retains *Ktvā* and does not avail *o*-replacement. Finally, *sāḍhvā*, a derivate of *tr̥N* (3.2.135 *tr̥n*), again involves no replacement in *o*. The long *ā* in all these examples can be accomplished by 6.3.110 *ḍhralope pūrvasya*. . . .

### 6.3.114 संहितायाम्

*saṃhitāyām/*

*saṃhitāyām* 7/1/

‘*saṃhitāyām*’ *ity ayam adhikāraḥ; yad ita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāmaḥ*

‘*saṃhitāyām*’ *ity evaṃ tad veditavyam*

When *saṃhitā* finds its scope . . .

1. This is an *adhikāra*, valid through the end of this quarter. Note that an *adhikāra* carries (*anuvartate*), and thus, facilitates the application of rules contained within its domain. The word *saṃhitā* is explained as ‘close proximity between sounds’ (1.4.109 *paraḥ sannikarṣaḥ saṃhitā*). Refer to examples under rules which follow.

2. Note that operations specific to the condition of *uttarapade* are performed by different rules. The condition of *uttarapade* is specifically offered in the context of compounds. Operations referred to by *saṃhitā* can thus be performed obligatorily. That is, in consonance with the general understanding that *saṃhitaikapade nityā* 'saṃhitā is obligatory within a single *pada*'. Why do we then have *saṃhitāyām* as an *adhikāra*? Since the condition of *uttarapade* is limited to the context of a compound, this rule becomes necessary to account for contexts outside the condition of *uttarapade*. Thus, consider rule 6.3.134 *dyaco' tas tiṇaḥ* which offers a long replacement for the final sound of a form ending in *tiṇ*. Since a form which ends in a *tiṇ* affix does not combine in a compound with any following constituent, *uttarapade* cannot facilitate this replacement.

### 6.3.115 कर्णे लक्षणस्याविष्टापञ्चमणिभिन्नच्छिन्नच्छिद्रसुवस्वस्तिकस्य

*karṇe lakṣaṇasyāviṣṭāṣṭapañcamanibhinnacchinnacchidrasruvasvastikasya / karṇe 7/1 lakṣaṇasya 6/1 āviṣṭa-aṣṭan-pañcan-maṇi-bhinna-chinna-chidra-sruva-svastikasya 6/1 (na viṣṭa-pañcan . . . svastikasya (nañ. with int. dv.) / (pūrvasya dīrghaḥ aṇaḥ #111 saṃhitāyām #114)*

*karṇaśabde uttarapade lakṣaṇavācino dīrgho bhavati 'viṣṭa, aṣṭan, pañcan, maṇi, bhinna, chinna, chidra, sruva, svastika' ity etān varjayitvā*

A final short vowel denoted by *aṇ* of a nominal which denotes *lakṣaṇa* 'characteristic mark', and is other than *viṣṭa, aṣṭan, pañcan, maṇi, bhinna, chinna, chidra, sruva*, and *svastika*, is replaced with its long counterpart when *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

#### EXAMPLES:

*dātrākarmaḥ* 'branded with mark of a sickle on the ear'

*dviguṇākarmaḥ* 'branded with two marks on the ear'

*triguṇākarmaḥ* 'branded with three marks on the ear'

*dvyaṅgulākarmaḥ* 'branded with a mark equal in measure to two fingers on the ear'

*aṅgulākarmaḥ* 'branded on the ear with mark of a finger'

1. This rule offers a long replacement for the final short vowel of a constituent which is used in combination with a following (*uttarapade*), namely *karṇa* 'ear', used with the signification of *lakṣaṇa* 'mark'. Additionally, this preceding constituent must be one other than *viṣṭa*, etc.

2. Note that *lakṣaṇa* is explained (*Nyāsa ad Kāśikā: lakṣyate 'nena svāmi-viśeṣasya sambandhaḥ*) as 'that by means of which a particular relationship (here, ownership) is marked to be known'. Thus, *dātrākarmaḥ* '... one on whose ear there is mark of a sickle'. Other example compounds, mostly *bahuvrīhis*, can be similarly understood.

## 6.3.116 नहिवृतिवृषिव्यधिरुचिसहितनिषु क्त्वा

*nahivṛtivrṣivvyadhirucisahitaniṣu kvau*

(*pūrvasya dīrgho* 'nah #111 *saṃhitāyām* #114)

'*nahi*, *vṛti*, *vṛṣi*, *vyadhi*, *ruçi*, *sahi*, *tani*' *ity eteṣu*

*kvipratyayānteṣūttarapadeṣu pūrvapadasya dīrgho bhavati saṃhitāyām viṣaye*

A final short vowel denoted by *aṆ* of a nominal is replaced with its long counterpart when *nahi*, *vṛti*, *vṛṣi*, *vyadhi*, *ruçi*, *sahi*, *tani*, all ending in *KuIP*, combine as following constituents.

## EXAMPLES:

*upānat* 'shoe, sandal'

*nīvṛt* 'an inhabited place'

*prāvṛt* 'rainy season'

*hṛdayāvit* 'heart-piercing'

*nīruk* 'tasteless, insipid'

*ṛtīṣat* 'conquering enemies'

*parītat* 'encircling'

1. This rule allows a long replacement for the short *aṆ* at the end of what precedes, when verbal roots *nahI*, *vṛtI*, *vṛṣI*, *vyadhI*, *ruçI*, *sahI*, and *tanI*, used with affix *KuIP*, follow, and *saṃhitā* finds its scope. Thus, consider *upānat* 'shoe' where affix *KuIP* is introduced after *nah* by a *vārtika* (*sampadādibhyah kvip*; ad 3.3.94 *striyām ktin*). The root-final *h* is then replaced with *t* (*cartva*; 8.4.55 *khari ca*), via *dh* (8.2.34 *naho dhah*) and *d* (*jaṣtva*; 8.2.39 *jhalām jaśo nte*). Our present rule will then replace the short *a* of *upa*, in *upanat*, with its long counterpart yielding *upānat*.

2. Other derivatives involve similar operations. Thus, *parīṇat* where, given *pari* + *nah* + *KuIP*, the *n* of *nah* is replaced with *ṇ* (8.4.14 *upasargād asamāse pi . . .*). Affix *KuIP* is introduced by 3.2.75 *anyebhyo pi dṛśyate*. This same *KuIP* is also introduced in deriving *nīvṛt*. Replacements in *jaṢ* (*d*; *jaṣtva*) and *caR* (*t*; *cartva*) are also seen in *prāvṛt*. The *samprasāraṇa* of *vyadh* in *marmāvit* is accomplished by 6.1.16 *grahijyāvayivyadha . . .* The *c* in *nīruk* goes through *kutva* of 8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ*. The *s* of *sah* in *ṛtīm saḥate* = *ṛtīṣat* is replaced with *ṣ* (8.3.109 *saheḥ pṛtanartābhyām ca*), via *yoga-vibhāga* 'split-interpretation' of *saheḥ*. The final *h* of *sah . . .*, as usual, goes through *jaṣtva* and *cartva*. The *t* of *tan*, in *parītanoti* = *parītat*, is deleted at the strength of a *vārtika* (*gamanādinām iti vaktavyam*; ad 6.4.40 *gamah kvau*). Augment *tUK* is then introduced subsequently (6.1.71 *hrasvasya pīti kṛti tuk*).

## 6.3.117 वनगिर्योः संज्ञायां कोटरकिंशुल्कादीनाम्

*vanigiryoh saṃjñāyām koṭarakimśulakādīnām*

/*vana-gīryoh* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*) *saṃjñāyām* 7/1 *koṭara-kimśulaka-ādīnām* 6/3



= *koṭarāś ca kiṃśulakaś ca* (itar. dv.); *koṭara-kiṃśulakau ādī yeṣām* (bv.)/  
 (uttarapade #1 *pūrvasya dīrgho* ' *ṇaḥ* #111 *saṃhitāyām* #114)  
 ' *vana, giri* ' ity etayor uttarapadayor yathāsaṃkhyam *koṭarādīnām kiṃśula-*  
*kādīnām ca dīrgho bhavti saṃjñāyām viṣaye*  
 The final sound segment of nominals listed in the group headed by  
*koṭara* and *kiṃśulaka* is replaced with its long counterpart when  
*vana* and *giri*, respectively, combine to follow them in *saṃhitā* and the  
 derivate denotes a name (*saṃjñā*).

#### EXAMPLES:

*koṭarāvaṇam* 'name of a forest'  
*miśrakāvaṇam* 'ibidem'  
*sidhrakāvaṇam* 'ibidem'  
*sārikāvaṇam* 'ibidem'  
*kiṃśulakāgiriḥ* 'name of a mountain'  
*añjalāgiriḥ* 'ibidem'

1. This rule allows a long replacement for the short final vowels of nominals enumerated in the list headed by *koṭara* and *kiṃśula*, when *vana* and *giri*, respectively, follow to combine. Additionally, the derivates must denote a name (*saṃjñā*). Thus, *koṭarāvaṇam* 'name of a forest' and *miśra-kāvaṇam* 'ibidem'; and *kiṃśulakāgiriḥ* and *añjalāgiriḥ*. Note that, in accord with 1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam anudeśaḥ samānām*, we will get long replacement in nominals of the *koṭara* group only when *vana* combines to follow. Similarly, we will get a similar long replacement in nominals of the *kiṃśulaka* group when *giri* combines to follow. It is for this reason that *asipatravanam* and *kṛṣṇagiriḥ* are treated as counter-examples.

2. All example compounds are genitive *tatpuruṣa*. The *n* of *vana* is replaced with *ṇ* by 8.4.4 *vanam puragāmiśrakā*. . .

#### 6.3.118 वले

*vale*  
 / *vale* 7/1/  
 (*pūrvasya dīrgho* ' *ṇ* #111, *saṃhitāyām* #114 *saṃjñāyām* #117)  
*vale parataḥ pūrvasya dīrgho bhavati*

The final *aN* of a constituent is replaced with its long counterpart when *vala* combines to follow, and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

#### EXAMPLES:

*āsutīvalaḥ* 'distiller, brewer'  
*kṛṣīvalaḥ* 'farmer'  
*dantāvalaḥ* 'elephant'

1. This rule allows a long replacement for *aN*, also when *vala* follows and

derivates denote a name. Note that *vala* does not here refer to a nominal stem (*prātipadika*). Instead, and especially in view of association (*sāhacarya*) of *matUP* in the following rule, it here refers to affix *valaC* (5.2.112 *rajaḥkr̥ṣyāsut . . .*). Thus, *āsut(i→ī)valaḥ* = *āsutīvalaḥ*, etc.

2. A *vārttika* proposal is made to block this lengthening in case of *utsāha*, *bhrātr* and *pitṛ*. Thus, we should still get *utsāhavalah*, as against *utsāhāvalah*, etc.

### 6.3.119 मतौ बह्वचोऽनजिरादीनाम्

*matau bahvaco' najirādīnām*

/ *matau* 7/1 *bahvacah* 6/1 = *bahvaco yasmin sa (bv.)*; *anajirādīnām* 6/3 = *ajir ādir yeṣām* = *ajirādayaḥ*, *na ajirādayaḥ (nañ. with int. bv.)*, *teṣām* / (*pūrvasya dīrgho' ṇaḥ* #111 *saṃhitāyām* #114 *saṃjñāyām* #117)

*matau parato bahvaco' jirādivarjitasya dīrgho bhavati saṃjñāyām viṣaye*

The final *aN* of a polysyllabic nominal other than one listed in the group headed by *ajira* is replaced with its long counterpart when *matUP* follows and *saṃhitā* finds its scope, provided, of course, the derivate also denotes a name (*saṃjñā*).

#### EXAMPLES:

*udumbarāvatī* 'name of a river'

*maśakāvatī* 'name of a place'

*vīraṇāvatī* 'ibidem'

*puṣkarāvatī* 'ibidem'

*amarāvatī* 'ibidem'

*bṛīhimatī* 'name of a river'

*valayavatī* 'ibidem'

1. The final vowel of a nominal which consists of many vowels, but is not *ajira*, etc., is replaced with its long counterpart, when affix *matUP* follows and the derivate denotes a name. Thus, consider *udumbar(a→ā)vatī*, etc. Incidentally, affix *matUP* is introduced by 4.2.85 *nadyām matuḥ*. A replacement in *v* for *m* of *matUP* is accomplished by 8.2.11 *saṃjñāyām*.

*Kāśikā* offers *bṛīhimatī* 'rich in rice', *ajiravatī* 'she who has a mole . . .' and *valayavatī* (*matUP*; 5.2.94 *tad asyāstīti . . .*) as counter-examples for conditions of *bahvac*, *anajirādi* and *saṃjñāyām*, respectively.

### 6.3.120 शरादीनां च

*śarādīnām ca*

/ *śarādīnām* 6/3 *ca*  $\phi$  /

(*pūrvasya dīrgho' ṇaḥ* #111, *saṃhitāyām* #114 *saṃjñāyām* #116 *matau* #119)

*śarādīnām ca matau dīrgho bhavati saṃjñāyām viṣaye*

The final *aN* of nominals listed in the group headed by *śara* 'arrow' is replaced with its long counterpart when affix *matUP* follows and the derivate denotes a name.

EXAMPLES:

*śarāvati* 'name of a river'

*vaṃśāvati* 'ibidem'

1. This rule allows a long replacement for the short final of nominals listed in the *śarādi* group, provided *matUP* follows and the derivate denotes a name. Here again the *m* of *matUP* is replaced with *v*, as also in case of *brīhimatī*. It, however, cannot be permitted in cases where nominals of the *yavādi* group are involved (8.2.9 *mād upadhāyās* . . .).

### 6.3.121 इको वहेऽपीलोः

*iko vahe' pīloḥ*

/ikaḥ 6/1 vahe 7/1 apīloḥ 6/1/

(uttarapade #1 dīrghaḥ #111 saṃhitāyām #114)

*igantasya pūrvapadasya pīluvarjitasya vaha uttarapade dīrgho bhavati*

The final *iK* of a nominal other than *pīlu* is replaced with its long counterpart when *vaha* combines to follow, and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

*ṛṣivaham* 'name of a place'

*kapīvaham* 'ibidem'

*munīvaham* 'ibidem'

1. This rule allows shortening of the final *iK* of a preceding constituent when the same is not *pīlu*, but is combined before *vaha*. Our examples are all genitive *tatpuruṣa* compounds where *vaha* is a derivate of affix *aC* (3.1.134 *nandigrahipacāḍibhyaḥ* . . .). *Kāśikā* offers *piṇḍavaham* and *pīluvaham* as counter-examples to conditions of *ikaḥ* and *pīloḥ*, respectively. These derivates both denote names. Incidentally, *Nyāsa* lists the examples in the masculine nominative singular.

2. A *vārttika* (*vt. apīlvāḍīnām iti vaktavyam*) proposal is made to read the exclusion as: *apīlvāḍīnām* 'except for *pīlu*, etc.' This extended exclusion can also block lengthening in additional derivate, for example, *dāruvaham*, etc.

### 6.3.122 उपसर्गस्य घञ्यमनुष्ये बहुलम्

*upasargasya ghañy amanuṣye bahulam*

/upasargasya 6/1 ghañi 7/1 amanuṣye 7/1 = (nañ.); bahulam 1/1

(uttarapade #1 pūrvasya dīrgho 'naḥ #111 saṃhitāyām #114)

*upasargasya ghañante uttarapade' manuṣye' bhidheye bahulam dīrgho bhavati*

The final of a preverb (*upasarga*) is variously replaced with its long counterpart when affix *ghaṆ* follows, and the derivate does not denote *manuṣya* 'human'.

EXAMPLES:

*vikledaḥ* 'getting wet'

*vimārgaḥ* 'a broom'

*apāmārgaḥ* 'a plant'

1. This rule variously allows a long replacement for the short of an *upasarga* when the same combines with a derivate of *GHaṆ*. Thus, *nikledaḥ*, *vimārgaḥ* and *apāmārgaḥ*, where *GHaṆ* has been introduced after *klid* and *mṛj* by 3.3.121 *halaś ca*. The initial *vṛddhi*, and the *g*-replacement for *j* of *mṛj*, is accomplished by 7.2.114 *mṛjer vṛddhiḥ* and 7.3.52 *cajo ku*. . . . This replacement will be blocked when the derivate denotes a human (*manuṣya*). Thus, consider *niṣādo manuṣyaḥ* 'niṣāda is a human'. Incidentally, since it is impossible to find affix *GHaṆ* introduced after a preverb, *GHaṆ* of *ghaṇi* is interpreted as 'that which ends in *GHaṆ*'.

2. The following are some additional proposals made under this rule:

(i) An *upasarga* should receive a final long replacement also when *sāda* and *kāra* combine to follow, and the derivate denotes *kṛtrima* 'non-natural, artificial'. Thus, *prāsādaḥ* 'palace' and *prākāraḥ* 'enclosure', etc.

(ii) Another proposal seeks optional lengthening when *veśa*, etc., combine to follow. Thus, *pratīveśaḥ*/*pratīveśaḥ* 'neighborhood' and *pratirodhaḥ*/*pratīrodhaḥ* 'obstacle'.

6.3.123 इकः काशे

*ikaḥ kāśe*

/ikaḥ 6/1 kāśe 7/1/

(uttarapade #1 dīrghaḥ #111 saṃhitāyām #114 upasargasya #122)

igantasyopasargasya kāśaśabda uttarapade dīrgho bhavati

The final *iK* of a preverb is replaced with its long counterpart when *kāśa* combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

*nikāśaḥ* 'look, appearance'

*vīkāśaḥ* 'progression'

*anūkāśaḥ* 'reflection of light'

1. This rule allows a long replacement when an *upasarga* ending in an *iK* combines with a following *kāśa*. Note that *kāśa* is not a derivate of *GHaṆ*. It is a derivate of *aC*, instead (3.1.134 *nandigrahipacādy* . . .). The condition of *iK* is imposed so that *pra* could not receive a long *ā* in *prakāśaḥ* 'light'.

## 6.3.124 दस्ति

*das ti**/daḥ 6/1 ti 7/1/**(dīrghaḥ #111 saṃhitāyām #114 upasargasya #122 ikaḥ #123)**'dā' ity etasya yas takārādir ādeśas tasmin parata igantasyopasargasya dīrgho bhavati*

The final *iK* of a preverb is replaced with its long counterpart when a replacement of *dā* beginning with *t* follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*nīttam* 'made as a gift'*vīttam* 'that which has passed'*parīttam* 'given away'

1. This rule allows an *upasarga* which ends in an *iK* to receive a long vowel replacement when a *t*-initial replacement of *dā* follows. Thus, consider *nī-dā + Kta = nītta*, where the final *ā* (1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*) of *dā* is replaced with *t* (7.4.77 *aca upasargāt taḥ*). Rule 8.4.54 *khari ca* then replaces the *d* of *nī + d + t + ta* with *t*. Rule 8.4.64 *jharo jhari savarṇe* then deletes the preceding *t*. This produces *nī + (d→t) + (t→ϕ) + ta*. Our present rule then offers a long *ī* for the short of *nī*. This same happens in case of *vīttam* and *parīttam*.

2. Note that the condition of *daḥ* is imposed so that *vi* and *nī* could be blocked from receiving lengthening, due mainly to an absence of *dā*. The condition of *ti* will similarly block lengthening in *sudattam* where *dā* is replaced with *dad* (8.4.60 *do dad ghoḥ*).

3. Note that the genitive of *daḥ* is here interpreted as signifying *sthāny-ādeśa-sambandha* 'substituendum substitute-relationship'. A question is raised as to how this long replacement for the final short of an *upasarga* can be accomplished. That is, when there will not be any *t*-initial replacement of *dā* to follow an *upasarga*. Recall that the *t*-initial replacement *dā* by 7.4.77 *aca upasargāt taḥ* will replace its final *ā*. That is, *d* of *nī + d + t + Kta*, will then intervene, and *nī* will not be directly followed by *t*-initial replacement. This long replacement cannot be accomplished even when the *d* is replaced with *t* by 8.4.54 *khari ca*. For, this *t*-replacement will become *asiddha* 'suspended' in view of the application of long replacement. Commentators explain that Pāṇini's specification by *ti* itself indicates that *asiddhatva* of *cartva* (of 8.4.54 *khari ca*) cannot be accepted as valid.

## 6.3.125 अष्टनः संज्ञायाम्

*aṣṭanaḥ saṃjñāyām**/aṣṭanaḥ 6/1 saṃjñāyām 7/1/*

(uttarapade 31 *pūrvasya dīrgho* 'ṇaḥ #111 *saṃhitāyām* #114)

'*aṣṭan*' ity *asyottarapade saṃjñāyām dīrgho bhavati*

The final *aṇ* of *aṣṭan* is replaced with its long counterpart when a constituent combines to follow and the derivate denotes a name (*saṃjñā*).

#### EXAMPLES:

*aṣṭāvakraḥ* 'he whose eight limbs are crooked; a name'

*aṣṭābandhuraḥ* 'ibidem'

*aṣṭāpadam* 'he who has eight feet'

1. This rule allows lengthening of *aṣṭan* when a constituent follows and the derivate denotes a name. Thus *aṣṭāvakraḥ* 'he whose eight limbs are crooked', etc. Note that 8.2.7 *nalopaḥ* . . . accomplishes *n*-deletion of *aṣṭan*.

#### 6.3.126 छन्दसि च

*chandasi ca*

/ *chandasi* 7/1 *ca* ∅/

(uttarapade #1 *pūrvasya dīrgho* 'ṇaḥ #111 *aṣṭanaḥ* #125)

*chandasi viṣaye* 'ṣṭan *uttarapade dīrgho bhavati*

The final *aṇ* of *aṣṭan* is replaced with its long counterpart, also in the Vedic, when a constituent combines to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*āgneyāmaṣṭākāpālām nirvāpet cārum* '... offer oblations in eight vessels . . .'

*aṣṭāhiraṇyā dakṣiṇā* 'a ritual gift of eight gold coins?'

*aṣṭāpadī devatā sumatī* 'a verse of eight quarters . . .'

1. Note that *aṣṭasu kapāleṣu saṃskṛtam* = *aṣṭākāpālām* is a derivate of *aṇ*, introduced by 4.2.16 *saṃskṛtam bhakṣāḥ*. This affix, however, is deleted by 4.1.88 *dvigoraḥ luganapatye*. The final *a* of *pāda*, of *aṣṭau pādāḥ asyāḥ* = *aṣṭāpadī*, is deleted by 5.4.138 *pādasya loḥa*. . . . An optional affix *ṆiP* is then introduced by 4.1.8 *pādo* 'nyatarasyām'. A compound such as *aṣṭau hiraṇyāni parimāṇam asyāḥ* = *aṣṭāhiraṇyā* 'that whose measure is eight gold coins' is formed in the sense of a *taddhita* affix (*taddhitārtha*; 2.1.51 *taddhitārthottara-pada* . . .). The *taddhita* affix introduced by 5.1.57 *tad asya parimāṇam* is deleted by 5.1.28 *adhyardhapūrva*. . . .

2. A *vārttika* proposal is made to also allow lengthening when *gava* combines to follow. Thus, *aṣṭāgavam śakaṭam* 'a cart pulled by eight bullocks'.

#### 6.3.127 चित्तेः कपि

*citeḥ kapi*

/ *citeḥ* 6/1 *kapi* 7/1/

(*pūrvasya dīrgho* ' *ṇaḥ* #111 *saṃhitāyām* #114)

*citiśabdasya kapi parato dīrgho bhavati*

The final vowel of *citi* is replaced with its long counterpart when affix *kaP* follows, and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

*ekacitīkaḥ* 'that which has one layer of bricks'

*dvicitīkaḥ* 'that which has two layers of bricks'

*tricitīkaḥ* 'that which has three layers of bricks'

1. This rule allows lengthening of *citi* when *kaP* follows. Thus, *ekā citir asya* = *ekacitīkaḥ*. Note that *puṃvadbhāva* 'masculine transformation' is accomplished by 6.3.34 *striyāḥ puṃvadbhāṣita*. . . . Affix *kaP* is introduced by 5.4.154 *śeṣād vibhāṣā*.

### 6.3.128 विश्वस्य वसुराटोः

*viśvasya vasurāṭoḥ*

/ *viśvasya* 6/1 *vasurāṭoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*) /

(*uttarapade* #1 *pūrvasya dīrgho* ' *ṇaḥ* #111 *saṃhitāyām* #114)

*viśvaśabdasya 'vasu, rāṭ' ity etayor uttarapadayor dīrgha ādeśo bhavati*

The final vowel of *viśva* is replaced with its long counterpart when *vasu* and *rāṭ* combine to follow.

EXAMPLES:

*viśvāvasuḥ* 'one of the names of Viṣṇu'

*viśvārāṭ* 'lord of the universe'

1. This rule allows *viśva* to receive lengthening when *vasu* and *rāṭ* combine to follow. Thus, consider *viśvārāṭ* where affix *KuIP* is introduced after *rājīR* by 3.2.61 *satsūdvīṣa*. . . . Note that a specification with *rāṭ* is made to ensure lengthening only where we find the form *rāṭ* (*yatrāsyaitad rūpam tatraiva*). Recall that such a form is available where the term *pada* can be assigned. We find no lengthening in *viśvarājau* and *viśvarājah* because of negation of *asarvanāmasthāne* in 1.4.17 *svādiṣv asarvanāmasthāne*.

### 6.3.129 नरे संज्ञायाम्

*nare saṃjñāyām*

/ *nare* 7/1 *saṃjñāyām* 7/1 /

(*uttarapade* #1 *pūrvasya dīrgho* ' *ṇaḥ* #111 *saṃhitāyām* #144 *viśvasya* #129)

*naraśabda uttarapade saṃjñāyām viśaye viśvasya dīrgho bhavati*

The final vowel of *viśva* is replaced with its long counterpart when *nara* combines to follow.

## EXAMPLES:

*viśvānaro nāma yasya vaiśvānariḥ putraḥ*

‘Vaiśvānari (Agni) is the son of he whose name is Viśvānara’

1. This rule allows lengthening of the final *a* of *viśva* when *nara* is combined to follow *viśva* and the derivate denotes a name. Thus, *viśvānaro nāma yasya, tasya putraḥ* = *vaiśvānariḥ* ‘a son of Viśvānara’. This lengthening will be blocked, for example, in *viśve narā yasya sa* = *viśvanaraḥ* ‘he whose all these men are’.

## 6.3.130 मित्रे चर्षी

*mitre carṣau*

/mitre 7/1 ca φ ṛṣau 7/1/

(uttarapade#1 pūrvasya dīrgho’ ṇaḥ #111 saṃhitāyām #114 viśvasya #129)

*mitre cottarapade ṛṣāv abhidheye viśvasya dīrgho bhavati*

The final vowel of *viśva* is also replaced with its long counterpart when *mitra* combines to follow, and the derivate denotes a sage (ṛṣi).

## EXAMPLES:

*viśvāmitro nāma ṛṣiḥ* ‘a sage named Viśvāmitra’

1. This rule allows lengthening of *viśva* when *mitra* combines to follow, and the derivate denotes a sage (ṛṣi). Thus, *viśvāmitraḥ* ‘name of a sage’. This provision will be blocked where a sage is not denoted. Thus, *viśvāmitro yaṃ māṇavakaḥ* ‘this boy is a friend of all’.

## 6.3.131 मन्त्रे सोमाश्चेन्द्रियविश्वदेव्यस्य मतौ

*mantrē somāśvendriyaviśvadevyasya matau*

/mantrē 7/1 soma-aśva-indriya-viśvadevyasya 6/1 (sam. dv.); matau 7/1/

(pūrvasya dīrgho’ ṇaḥ #111 saṃhitāyām #114)

*mantraviśaye* ‘soma, aśva, indriya, viśvadevyā’ ity eteṣāṃ matuḥ pratyaye parato dīrgho bhavati

The final vowel of *soma*, *aśva*, *indriya* and *viśvadevyā* is, in the *mantra* usage, replaced with its long counterpart when affix *matUP* follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*somāvatī* ‘possessing soma’

*aśvāvatī* ‘possessing horses’

*indriyāvatī* ‘powerful’

*viśvadevyāvatī* ‘dear to all gods’

1. This rule allows lengthening in *soma*, *aśva*, *indriya* and *viśvadevyā*, when *matUP* follows and the usage belongs to the *mantra* literature of the Vedic. The examples are all derivatives of the feminine affix *ÑiP* (4.1.6 *ugītaś ca*).



## 6.3.132 ओषधेऽच विभक्तावप्रथमायाम्

*oṣadheṣ ca vibhaktāu aprathamāyām*

/oṣadheṣ 6/1 ca φ vibhaktāu 7/1 aprathamāyām 7/1 = na prathamāyām (nañ.)/

(pūrvasya dīrgho' naḥ #111 saṃhitāyām #114 mantrā #131)

*oṣadhiśabdasya vibhaktāu aprathamāyām parato dīrgho bhavati*

The final vowel of *oṣadhi* is also, in the *mantra* literature, replaced with its long counterpart when a nominal terminating in an ending other than *prathamā* 'first triplet (nominative)' follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*oṣadhībhir apīpatat*

*namāḥ prthivyai namā oṣādhibhyaḥ* 'obeisance to earth and vegetations'

1. This rule allows lengthening to *oṣadhi*, again in the *mantra* literature, when a nominal ending other than the nominative (*prathamā*) follows. Thus, *namāḥ oṣadhībhyaḥ* 'our salutation to vegetations'. A counter example to the condition of *prathamā* will be *sthireyam astv oṣadhiḥ* 'let this vegetation be here forever'.

## 6.3.133 ऋचि तुनुघमक्षुतङ्कुत्रोरुष्याणाम्

*ṛci tunughamakṣutaṅkutroruṣyāṇām*

/ṛci 7/1 tu-nu-gha-makṣu-taṅ-kutra-uruṣyāṇām 6/3 (itar. dv.)/

(dīrgho' naḥ #111 saṃhitāyām #114)

*ṛci viṣaye 'tu, nu, gha, makṣu, taṅ, kutra, uruṣya' ity eteṣām dīrgho bhavati*

The final aN of *tu, nu, gha, makṣu, taṅ, ku, tra* and *uruṣya* is replaced with its long counterpart when the usage is a Vedic hymn, and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

## EXAMPLES:

*ā tū ná indra vṛtrahan* 'come to us O, Indra, killer of Vṛtra'

*nū karaṇe*

*uta vā ghā syālāt*

*makṣū gómantamīmahe*

*bharātā jātavedasam* 'make Agni happy'

*kūmanah* 'wicked-minded'

*atrā gauḥ*

*uruṣyā nō' gneḥ* 'protect us O, Agni'

1. This rule allows lengthening of *tu*, etc., in the context of *ṛcā* 'Vedic hymn'. Note that *taN* 'ta with N as an *i*' refers to the active (*parasmaipada*) replacement of second personal plural *tha* (3.4.101 *tasthasthamipām tāmtāmāḥ*). Recall that a replacement of *LOT* is treated as a replacement

of *LAN̄*, marked with *N̄* as an *it*, by extension (*atideśa*; 3.4.85 *loṭo lan̄vat*). The *tra* of *atrā* has its source in affix *traL* (5.3.10 *saptamyās traL*). A replacement in *aN̄*, for *etad* of *etad* + *traL*, is accomplished by 5.3.5 *etado' n*. The word *urusyā*, paraphrased as *ātmana urum icchati*, is a derivate of *uru* + *am* + *KyaC*, where augment *sUK* (*ut* ad 7.1.51 *aśvaḥsraurṣa* . . . : *sarvaprātipadikebhyo lālasāyām sug vaktavyaḥ*) is introduced to produce *uru* + *sUK* + *KyaC* → *urusya*. Given *urusya* + (*LOṭ* → *hi*) = *urusya* + (*hi* →  $\phi$ ), where *hi* gets deleted by 6.4.105 *ato heḥ* and *s* of *urusya* gets replaced with *ṣ*, our present rule orders lengthening.

Why can we not interpret the specification by *gha*, of this rule, as referring to affixes *taraP* and *tamaP* (1.1.22 *taraptamapau ghaḥ*). A form ending in affixes *taraP* and *tamaP* which, in turn, may involve this lengthening is impossible (*asambhava*) to find, especially in this context of *ṛcā*.

### 6.3.134 इकः सुञि

*ikah̄ suñi*

/ikah̄ 6/1 suñi 7/1/

(*uttarapade* #1 *dirghaḥ* #111 *saṃhitāyām* #114 *ṛci* #132)

*igantasya suñi parato ṛci viṣaye dirgho bhavati*

The final vowel of a word which ends in *iK* is replaced with its long counterpart when, in a Vedic hymn, *suñ* follows, and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

*abhi̇ ṣu naḥ sākhinām*

*ūrdhvȧ ū ṣu nā ūtaye*

1. This rule allows an *iK* which occurs before *suñ* to be replaced with its long counterpart, provided the context is *ṛcā*. Note that *suṭ* is a particle, where its *s* is replaced with *ṣ*. The *n* of the pronominal *naḥ* is replaced with *ṇ* by 8.4.26 *naś ca dhātustho*. . . .

### 6.3.135 द्व्यचोऽतस्तिडः

*dvyaco' tas tiṇaḥ*

*dvyacaḥ 6/1 = dvau acau yasmin (bv.), tasya; atah̄ 6/1 tiṇaḥ 6/1/*

(*uttarapade* #1 *dirghaḥ* #111 *saṃhitāyām* #114 *ṛci* #132)

*dvyacas tiṇantasyāta ṛgviṣaye dirgho bhavati*

The *a* of a *tiñ* affix composed of two vowels is replaced with its long counterpart when, in a Vedic hymn, *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

*vidmā hi tvā gopātiṃ śūra gonām* 'O, brave Indra, we know you as the master of many cows'

*vidmā śarasyā pītarām*

1. This rule allows a long replacement for the short *a* of a *tiN* affix composed of two vowels. Of course, when the context is *ṛcā*. Thus, consider *vidmā*, a form of *LOT* ending in *mas* ‘first person plural active verbal ending’. *Kāśikā* offers *bharata* and *vakṣi* as counter-examples to conditions of *divyacaḥ* and *ataḥ*, respectively.

### 6.3.136 निपातस्य च

*nipātasya ca*

/ *nipātasya* 6/1 *ca*  $\phi$  /

(*uttarapade* #1 *dirgho*’ *ṇaḥ* #111 *saṃhitāyām* #144 *ṛci* #133)

*nipātasya ca ṛgviṣaye dirgha ādeśo bhavati*

The final *aN* of a particle, in a Vedic hymn, is also replaced with its long counterpart when *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

*evā té*

*acchā te*

1. A particle is also subjected to lengthening in a context of *ṛcā*. Thus, *evā* and *acchā* which are *nipātas* because of their membership in the *cādi* group (1.4.57 *cādayo*’ *sattve*).

### 6.3.137 अन्येषामपि दृश्यते

*anyeṣām api dṛśyate*

/ *anyeṣām* 6/3 *api*  $\phi$  *dṛśyate* (verbal *pada*) /

(*uttarapade* #1 *dirgho*’ *ṇaḥ* #111 *saṃhitāyām* #114)

*anyeṣām api dirgho dṛśyate*

A final *aN* is also seen replaced with its long counterpart, elsewhere.

EXAMPLES:

*keśākeśi* ‘a fight where one pulls the hair of another’

*kacākaci* ‘ibidem’

*jalāṣāt* ‘he who endures rain’

*nārakaḥ pūruṣaḥ* ‘a sinful man’

1. This rule covers examples not enumerated thus far. Consider what the *Kāśikā* says: *yasya dirghatvam na vihitaṃ dṛśyate ca prayoge tad anena kartavyam* ‘that for which lengthening is not offered but is seen in the usage should be accomplished by this rule’. Thus, *keśākeśi* and *kacākaci*, etc., where the compounds are formed by 2.2.27 *tatra tenedam* . . . , and the *saṃāsānta* affix is introduced by 5.4.127 *ic karma* . . .

2. A *vārttika* proposal is also made to allow lengthening in *śvan* when *danta*, *daṃṣṭrā*, *kaṇṇa*, *kunda*, *varāha*, *puccha* and *pada* follow.

## 6.3.138 चौ

*cau*

/cau 7/1/

(uttarapade #1 pūrvasya dīrgho' ṇaḥ #111 saṃhitāyām #114)

*cau parataḥ pūrvapadasya dīrgho bhavati*

The final *aN* of a preceding word is replaced with its long counterpart when *cU* combines to follow, and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

## EXAMPLES:

*dadhīcaḥ* (*paśya*) 'nominative plural of *dadhīc*'

*dadhīce* 'dative singular . . .'

*madhūcaḥ* (*paśya*) 'nominative plural of *madhūc*'

*madhūce* . . . 'dative singular . . .'

1. This rule allows lengthening when *cu* follows a sound denoted by *aN*. The word *cu* here refers to verbal root *añc* with its deleted nasal. Consider *dadhīca* where *añc* receives affix *KuIN* (3.2.59 *ṛtvigdadhṛk* . . .) and its nasal is deleted by 6.4.24 *aniditām hal* . . . The *a* of *ac* + *KuIN* is deleted by 6.4.138 *acaḥ*. The word *dadhīcaḥ* is thus a derivate of *dadhi* + *c* + *Śas*, with long *ī* replacing the short of *dadhi*. Similar rules apply in deriving *madhūcaḥ*. Affix *KuIN*, as usual, gets deleted.

Note that a replacement denoted by the abbreviatory symbol *yaN* (*yañādeśa*; 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*) is applicable here on the basis of being internally conditioned (*antaraṅga*). This, however, does not apply at the strength of this express provision of long-vowel replacement (*dīrghādeśa*; *Kās*: *antaraṅgo' pi hi yañādeśo dīrghavidhānasāmarthyān na pravarttate*).

## 6.3.139 सम्प्रसारणस्य

*samprasāraṇasya*

/samprasāraṇasya 6/1/

(uttarapade #1 pūrvasya dīrgho' ṇaḥ #111 saṃhitāyām #114)

*samprasāraṇāntasya pūrvapadasyottarapade dīrgho bhavati*

The final of a word which has gone through *samprasāraṇa* is replaced with its long counterpart when a constituent combines to follow.

## EXAMPLES:

*kāriṣagandhīputraḥ* 'son of a female who smelled like dried cow-dung'

*kāriṣagandhīpatiḥ* 'husband of . . .'

*kaumudagandhīputraḥ* 'son of a female who smelled like lily'

*kaumudagandhīpatiḥ* 'husband of . . .'

1. Note that *uttarapade* is still carried. This rule offers a long replacement for the short final *aN* of a preceding constituent ending in a vowel termed

*samprasāraṇa*. Of course, when a constituent in combination follows. Thus, we get *kāriṣagandhīputraḥ* and *kāriṣagandhīpatiḥ*, where the final *samprasāraṇa* vowel *i* of *kāriṣagandhi* is replaced with its long counterpart before *putra* and *pati*. Recall that this *samprasāraṇa* vowel, in fact, is the *samāsānta* affix *i* (5.4.137 *upamānāc ca*). Refer to the appendix of 6.1.13 *ṣyaṇaḥ samprasāraṇam* for derivational details of these examples.

2. A question is raised as to why 6.3.61 *iko hrasvo* . . . cannot be applied on *kāriṣagandhi* of *kāriṣagandhīputraḥ*? Recall that this rule, in the opinion of Gālava, offers a short replacement for the final *i*. Our present rule will require a replacement in long. *Nyāsa* suggests that the *anuvṛtti* of *anyatarasyām* will be carried to 6.3.61 *iko hrasvo* . . . from 6.3.59 *ekahalādaḥ* . . . This will then turn 6.3.61 *iko hrasvo* . . . into a *vyavasthita-vibhāṣā* ‘fixed option’. Consequently, *kāriṣagandhi* will escape its application. Haradatta (*PM ad Kāś*) finds *vipraṭiṣedha* in the application of rules 6.1.61 and 6.3.139. He claims that an independent scope of application of 6.3.61 can be seen in *grāmaṇīputraḥ*. A similar independent scope of 6.3.139 can be found in contexts where shortening of 6.3.61 cannot apply. Thus, given that *dirgha* ‘lengthening’ finds its scope even when *hrasva* does not find its scope, *dirgha* of this rule blocks the application of *hrasva* on the basis of *paratva* (1.4.2 *vipraṭiṣedhe* . . .). Why can *hrasva* not apply after the application of *dirgha* in consonance with *punaḥ prasāṅgavyijñāna*, a renewed context of application? This cannot be done since that which goes through *vipraṭiṣedha* once, and hence is blocked, remains blocked forever (*PŚ* 41: *sakṛd gataḥ vipraṭiṣedhe yad bādhitam tad bādhitam eva*).

#### PĀDA FOUR

##### 6.4.1 अंगस्य

*aṅgasya* 6/1/

*adhikāro’ yam ā saptaṁmādhyaṅgaparisamāpteh; yad ita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāmo’ ṅgasyety evaṁ tad vedīṭavyam*

Of that which is termed an *aṅga*. . .

##### EXAMPLES:

Refer to subsequent rules.

1. This is an *adhikāra* ‘governing rule’. It is carried over to all rules contained within its domain, valid through the end of the seventh chapter (*saptaṁmādhyaṅga*).

2. Some claim that this *adhikāra* of *aṅgasya* is valid prior to rules introducing modification to *abhyāsa* (7.4.58 *atra loṇo’ bhāsasya*). This way, one need not specify *luk* in the wording of rule 7.4.82 *guṇo yaṇlukoh*. Why? Rule 1.1.62 *pratyayaḥ loṇo pratyayalakṣaṇam* can account for its purpose. If such an *adhikāra*

of *āṅgasya* is accepted as valid, even in the section dealing with modifications introduced to an *abhyāsa*, 1.1.63 *na lumatāṅgasya* will block operations relative to an *āṅga*. Of course, based on deletions accomplished via *LUK*, *ŚLU* and *LUP*. The *LUK* of 7.4.82 *guṇo yañlukoh* is stated so that *guṇa* is applied against the negation of 1.1.62 *na lumatāṅgasya*.

The author of the *Kāśikāvṛtti* finds problems in accepting this limited governing scope of *āṅgasya*. The author of the *vṛtti* considers *vraśc + LIT* → *vavraśca* where, given *va + vraśc + LIT*, 6.1.17 *liṭy abhyāsasyobhayeṣām* would apply to replace *r* with its *samprasāraṇa* counterpart *ṛ*. This *samprasāraṇa* will become applicable again to *v* after the application of 7.4.66 *ur at* and 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*. The negation of this *samprasāraṇa* (6.1.37 *na samprasāraṇe samprasāraṇam*) which is desired can then not apply. For, the *a* which results from the application of 7.4.66 *ur at* will not be a *samprasāraṇa* vowel. One cannot invoke *sthānivadbhāva* here because the *samprasāraṇa* condition of *paranimitta* ‘following condition’ can then not be satisfied (*PM* ad *Kāś*: *vṛttikāras tu manyate-yadi prāg abhyāsavikārebhyaṅgādhikāraḥ vavraś ceti vṛścater liṭi* ‘*liṭy abhyāsasyobhayeṣām*’ *iti rephasys samprasāraṇe uradatva halādiśeṣe ca kṛte vakārasyāpi samprasāraṇam prāpnoti, tasya* ‘*na samprasāraṇe samprasāraṇam*’ *iti pratiśedha iṣyate, sa na prāpnoti; uradatvasyāsamprasāraṇatvāt. na ca tasya sthānivatvam, aparanimittatvāt*). It is to facilitate the derivation of *vavraśca* (and not of *\*vraśca*) that *āṅgasya* is treated as valid up to the end of the seventh chapter (*adhyāya*).

If one accepts the extent of the domain of *āṅgasya* valid through the end of the seventh chapter, the result of 7.4.66 *ur at* will constitute the following condition. For, an *āṅga* will then expect its own affixal right condition (*PM*: *ā saptamādhyāyaparisaṁāpteh punar āṅgādhikāre saty uradatvam paranimittakaṁ bhavati, āṅgena svanimittasya pratyayasāpekṣepāt*). The idea that one need not specify *luk* in 7.4.82 *guṇo yañlukoh* is not acceptable. For, the applicational domain of that negation (cf. 1.1.63 *na lumatāṅgasya*) is not limited only to operations of the domain of *āṅgasya*. It is true that this negation applies to an *āṅga* which has gone through deletion of its affix via *LUK*. But it is also true that operations relative to an *āṅga*, such as this one, will apply whether they are limited to the domain of *āṅga* or not. (*PM*: *lumatā luṭte pratyaye vastuto yad āṅgaṁ tasya prāptam yat kāryam āṅgam anāṅgaṁ vā tasya sarvasya pratiśedhaḥ*). It is therefore wise to accept the scope of *āṅgasya* valid through the end of the seventh chapter.

3. I shall now offer some illustrations where *āṅgasya* plays a role in proper interpretation and application of rules contained within its domain. For example, Pāṇini says 6.4.2 *halaḥ* which, when read with 6.4.1. *āṅgasya*, yields the following interpretation:

‘a long replacement is introduced to the *āṅga*-final *samprasāraṇa* vowel which is denoted by *aN* and occurs after a consonant contained within the *āṅga*’

Consider  $hve(\tilde{N}) + (K)ta \rightarrow hūtaḥ$ , where  $v$  goes through a replacement in *samprasāraṇa* (6.1.15 *vacisvapiyajādīnām* . . . ; 1.1.45 *ig yaṇaḥ samprasāraṇam*) and the resultant vocalic sequence is replaced with a single vowel homogeneous with the preceding (*pūrvasavarṇa*; 6.1.108 *samprasāraṇāc ca*). Thus,  $h(v \rightarrow u)e(\tilde{N}) + (K)ta \rightarrow h(u + e \rightarrow u) + ta \rightarrow h(u \rightarrow \tilde{u}) + ta \rightarrow hūta + sU \rightarrow hūtaḥ$ . A long replacement for the short  $u$  is subsequently accomplished by 6.4.2 *halaḥ*. Similar applications of *samprasāraṇa*, *pūrvavārūpa* and long replacement (*dirgha*) produce  $(jyā + Kta) + sU \rightarrow jīnaḥ$  where 8.2.44 *lvādibhyaḥ* replaces the  $t$  of the *niṣṭhā* (1.1.26 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*) suffix with  $n$ .

Why do we need this specification by *āṅgasya* 'of (part) of an *āṅga*'? Consider  $(nir-ve\tilde{N} + Kta) \rightarrow (nir-(v \rightarrow u) + e + ta) \rightarrow (nir-(u + e \rightarrow u) + ta \rightarrow niruta + sU = nirutam$  and  $(dur-u + ta) + sU \rightarrow durutam$ , where there is no long replacement since *nir* and *dur* are preverbs. They are not part of the *āṅga*, i.e.,  $ve\tilde{N}$  and  $i$ . The *samprasāraṇa* vowel also does not occur after a consonant which is part of the *āṅga*.

Now consider 6.4.3 *nāmi* which facilitates a long replacement for the final short of an *āṅga* when *nām* follows (*Kāś*: *nāmi dirghaḥ*). Thus,  $agni + \tilde{a}m \rightarrow agn(i \rightarrow \tilde{i}) + \tilde{a}m \rightarrow agn\tilde{i} + nUT + \tilde{a}m \rightarrow agn\tilde{i}nām$ , when augment  $nUT$  is introduced by 7.1.54 *hrasvanadyāpo nuṭ*.

Why do we have the condition of *āṅgasya*? Consider *krimiṇā + am* and *pāmanā + am* where *krimiṇā* and *pāmanā* are derivatives of *krimiṇa + TāP* and *pāmana + TāP*. Note that *krimiṇa* and *pāmana* are derivatives of affix *na* (5.2.100 *lopādīpāmādo* . . .) which, in turn, is introduced after *krimi + Jas* and *pāman + Jas* with the signification of *krimayaḥ santy asyām* 'that in which there are worms' and *pāmānaḥ santy asyām* 'that which itches'. Since this is the domain of *āṅgasya* we do not get a long replacement for the final short of *krimi* and *pāma* before *nām*. For *pāmana* and *krimiṇa* are derivatives of *na*. The forms *pāma* and *krimi* cannot be assigned the term *āṅga* before *nām*. The *nām* of *krimiṇām* and *pāmanām* is gotten by combining *nā* and *am*. If there was no specification of the domain of *āṅga*, a long replacement could apply to the short final of *krimi* and *pāma* before *nām*. That is, long replacement can apply before any *nām*.

Now consider 7.1.9 *ato bhis ais* whereby *bhis* 'instrumental plural', which occurs after an *āṅga* ending in  $a(aT)$ , is replaced with *ais*. Consider *brāhmaṇabhissā* and *odanabhissiṭā* where  $aT$  is not the final of an *āṅga* and *bhis* of *bhissā* and *bhissiṭā* is not an affix with reference to which the term *āṅga* could be assigned. Both *brāhmaṇa* and *odana* cannot be termed an *āṅga* before *bhissā* and *bhissiṭā*. The preceding two examples focus on *bhis* as part of a compound. Now consider *he brāhmaṇa bhissā tatva vartate* where *bhis* is part of a nominal stem, i.e., *bhissā* which, in turn, is not a compound constituent. We also find that *bhis* occurs after *brāhmaṇa* which ends in  $a$ . But *brāhmaṇa* is not an *āṅga*. For, *bhis* is not an affix here. Incidentally, *bhissā*

means 'rice' and *bhissitā* means 'burned'. Haradatta (*PM*) cites the form as *bhissadā* and glosses it as *dadhi* 'yogurt'.

4. One cannot here argue that *aṅgasya* is not needed. A long replacement which may become applicable can be blocked by invoking the *paribhāṣā* (15): *arthavad grahaṇe nānarthakasya* 'a specification applicable to something meaningful does not allow inclusion of something non-meaningful'. That is, this *paribhāṣā* will not permit a non-meaningful *bhis* to condition lengthening in *brāhmaṇabhissā* and *odanabhissitā*. Why do we need *aṅgasya*? Commentators emphasize that the domain of *aṅgasya* is specified for purposes of other operations. It also controls long replacements, etc., of 6.4.3 *nāmi* (*Kās*: *aṅgādihikāraḥ kṛto* 'nyārthaḥ, *nāmi* dirghatvād api vyavasthāpayatīti tadartham arthavadgrahaṇaparibhāṣā nāśrayitavyā bhavati). We must need *aṅgasya*.

The genitive of *aṅgasya* denotes 'relations is general' (*sambandha-sāmānya*). It is interpreted in particular senses of *sthāna* 'in place of' and *avayava* 'part of a whole', as context of rules may demand (*Kās*: *aṅgasyeti sambandhasāmānye eṣā ṣaṣṭhī yathāyogaṃ viśeṣu avatiṣṭhate*). Thus, the genitive of *hanteḥ* (6.4.36 *hanter jah*) is interpreted as *sthāna-ṣaṣṭhī* 'in place of'. The same in 6.4.89 *ūd upadhāyāḥ* . . . is interpreted as denoting 'part of a whole' (*avayava-ṣaṣṭhī*). The genitive of *yuvoh* (7.1.1 *yuvor anākau*) is similarly interpreted as denoting a relationship characterized as 'condition-conditioned' (*nimitta-nimitti*).

Commentators also offer another proposal. They state that the stem notion (*prātipadikārtha*) of *aṅga*, with no meaning of genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*), is carried to all rules. This stem notion keeps adjusting with the denotation of 'ablative' (*pañcamī*) or genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*), as may be desired by the context of individual rules. This facilitates proper interpretation of rules with desired meanings.

5. Commentators outline the following rules whose operational provisions must meet the condition of *aṅgasya* as a domain heading:

- (i) 6.4.16 *ajjhanagamām̐ sani*, whereby an *aṅga* which ends in *a*, or is constituted by *han* and *gam*, receives a long replacement before a *saN* affix beginning with a consonant denoted by *jhaL*. Consider (*vi* + *saN*) + *LAṬ*) → *vivīṣati*, where iteration (*dvitva*) and operations relative to *abhyāsa* are accomplished after the long replacement of this rule. Such a long replacement cannot be availed by *dadhi sanoti* where *i* of *dadhi* is not a part of the *aṅga*. That is, *san* of *sanoti* is not an affix.
- (ii) 6.4.68 *vā* 'nyasya samyogādeḥ, whereby an *aṅga* which is not termed *ghu* but begins with a conjunct and ends in an *ā*, receives an optional replacement in *e* when an *ārdhadhātuka* replacement of *LIṆ* marked with *K* or *Ṇ* follows. Consider *gleyāt* or *glāyāt* where *ai* of *glai* is replaced with *ā* (6.1.45 *ādeca upadeśe* . . .). The *e* (*etva*) of this rule produces *gl(ā→e)yāt* → *gleyāt*. This replacement is not pos-



sible in deriving *nirvāyāt* where *r* of *nir* is not a part of the *aṅga*. That is, the root is not conjunct-initial.

- (iii) 7.1.35 *tuhyoṣ tātañ* . . . , whereby *tu* and *hi* are replaced, optionally, with *tātAN* when the denotatum is benediction (*āśiṣi*). We thus get *jīvatād bhavān/jīvatu bhavān* 'may you live long'; *jīvatāt tvam/jīva tvam*. This replacement in *tātAN* cannot apply on *jīva tu tvam* because *jīva* is not an *aṅga* with reference to *tu*, an indeclinable particle.
- (iv) 6.4.77 *aciśnudhātubhruvām* . . . , whereby the final *i* and *u* of some specified *aṅga* is, respectively, replaced with *iyAN* and *uvAN* before a vowel initial affix. Thus, we get *niyau/niyaḥ* and *luvau/luvaḥ*, where these bases are derived with *KuIP*, and *ī* and *ū* of *nī* and *lū* are replaced with *iyAN* and *uvAN*, respectively.
- (v) 7.1.54 *hrasvanadyāpo nuṭ*, whereby augment *nUT* is introduced to *ām* which, in turn, occurs after an *aṅga* ending, either in a short vowel or in a *nadī* word, or else, in a feminine affix with *āP*. Thus we get *agninām*, *kumārīṇām* and *mālānām*. We cannot get *nUT* in *kumārī ām ity āha* 'the girl said "ām" (yes)', because *kumārī* cannot be indentified as an *aṅga* before *ām*, a non-affixal indeclinable.
- (vi) 7.4.13 *ke' ṇaḥ*, whereby a vowel denoted by *aN* is replaced with its short counterpart before affix *ka*. We thus get (*kumār(ī→i) + ka*) + *ṬāP* → *kumārikā* + *sU* → *kumārikā*. We cannot get this replacement in *kumārī kasmāi spṛhayati* 'who does the girl love' and *kumāryaḥ kaṃ sukhāṃ* 'what happiness does this girl have', where *ka*, of *kasmāi* and *kaṃ*, is not an affix before which *kumārī* can be termed an *aṅga*. Besides, both *kumārī* and *kumāryāḥ* are already fully derived words.
- (vii) 7.4.48 *āpo bhi*, whereby the *aṅga*-final *p* of *ap* is replaced with *t* when an affix beginning with *bh* follows. Thus, we get *a(p→t→d) + bhi(s→r→ḥ) = adbhiḥ* and *adbhyaḥ*. Now consider the counter-example, i.e., (*a(p→b) + bhārḥ*) → *abbhāraḥ*, where this replacement cannot apply since *ap* is not an *aṅga*.

#### 6.4.2 हलः

*halah*

/ *halah* 5/1/

(*dirgho' ṇaḥ* #6.3.111 *samprasāraṇasya* #6.3.139 *aṅgasya* #1)

*aṅgāvayavādd halo yad uttaraṃ samprasāraṇam tadantasyāṅgasya dirgho bhavati*

The final sound of an *aṅga*, which terminates in a *samprasāraṇa* vowel denoted by *aN* and occurs after a consonant contained within the *aṅga*, is replaced with its long counterpart.

## EXAMPLES:

*hūtaḥ* 'called, summoned'  
*jīnaḥ* 'subdued, conquered'  
*samvītaḥ* 'properly covered'

1. This rule offers a long replacement to an *aṅga* which ends in a *samprasāraṇa* vowel occurring after a consonant contained within it.

This rule can be interpreted in three ways as follows:

- (i) *hala uttarasya samprasāraṇāntasya aṅgasya dīrgho bhavati* 'a long replacement applies to the final sound of an *aṅga* which ends in a *samprasāraṇa* vowel and occurs after a consonant';
- (ii) *aṅgāvayavādd hala uttarasya samprasāraṇasya dīrgho bhavati* 'long replacement applies to a *samprasāraṇa* vowel which occurs after a consonant contained within the *aṅga*';
- (iii) *aṅgāvayavādd halo yad uttaraṃ samprasāraṇaṃ tadantasyāṅgasya dīrgho bhavati* 'a long replacement applies to an *aṅga* which ends in a *samprasāraṇa* vowel occurring after a consonant contained within the *aṅga*'

The *Kāśikāvṛtti* accepts the third interpretation.

If the first interpretation is accepted, long replacement will apply to the *u* of (*nir-ve*( $\tilde{N}$ ) + (*K*) *ta*)) + *sU* → *nirutam* and (*dur-ve* $\tilde{N}$  + (*K*) *ta*)) + *sU* → *durutam*. Note that the *u* of *nir-u* + *tam* is a *samprasāraṇa* replacement of *ve*, via (*v* → *u*) *e* → *ue* → *u*, a single replacement of the vocalic sequence *u* + *e*, similar to the first of the sequence (6.1.108 *samprasāraṇāc ca*). Of course, the *aṅga* occurs after a consonant, namely *r*, the final of the preverb *nir*. The *r* of *dur* similarly precedes the *aṅga*, i.e., *u*, in *durutam*. Recall that *u* itself is a vowel termed *samprasāraṇa*. The lengthening of *u* and *i*, in *nirutam* and *durutam*, is, however, not desired (*aniṣṭa*). Accepting the first interpretation will yield wrong forms \**nirūtam* and \**durūtam*. For, we find an *aṅga* which, here, ends in a *samprasāraṇa* vowel and occurs after a consonant. Notice that, in this interpretation, the consonant is not considered part of the *aṅga*.

Accepting the second interpretation will also yield undesired results, especially in deriving *viddhaḥ* and *vicitaḥ*. This interpretation will provide lengthening in *viddhaḥ*/*vicitaḥ* and yield undesired forms: *viddhaḥ* and \**vicitaḥ*. Incidentally, we get *viddhaḥ* and *vicitaḥ* from (*vyadh* + *Kta*) + *sU*) and (*vyac* + *Kta*) + *sU*), where 6.1.16 *grahijyāvayivyadhivaṣṭivicati* . . . requires *samprasāraṇa* of *y*. The *v* of *vyadh* and *vyac* is saved from going through *samprasāraṇa* as a result of the negation of 6.1.36 *na samprasāraṇe samprasāraṇam*. Notice also that we have the *samprasāraṇa* vowel *i* occurring after a consonant (*v*) contained within the *aṅga*. It is to remove problems relative to the acceptance of the first two interpretations that *Kāśikā* accepts the third interpretation. But this interpretation cannot be gotten with just one use of the word

*aṅga*. For, a single *aṅgasya* can either qualify *hal*, or be used for specifying operational locus (*kārya-pratipatti*). A single use of *aṅgasya* can be accepted only as a qualifier to *halaḥ*. We also need another *aṅgasya* so that its genitive (*śaṣṭhī*) can be interpreted as denoting *sthāna-śaṣṭhī* 'in place of' and can serve as a qualified (*viśeṣya*) to *samprasāraṇam*. We can then get the sense of 'an *aṅga* ending in a *samprasāraṇa*', via applying *tadantavidhi* 'interpreting a specification as also that which ends in that' to the qualifier *samprasāraṇa*. The first *aṅgasya* will be treated as a qualifier to *halaḥ* where its genitive will be interpreted as denoting a relationship characterized as 'part of a whole' (*avayavāvayavi-sambandha*). If, on the other hand, *aṅgasya* is not used as a qualifier to *halaḥ*, a long replacement cannot be made available to an *aṅga* which may end in a *samprasāraṇa* vowel and be followed by a consonant. *Kāśikā*, therefore, uses the word *aṅga* twice, by way of repetition (*āvṛtti*) of *aṅgasya* already made available. Thus, we get two phrases in the *vṛtti*: *aṅgāvayavādd halaḥ* and *tadantasyāṅgasya dīrghaḥ*. How can a single *aṅgasya* be used twice? Like a single pot used for feeding many not eating concurrently (*yathaikaṁ bhājanam asābhujām aneṣām bhujikriyāyam*). Thus,

*āvarttamānaṁ vastu ekaṁ apy anekasya śeṣatām/  
bhajate bhājanam yadvaṁ nṛṇām asābhajane/ /*

'as a single thing serves as a remainder, like a pot, when used in turn for many not eating concurrently'

Consider the following *ślokaavṛtika* which summarizes many of the interpretational problems discussed:

*nanv ekaṁ aṅagrahaṇam prakṛtaṁ tadd halo yadi/  
viśeṣaṇam syāt kāryitvam aṅgasyeḥ na labhyate/ /  
tataś ca viddham ity ādāv api dīrghaḥ prasajyate/  
atha nirdīśyate kāryī nāhalaḥ syād viśeṣaṇam/ /  
tato nirutam ity ādāv api dīrghatvam āpatet/  
sakṛc chrutasya caikasya yujyate nobhayārthatā/ /*

'if *aṅgasya*, as given, is interpreted as a qualifer to *halaḥ*, we cannot have *aṅgasya* to specify operational locus. This, in turn, will cause lengthening in *viddham*, etc. If, on the other hand, *aṅgasya* is used to specify operational locus, it cannot be used to qualify *halaḥ*. This will occasion lengthening in *nirutam*, etc. For, a single utterance (here, *aṅgasya*) cannot be associated with dual meanings'

In summary, *aṅgasya* is to be read again via repetition: once for making it a qualifier to *halaḥ* and once again for specifying the operational locus (*Kāś: aṅagrahaṇam āvartayitavyam: halviśeṣanārtham, aṅgakāryapratipatyartham ca*).

Note that *aṅaḥ* (6.3.111), *dīrghaḥ* (6.3.111) and *samprasāraṇasya* (6.3.139) are all carried over. But how could *aṅaḥ* be carried here when its *anuvṛtti* is already canceled by the incompatible *ik* of 6.3.123 *ikah kāṣe*. No problem.

Carry *iK* as a qualifier to *aN*, thereby yielding the meaning: an *aṇ* which is denoted by an *iK* (*a ig iti*). But qualifying *aN* with *iK* will create problems in applying rule 6.3.138 *cau*, where *aN* alone is desired to be carried. Consequently, lengthening cannot be accomplished in *avācā* and *svarācā*. In that case, just carry *aN* from 6.3.138 *cau*. Or else, bring *iK* by *maḍūkapluti* 'frog's leap' process of *anuvṛtti*. Incidentally, *aN* is required because lengthening can apply only to a vowel denoted by *aN*.

### 6.4.3 नामि

*nāmi*

/ *nāmi* 7/1/

(*dirghaḥ* #6.3.111 *aṅsya* #1)

*nāmi parato* 'ṅsya *dirgho bhavati*

The final short vowel of an *aṅga* is replaced with its long counterpart when *nām* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*agnīnām* 'genitive plural of *agni*'

*vāyūnām* 'genitive plural of *vāyu*'

*kartṛṇām* 'genitive plural of *kartṛ*'

1. Note that *nām* of *nāmi* is interpreted as the genitive plural nominal ending *ām*, used with augment *nUṭ* (*sanuṭka*; *Kās*: '*nām*' *ity etat ṣaṣṭhī-bahuvacanam āgatanuṭkam gṛhyate*). This rule thus allows lengthening of an *aṅga* when *nām* follows. The *aN* of 6.3.111 *ḍhraloṇe pūrvasya dirgho* 'ṇ is not carried here. That is, lengthening can also apply to ṛ.

2. A specification with *nUṭ* is made so that (i) *ām* is interpreted as *nām* and (ii) introduction of augment *nUṭ* is accomplished before a replacement in long. For, 7.1.54 *hrasvanadyāpo nuṭ* will introduce *nUṭ* under the condition of *hrasva* 'short', etc. Consider *agni* + *ām*, where, unless *ām* is specified as *nām*, long replacement of this rule will become applicable simultaneously with the introduction of *nUṭ*. Note that *nUṭ* is subsequent in order (*paraḥ*), but *dirgha* 'long replacement' is obligatory (*nitya*). That is, it will apply whether *nUṭ* applies or not. Once the long replacement has taken effect, *nUṭ* cannot be introduced. For, the condition of *nUṭ*, i.e., *hrasva*, will be removed by a replacement in long (*dirgha*). Why can we not introduce *nUṭ* accepting *bhūtapūrvagati* 'existence of a short (*hrasva*) vowel prior to the application of a long (*dirgha*)'. If *nUṭ* does not apply after a long replacement has applied, specifying *nUṭ* with *hrasvasya* in rule 7.1.54 *hrasvanadyāpo nuṭ* will become vacuous (*vyartha*). That is, it will not have any scope of application (*niravakāśa*). It is, therefore, suggested that *nUṭ* be introduced even after the application of *dirgha* 'long'. How? By accepting

*bhūtapūrvagati* 'existence of *hrasva* prior to the application of *dirgha*'. This way, *nUT* can be accomplished without making its provision vacuous.

But this method of applying *nUT* is not valid. The provision of *nUT* cannot become vacuous because its application is seen, for example, in *tisṛṇām*, etc., where *dirgha* 'long' is not available. It is thus clear that applying *nUT* simply because its provision will otherwise become vacuous is not acceptable. Also recall that 6.4.7 *nopadhāyāḥ* negates a long replacement to the penultimate sound of an *aṅga* when the *aṅga* ends in *n* (*nānta*). That is, *nUT* must be introduced before a long replacement is accomplished. For, in the absence of *nUT*, there will be a long replacement in *carman* + *ām* → *\*carmanām*. A long replacement before *ām*, used with *nUT* (*sanuṭka*; *nām*), will not allow a long replacement in *carman* + *ām* = *carmanām*. It is, therefore, recommended that *nUT* be introduced first:

*nāmidirgha āmi cet syāt kṛte dirghe na nuḍ bhavet/  
vacanād yatra tan nāsti nopadhāyāś ca carmanām//*

'if the long replacement provision of *nāmi* is accomplished when *ām* follows, *nUT* cannot be introduced after the long replacement. It is not proper to argue that *nUT* can be introduced at the strength of Pāṇini's own statement (*ārambha-sāmarthyā*). For, *nUT* is not in any danger of becoming vacuous. This provision is also made there by the lengthening of *nopadhāyāś ca*'

#### 6.4.4 न तिसृचतसु

*na tisṛcatasṛ*

/na φ *tisṛcatasṛ* (6/2 deleted cf. 7.1.39 *supām suluk . . . ; itar. dv.*) /  
(*dirghaḥ* #6.3.111 *aṅgasya* #1 *nāmi* #3)

'*tisṛ, catasṛ*' *ity etayor nāmi dirgho na bhavati*

The final short vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *tisṛ* and *catasṛ*, is not replaced with its long counterpart when *nām* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*tisṛṇām* 'genitive plural of *tisṛ*'

*catasṛṇām* 'genitive plural of *catasṛ*'

1. This rule disallows a long replacement when *nām* follows *tisṛ* and *catasṛ*. Note that *tri* and *catur* are replaced with *tisṛ* and *catasṛ* in the feminine (7.2.99 *tricituro . . .*). Thus, we get (*tri* → *tisṛ*) + *nām* = *tisṛṇām*. A long replacement for *r*, made available by the preceding rule, is negated here.

2. This rule is accepted as a *jñāpaka* 'indicator' for negating the long replacement of 6.4.2 *nāmi*. That is, given *tisṛ* + *ām*, *nUT* and *r* as a replacement for *r* (7.2.100 *aci ra ṛtaḥ*), both become applicable simultaneously. If a replacement in *r*, based on 7.2.100 *aci ra ṛtaḥ* being subsequent in order, is accomplished first, *tisṛ* + *ām* will not qualify to receive *nUT*. Consequently,

the question of a replacement in long does not arise. Why make a negative provision when a positive provision does not exist. But since Pāṇini still offers this negation, it must have some purpose. The purpose is to indicate that *nUT* is introduced first. That is, based on its status as a prior exception (*purastāpavāda*) to replacement in *r* (*repha*). Rule 6.4.2 *nāmi* can introduce a long replacement once augment *nUT* is introduced. Our present rule, however, negates this provision of replacement in long. It is for this reason that we state: *numciratrjvadbhāvebhyo nuḍ bhavati pūrvavipratishedhena* ‘... *nUT* is accomplished by conflict of equal strength where a prior rule wins’.

#### 6.4.5 छन्दस्युभयथा

*chandasy ubhayathā*

/ *chandasi* 7/1 *ubhyathā* 1/1/

(*dīrghaḥ* #6.3.111 *aṅgasya* #1 *nāmi* #3 *tiṣṭ-cataṣṭ* #5)

*chandasi viṣaye* ‘*tiṣṭ-cataṣṭ*’ *ity etayor nāmi parata ubhayathā dṛśyate*

The short final vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *tiṣṭ* and *cataṣṭ*, is both replaced, or not replaced, with its long counterpart in the Vedic when *nām* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*tiṣṭṇām madhyadine* ‘... mid-day’

*tiṣṭṇām madhyadine* ‘ibidem’

*cataṣṭṇām madhyadine* ‘... mid-day’

*cataṣṭṇām madhyadine* ‘ibidem’

1. This rule states that both, a long replacement (*dīrgha*), or its absence (*dīrghābhāva*), is witnessed in the Vedic usage. Thus, *tiṣṭṇām* and *tiṣṭṇām*; *cataṣṭṇām* and *cataṣṭṇām*.

#### 6.4.6 नृ च

*nṛ ca*

/ *nṛ* 1/1 *ca* φ

(*dīrghaḥ* #6.3.111 *aṅgasya* #1 *nāmi* #3 *chandasy ubhayathā* #5)

‘*nṛ*’ *ity etasya nāmi pare ubhayathā bhavati*

The short final vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *nṛ*, is both replaced, or not replaced, with its long counterpart in the Vedic when *nām* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*tvam nṛṇām nṛpate* ‘O you, the king of men’

*tvam nṛṇām nṛpate* ‘ibidem’

1. This provision of a long replacement, or its optional absence, is made in the Vedic where *nṛ* occurs followed by *nām*. Some do not carry here the

*anuvṛtti* of *chandasi* from the preceding rule. Consequently, this dual provision also becomes applicable to the classical usage (*bhāṣāyām*).

#### 6.4.7 नोपधायाः

*nopadhāyāḥ*

/na φ upadhāyāḥ 6/1/

(*ḍīrghaḥ* #6.3.111 *aṅgasya* #1 *nāmi* #3)

*nāntasyāṅgasyopadhyāyā nāmi parato ḍīrgho bhavati*

The penultimate short vowel of an *aṅga* which ends in *n* is replaced with its long counterpart when *nām* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*pañcānām* 'genitive plural of *pañcan* (five)'

*saptānām* '... *saptan* (seven)'

*navānām* '... *navan* (nine)'

*daśānām* '... *daśan* (ten)'

1. Note that provisions made prior to this rule deal with an *aṅga* which ends in a vowel (*ajanta*). This rule begins making provisions relative to an *aṅga* which does not end in a vowel (*anajanta*). A specification with *naḥ*, in the genitive, is made to indicate the nasal sound (*varṇa*) *n*. The interpretation of this specification of *naḥ* as *nāntasya* 'that which ends in -*n*' is based, as usual, on *tadantavidhi* 'treating that by means of which a specification is made as referring also that which ends in that'. A mention of *upadhā* is made so that long replacement could not apply to an initial vowel (*ādyacaḥ*).

This rule thus allows a long replacement for the *upadhā* 'penultimate' of an *aṅga* which ends in *n* and is followed by *nām*. Thus, *pañcan* + *nām* → *pañc(a → ā)n* + *nām* → *pañcā(n → φ)* + *nām*, where 8.2.7 *nalopah prātipadikāntasya* causes *n*-deletion in *pañcān*. Other examples involve similar rule applications.

Consider *caturṇām*, as a counter-example to the condition of *naḥ*, where we find *nUT*, though *catur* does not end in *n*. A long replacement must, in this context, occur before *nām*. That is why, *carman* + *ām* → *carmaṇām*, cannot get the *a* of *carman* replaced with *ā*. Refer also to my notes under 6.4.2 *nāmi* for further details.

#### 6.4.8 सर्वनामस्थाने चासम्बुद्धौ

*sarvanāmasthāne cāsambuddhau*

/sarvanāmasthāne 7/1 ca φ asambuddhau 7/1 = na sambuddhau (*nañ.*)/

(*ḍīrghaḥ* #6.3.111 *aṅgasya* #1 *nāmi* #3 *nopadhāyāḥ* #7)

*sarvanāmasthāne ca parato sambuddhau nopadhāyā ḍīrgho bhavati*

The next to the last vowel of an *aṅga* which ends in *n* is replaced with

its long counterpart when a *sarvanāmasthāna* affix other than *sambuddhi* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*rājā* 'nominative singular of *rājan* (king)'  
*rājānau* '... dual ...'  
*rājānaḥ* '... plural ...'  
*rājānam* 'accusative singular of ...'  
*rājānau* '... dual of ...'  
*sāmāni tiṣṭhanti* 'the impartial ones are sitting'  
*sāmāni paśya* 'look at the impartial ones'

1. This rule allows a long replacement to the penultimate short of an *aṅga* which ends in *n*, provided a non-*sambuddhi* nominal ending termed *sarvanāmasthāna* follows. Recall that 1.1.42 *śi sarvanāmasthānam* and 1.1.43 *suḍ anapūṃsakasya* assign the term *sarvanāmasthāna* to a set of nominal endings. Thus, *rājā*/*rājānau*/*rājānaḥ*; *rājānam*/*rājānau*. Additionally, *sāmāni tiṣṭhanti* and *sāmāni paśya* where *Jas* and *Śas*, which occur after *sāman*, are replaced with *Śi* (7.1.20 *jaśśasoḥ śiḥ*).

2. Note that *ca* is used here to attract *nopadhāyāḥ* (*Kāś*: *cakāraḥ nopadhāyā ity anukarṣaṇārthaḥ*). But this should not be accepted, since *nopadhāyāḥ* carries beyond this rule. Besides, what is attracted by means of *ca* cannot be carried subsequently (*cānukṛṣṭaṃ nottaratrābhisambadhyate*). In that case, consider *ca* as used for clarity (*asandehārtham*). Besides, absence of *ca* may lead to doubts whether the intended right context is that of *sambuddhi* or non-*sambuddhi*. But this could hardly be the problem. Pāṇini should have then formulated the rule as *asambuddhau sarvanāmasthāne*. It is therefore suggested that *ca* could have been used for stylistic variation (*vaicitryārtham*).

3. Because of the negation of *sarvanāmasthāna*, we cannot get a long replacement in *sāmāni*, a locative (*saptamī*) singular. Similar negation applies to *he rājan!* and *he takṣan!*, both vocative (*sambuddhi*) singular forms.

#### 6.4.9 वा षपूर्वस्य निगमे

*vā ṣapūrvasya nigame*  
 / *vā* φ *ṣapūrvasya* 6/1 = *ṣaḥ pūro yasmāt* (*bu.*), *tasya*; *nigame* 7/1/  
 (*dirghaḥ* #6.3.111 *aṅgasya* #1 *nāmi* #3 *nopadhāyāḥ* #7 *sarvanāmasthāne*  
*asambuddhau* #8)  
*ṣapūrvasyāco nopadhāyā nigamaviṣaye sarvanāmasthāne parato* ' *sambuddhau*  
*vā dirgho bhavati*

The next to the last vowel of an *aṅga* which ends in *n*, in the Vedic, is optionally replaced with its long counterpart when it occurs after *ṣ*, and a *sarvanāmasthāna* affix other than *sambuddhi* follows.



## EXAMPLES:

*sá tákṣāṇam tīṣṭhantamabravīt*  
*sa takṣaṇam . . .*  
*ṛbhukṣāṇamindram*  
*ṛbhukṣaṇamindrām*

1. This rule makes yet another optional proposal for a replacement in long in the vedic (*nigama*). That is, the penultimate vowel of an *aṅga* which ends in *n* is replaced with its long counterpart when the same occurs after *ṣ*. Of course, when the *aṅga* is followed by a non-*sambuddhi* nominal ending termed *sarvanāmasthāna*. Thus, consider the optional accusative singular forms of *takṣan*: *takṣāṇam* and *takṣaṇam*.

Note that the base is *takṣin*, a derivate of *inI* (5.2.115 *ata inīṭhanau*) introduced after *takṣan*. The *a* of *takṣa* is deleted (6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*) and *i* of *inI* is replaced with *a* (7.4.86 *ito' t sarvanāmasthāne*). We can now derive *takṣāṇam* from *takṣan* + *am* with the application of optional long replacement. Of course, the *n* will be also replaced with *ṇ* (*ṇatva*). We will get *takṣaṇam* if this optional long replacement is not accomplished. This same applies to *ṛbhukṣāṇam* and *ṛbhukṣaṇam*.

## 6.4.10 सान्तमहतः संयोगस्य

*sānta mahataḥ saṃyogasya*  
 / *sānta* (6/1 deleted) *mahataḥ* 6/1 *saṃyogasya* 6/1/  
 (*dirghaḥ* #6.3.111 *aṅgasya* #1 *nāmi* #3 *nopadhāyāḥ* #7 *sarvanāmasthāne*  
*asambuddhau* #8)  
*sakārāntasya saṃyogasya yo nakāraḥ mahataḥ ca tasyopadhāyā dirgho bhavati*  
*sarvanāmasthāne parato' sambuddhau*

The next to the last vowel of a *saṃyoga* 'conjunct' ending in *s*, or the penultimate vowel of *n* of *mahat*, is replaced with its long counterpart when a *sarvanāmasthāna* affix other than *sambuddhi* follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*śreyān* 'masculine nominative singular of *śreyas* (meritorious)'  
*śreyāṃsau* '... dual ...'  
*śreyāṃsah* '... plural ...'  
*mahān* 'nominative singular of *mahat* (great)'  
*mahāntau* '... dual ...'  
*mahāntaḥ* '... plural ...'  
*śreyāṃsi* 'neuter nominative plural of *śreyas*'  
*yaśāṃsi* '... of *yaśas* (fame)'  
*payāṃsi* '... of *payas* (milk)'

1. This rule allows a long replacement for a penultimate short vowel which

occurs as part of a conjunct ending in -s, or as part of *mahat* close to its *n*, provided a non-*sambuddhi* nominal ending termed *sarvanāmasthāna* follows.

Note that the *a* of *sa* in *sānta* is used for articulation (*uccāraṇārthaḥ*). The word *sānta*, used with a deleted genitive (*luptaṣaṣṭhika*), is interpreted as: *saḥ anto yasya* ‘that whose final is -s’. That is, it is used as a qualifier to *saṃyogasya*. The *n* (*nakāra*) is then qualified by *saṃyoga*, in turn, qualified with *sānta*. The word *mahat* is also used as a qualifier to -*n*. The word *sarvanāmasthāna* which is carried from the *anuvṛtti* is then used as an immediately preceding (*avyavahita-pūrva*) qualifier to *sānta*, *saṃyoga* and *mahat*. This is how *Kāśikā* phrases its *vṛtti* as: *sakārāntasya saṃyogasya nakāraḥ mahataś ca* ‘the *n* of a conjunct ending in -s, and that of *mahat* as well . . .’. Note that *Kāśikā* uses *tasya* of *tasyopadhāyāḥ* to relate *n* to *upadhā*. What is this relationship? This question arises since *upadhā* is defined as ‘that which occurs next to the last sound segment of a given form’ (1.1.65 *alo’ ntyāt pūrva upadhā*). All genitive usages in the wording of this rule are relational (*sambandha-sāmānya*). The genitive of *upadhāyāḥ* denotes *sāmīpya* ‘proximity’. There is no way (*gatyabhāvāt*) one can get this meaning of *upadhā* within the context of an *aṅga* ending in a conjunct with *s* at the end. Since an *a* which occurs prior to the *n* of a conjunct ending in -s is spoken of as the *upadhā* of *n*, this relationship can be characterized as that of *sāmīpya* ‘proximity’. That is, an *upadhā* which is proximate to -*n*. Of course, a broader genitive denoting *tadavayatva* ‘part of that’ in relation to the genitive of *aṅgasya* will always be there.

Refer to derivational details of *payāmsi* and *yaśāmsi* under the appendix of 1.1.47 *mid aco’ ntyāt paraḥ*. Recall that *śreyān*, *śreyāmsau* and *śreyāmsaḥ* are nominative singular, dual and plural forms of *śreyas*, a derivate of *praśasya*, where *praśasya* is replaced with *śra* (5.3.60 *praśasyasya śraḥ*) before affix *īyasUN* (5.3.57 *dvivacanavibhajoyopapade*). Augment *nUM* is further introduced to *śreyas* + *sU*, etc. A deletion of *ṭi* (6.4.155 *ṭeḥ*) is blocked because of 6.4.163 *prakṛtyaikāc*. The -s of the nominative singular gets deleted by 6.1.68 *halnyābbhyo*. . . . Given *śreyans* + (*sU*→ $\phi$ ) = *śreyans*, the final -s will be deleted (8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopah*), and the *a* before *n* will be replaced with its long counterpart. We will thus get *śrey(a→ā)n(s→ $\phi$ ))* = *śreyān*. Similar rules apply in deriving other forms of *śreyas*. Note, however, that *mahat* is treated as *ugī* ‘marked with a sound denoted by *uK* as an *it* (7.1.70 *ugid acām* . . .), and *mahān*, etc., are derived by treating it as ending in affix *ŚatR* (cf. *vt*: *vartamāne pṛṣan* . . ., ad 7.3.109 *jasi ca*).

#### 6.4.11 अमुन्तुच्चवसुनमुनेष्ट्वष्टक्षतृहोतृपोतृप्रशास्तृणाम्

*aptrntrcsvasṛnaptrneṣṭṛtvaṣṭṛkṣatrhotṛpotṛpraśāstṛtṛṇām*

/ *ap-trn-trc-svasṛ-naptr-neṣṭṛ-tvaṣṭṛ-kṣatr-potr-praśāstṛtṛṇām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām*/

(*ḍirghaḥ* #6.3.111 *aṅgasya* #1 *upadhāyāḥ* #7 *sarvanāmasthāne asambuddhau* #8)

The next to the last vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *ap* 'water', or of an *aṅga* which ends in affixes *ṭrN* and *ṭrC*, or else, an *aṅga* which is constituted by *svasṛ* 'sister', *napṭṛ* 'grand (daughter's) son', *neṣṭṛ* 'priest', *tvaṣṭṛ* 'artisan', *kṣatṛ* 'charioteer', *hotṛ* 'the priest who reads invocation', *potṛ* 'priest performing ritual purification' and *praśāstṛ* 'one who presides', is replaced with its long counterpart when a *sarvanāmasthāna* affix other than one termed *sambuddhi* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*āpah* 'water'

*kartārau kaṭān* 'those two whose nature it is to make mats'

*kartārau kaṭasya* '(the two) mat-makers'

*svasā/svasārau/svasārah* 'nominative singular, dual and plural forms of *svasṛ* 'sister''

*napṭā/napṭārau/napṭārah* 'nominative singular, dual and plural forms of *napṭṛ* 'daughter's son''

*neṣṭā/neṣṭārau/neṣṭārah* 'nominative singular, dual and plural of *neṣṭṛ* 'one of the chief officiating priests at the Soma sacrifice''

*tvaṣṭā/tvaṣṭārau/tvaṣṭārah* 'nominative singular, dual and plural forms of *tvaṣṭṛ* 'fashioner of the universe''

*kṣatṭrā/kṣatṭrārau/kṣatṭrārah* 'nominative singular' dual and plural of *kṣatṛ* 'door-keeper, charioteer''

*hotā/hotārau/hotārah* 'nominative singular, dual and plural of *hotṛ* 'presiding priest''

*potā/potārau/potārah* 'nominative singular, dual and plural of *potṛ* 'purifying priest''

*praśāstā/praśāstārau/praśāstārah* 'nominative singular, dual and plural forms of *praśāstṛ* 'administrative priest''

1. This rule allows a long replacement for the short *upadhā* 'penultimate sound' of an *aṅga* constituted by (i) *ap*, (ii) a form which ends in affixes *ṭrN* and *ṭrC*, (iii) *svasṛ*, (iv) *napṭṛ*, (v) *neṣṭṛ*, (vi) *tvaṣṭṛ*, (vii) *kṣatṛ*, (viii) *hotṛ*, (ix) *potṛ*, and (x) *praśāstṛ*. Of course, when a non-*sambuddhi* nominal ending termed *sarvanāmasthāna* follows.

Why are *napṭṛ*, etc., specified here when they can easily be covered by the specification of forms ending in *ṭrC* and *ṭrN*? It is stated that their separate specification is made so that a long replacement could be accomplished by accepting them as derived without any reference to affixes and subsequent operations. If, however, one accepts them as derived with reference to bases, affixes and operations relative to *ṭrC* and *ṭrN*, a separate specification is made for restricting long replacement only with reference to these cited forms. That is, nominals such as *pitṛ* and *mātṛ* which are not separately specified cannot avail this long replacement. We will thus get *pitarau/pitarah*; and *mātarau/mātarah*, with no long replacement in the *upadhā*.

Here again, this long replacement is negated by the condition of *asambuddhau*. That is, we do not get it in *he svasaḥ* ‘O sister’ and *he kartāḥ* ‘O doer’, etc. Refer to derivational details of examples with *ṭrC* under rule 1.1.2 *ād guṇaḥ*. Derivates of *ṭrN* share identical forms with those of *ṭrC*. They, however, differ in accent.

#### 6.4.12 इन्हन्युषार्यम्णां शौ

*inhanpūṣāryamṇām śau*

/in-han-pūṣan-aryamṇām 6/3 (itar. dv.) śau 7/1/

(*dirghaḥ* #6.3.111 *aṅgasya* #1 *upadhāyāḥ* #7)

‘in-han-pūṣan-aryaman’ ity eteṣām aṅgānām śau parataḥ upadhāyā dirgho bhavati

The next to the last vowel of an *aṅga*, namely one which ends in *in*, *han*, *pūṣan* and *aryaman*, is replaced with its long counterpart when affix *Śi* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*bahudaṇḍīni* ‘a place where there are many shaft-bearing ascetics’

*bahucchatrīni* ‘a place where there are many umbrella-bearing students’

*bahuvṛtrahāni* ‘a place where there are many killers of brāhmaṇas’

*bahubhrūṇahāni* ‘a place where there are many killers of fetuses’

*bahupūṣāni* ‘many who offer nourishment’

*bahvaryamāni* ‘many who offer hospitality’

1. This rule allows a long replacement for the *upadhā* of an *aṅga* which ends in *iN*, *han*, *pūṣan* and *aryaman*, provided *Śi* follows. Note that *iN* is an affix and it cannot constitute an *aṅga* by itself. It is therefore interpreted via *tadantavidhi*, i.e., an *aṅga* ending in *iN*. This is also in consonance with the *paribhāṣā* (17): *aninasmangrahanāny arthavatā cānarthakena ca tadantavidhiṃ prayojayanti*. There are other forms which can also not constitute an *aṅga* before *Śi*. Thus, *han* which is a derivate of *KvIP*. Since this *KvIP* (3.2.87 *brahmabhrūṇa* . . .) gets introduced under the condition of an *upapada* ‘conjoined *pada*’, namely *brahman*, etc., we cannot find *han* alone to constitute an *aṅga*. The last two, i.e., *pūṣan* and *aryaman*, are both masculine. They themselves cannot constitute an *aṅga* before *Śi* since it is a replacement of *Jas* and *Śas* (7.1.20 *jaśśasoḥ śiḥ*) introduced after a neuter (*napuṃsaka*) base. One needs to interpret them via *tadantavidhi* ‘treating *x* as that which ends in *x*’. The examples are all *bahuvrīhi* compounds formed with *bahu*. Refer to *kuṇḍāni*, under 1.1.42 *śi sarvanāmasthānam*, for derivational details. Rule 8.4.2 *aṭkupvān* . . . will replace the *n* of *han* with *ṇ* (*ṇatva*). This *ṇatva* ‘replacing *n* with *ṇ*’ in *bahuvṛtrahāni* compound is, however, accomplished by 8.4.12 *ekāṅj uttarapade* . . .

2. Note that a long-vowel replacement could also be accomplished be-

fore a following *Śi* by 6.4.8 *sarvanāmasthāne cāsambuddhau*. But since Pāṇini still formulates this rule, we understand that it serves a restrictive purpose (*niyamārtha*). That is, it restricts this long replacement of *iN*, etc., only when *Śi* follows. Thus, we do not get this replacement in derivatives such as *chattraṇau*, *vrtraṇau*, *pūṣaṇau* and *aryamaṇau*, etc. A proposal for split-interpretation of this rule is also made in the *Mahābhāṣya* as follows:

(i) *inhanpūṣāryamaṇām* and (ii) *śau*.

The first split-rule will have the *anuvṛtti* of *sarvanāmasthāne* and will, thus, restrict long replacement only before affixes termed *sarvanāmasthāna*. The second split rule will only include *inhanpūṣāryamaṇām*, and thus, will restrict the desired replacement only before *Śi*. This way, and especially in view of the second split-rule, the locative singular of *bhrūṇahani* cannot get a long replacement, thereby to yield \**bhrūṇah(a→ā)ni*.

#### 6.4.13 सौ च

*sau ca*

/sau 7/1 ca φ/

(*dirghaḥ* #6.3.111 *aṅgasya* #1 *upadhāyāḥ* #7' *asambuddhau* #8 *inhanpūṣāryamaṇām* #12)

*sāv asambuddhau parata inhanpūṣāryamaṇām upadhāyā dirgho bhavati*

The next to the last vowel of an *aṅga*, namely one which ends in *in*, *han*, *pūṣan* and *aryaman*, is replaced with its long counterpart when a *sU*, not termed *sambuddhi*, follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*daṇḍi* 'nominative singular of *daṇḍin*'

*vrtrahā* 'nominative singular of *vrtrahan*'

*pūṣā* 'nominative singular of *pūṣan*'

*aryamā* 'nominative singular of *aryaman*'

1. The *upadhā* of *iN*, *han*, *pūṣan* and *aryaman* gets replaced with its long counterpart also when a non-*sambuddhi* ending, namely *sU*, follows. Note that the restrictive nature of the preceding rule will not permit a long replacement before *sU*. The *ca* is here used for attracting *inhanpūṣāryamaṇām*. Thus, consider *daṇḍi*, etc. This long replacement will be blocked in case of *he daṇḍin*, where the nominal ending is termed *sambuddhi*.

#### 6.4.14 अत्वसन्तस्य चाधातोः

*atvasantasya cādhātoḥ*

/atv-as-antasya 6/1 = *atuś ca aś ca* (*itar. dv.*); *atvasau ante yasya sa* (*bv. with int. dv.*), *tasya; ca φ adhātoḥ* 6/1 = *na dhātuḥ* (*nañ.*), *tasya/*

(*dirghaḥ* #6.3.111 *aṅasya* #1 *upadhāyāḥ* #7 *asambuddhau* #8 *rau* #13)  
 'atu, as' ity evam antasya adhātor upadhāyāḥ sāv asambuddhau parato dirgho bhavati

The next to the last vowel of an *aṅa*, namely one which ends in *atU* and *as* but is not a verbal root, is replaced with its long counterpart when the non-*sambuddhi* ending *sU* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*bhavān* 'nominative singular of *bhavat* (you)'  
*kṛtavān* 'made'  
*gomān* 'rich in cows'  
*yavamān* 'rich in barley'  
*supayāḥ* 'possessing good milk'  
*suyaśāḥ* 'having good fame'  
*suśrotāḥ* 'good listener; he who has good ears'

1. This rule allows a long replacement also for the *upadhā* of a non-*dhātu* form which ends in *atU* and *as*, provided a *sU* which is not a *sambuddhi* follows. Thus, consider *bhavān*, *gomān*, *supayāḥ* and *suyaśāḥ*, etc.

Note that *atU* refers to forms ending in affixes *ḌavatUP*, *KtavatU* and *matUP*, etc. A specification with *as* is made to refer to forms which end in *as*, i.e., *supayas* and *suyaśas*, etc., where it is not necessary for *as* to be also meaningful (*Kāś*: *anarthako* 'pi *asaśabdo* grhyate; also the *Paribhāṣā* of Vyāḍi: *aninasmāṅgrahaṇān arthavatā cānarthakena ca tadantavidhiṃ prayojayanti*). The word *anta*, in this rule, is used so that a reference with *atvas* can also refer to forms which may end in a part of *atvas*, i.e., *at* and *as*. If such an interpretation is not accepted, we cannot include forms ending in affix *matUP*.

We derive *bhavān* from *bhavat* + *sU*, where *bhavat* ends in affix *ḌavatUP* (*Uṇādi* I:63: *bhāter ḍavatup*). Refer to the appendix of 1.1.5 *kniti* *ca* for derivational details of forms derived with *KtavatU*. Examples such as *gomān* and *yavamān* derive from (*go* + *matUP*) + *sU* and (*yava* + *matUP*) + *sU* where penultimate lengthening (*upadhā-dirgha*) and introduction of *nUM* at the strength of *UKas* as an *it* (7.1.70 *ugid acām* . . .) are important operations. Now consider *supayas* + *sU* → *supayāḥ*, *suyaśas* + *sU* → *suyaśāḥ* and *suśrotas* + *sU* → *suśrotāḥ* which illustrate derivatives of affix *asUN*.

2. A proposal is also made here to apply long replacement prior to the introduction of augment *nUM* (*Kāś*: *atra kṛte dirghe numāgamah kartavyaḥ*). For, if the rule which introduces *nUM* is applied first on the basis of its status as subsequent (*para*) and obligatory (*nitya*), the necessary condition for long replacement, i.e., *upadhā*, will be removed (*Kāś*: *yadi hi paratvān nityatvāc ca num syāt, dirghasya nimittam tūpadhā vihanyeta*). Thus, given (*kṛ* + *Ktavat*) + *sU*, we get *kṛtavān* where long replacement of the second *a* of *tavat* is accomplished before *nUM* (7.1.70 *ugidacām* . . .) is introduced. A decision to apply

*nUM* prior to the long replacement will produce *ṛtavant* where long replacement cannot be accomplished, due mainly to *n* which now constitutes the *upadhā*.

3. The negative condition of *adhātoḥ* is imposed so that *piṇḍam grasate* = *piṇḍagraḥ*, etc., could be blocked from receiving a long replacement. The condition of *asambuddhau* is still valid. Thus, we do not get a long replacement in *he goman* and *he supayaḥ*, etc.

#### 6.4.15 अनुनासिकस्य क्विज्झलोः क्विति

*anunāsikasya kvijjhaloḥ kñiti*

/ *anunāsikasya* 6/1 *kvi-jhaloḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*) *kñiti* 7/1 = *kaś ca naś ca; kñau itau yasya* (*bv. with int. dv.*) /

(*ḍirghaḥ* #6.3.111 *aṅgasya* #1 *upadhāyāḥ* #7)

*anunāsikāntasya aṅgasya upadhāyā ḍirgho bhavati kvipratyaye parato jhalāḍau ca kñiti*

The next to the last vowel of an *aṅga*, namely one which ends in a nasal (*anunāsika*), is replaced with its long counterpart when affix *KvI*, or an affix beginning with a consonant denoted by *jhaL* 'non-nasal consonant' (Śs. 8–14) and marked with *K* or *Ñ* as an *it*, follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*praśān* 'tranquil'

*pratān* 'languid'

*śāntaḥ* 'calm, quiet'

*śāntavān* 'ibidem'

*śamśāntaḥ* 'extremely tranquil'

*tantāntaḥ* 'extremely languid'

1. This rule allows a long replacement for the penultimate (*upadhā*) short vowel of an *aṅga* which ends in affix *KvI*, or in an affix beginning with a sound denoted by *jhaL* and marked with *K* and *Ñ* as an *it*, follows. A reference with *KvI* is here made to affixes *KvIN* and *KvIP* which go through total (*sarvāpahār*) deletion (*lopa*). Also note in this connection that *kñiti* is here relatable only to *jhalāḍau*. It cannot be relatable to affix *KvIP*. For, a qualifier-qualified relationship obtains only when removability of a qualifier is possible (*sambhava-vyabhicāra*). Thus, one can find an affix which may begin with a *jhaL* sound and which may also be marked with *K* and *Ñ* as an *it*. The *K* as an *it* in *KvI* is absolutely not separable. The question of whether or not *Ñ* is separable does not arise.

2. Note that *praśān* and *pratān* are derived from *praśān* + *sU* and *pratān* + *sU*, where affix *KvIP* (3.2.76 *kvip ca*) is introduced after verbal roots *śamU* and *tamU*, used with the preverb *pra*. Their final *m* is changed to *n* (8.2.64 *mo no dhātoḥ*) after deletion of *KvIP* and the long replacement of the *upadhā*.

Deriving *śāntaḥ* and *śāntavān*, from *śam* + *Kta* and *śam* + *KtavatU* where both involve affixes termed *niṣṭhā*, is no problem. The word *śānti* is a derivate of affix *KtiN*, introduced after *śam*. Refer to derivational details of *pāpaṭhīti* under the appendix of 2.4.74 *yaño' ci ca*. Examples such as *śamśāntaḥ* and *śāntāntaḥ* derive from (*śam* + *yañ*) + *LAṭ* → *śamśam* + (*LAṭ* → *tas*) and (*tam* + *yañ*) + *LAṭ* → *taṃtam* + (*LAṭ* → *tas*), where affix *yañ* goes through deletion (*yañluk*) and affix *LAṭ* is replaced with *tas*. The *anuvāra* results from the *nUK* of 7.4.85 *nugato' nunāsikasya*. A long replacement of their *abhyāsa* (6.1.4 *pūro' bhyāsaḥ*) syllable is not accomplished, mainly due to the introduction of *nUK*. The long replacement of this rule applies before *tas*, a replacement of *LAṭ*.

3. The condition of *anunāsikasya* 'of a nasal' is imposed so that *odanapāk* 'cooking of rice', *pakvaḥ* 'cooked, ripe', and *pakvavān* 'cooked' could be excluded from receiving a long replacement for the *upadhā* of their roots. Obviously, *pac* does not end in a nasal, though the condition of *kvijjhaloḥ* is satisfied. Now consider examples which must be excluded because of not meeting this condition. Thus, *gamyate* and *ramyate*, where the roots end in a nasal but the affixes do not satisfy the condition of *kvijjhaloḥ*. The condition of *knīti* is similarly not satisfied by the *ṭṛC*-derivates *gantā* and *rantā*. That is why they cannot be allowed long replacement for the short of the *upadhā* of *gam* 'to go' and *ram* 'to sport'.

#### 6.4.16 अञ्जनगमां सनि

*ajjhanagamām sani*

/ *ajjhanagamām* 6/3 = *ac ca hanaś ca gam ca* = *ajj-han-gamaḥ* (*itar. dv.*),  
*teṣām; sani* 7/1/

(*dirghaḥ* #6.3.111 *aṅgasya* #1 *jhalī* #15)

*ajantānām aṅgānām hanigamyoś ca sani jhalādaḥ pare dirgho bhavati*

The final sound of an *aṅga* which ends in *aC* 'vowel', or one which is constituted by *han* 'to kill' and *gam*, is replaced with its long counterpart when a *saN* affix beginning with *jhaL* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*cicāṣati* 'desires to heap'

*tuṣṭūṣati* 'desires to pray'

*cikīrṣati* 'desires to make'

*jihīrṣati* 'desires to carry'

*jighāṃsati* 'desires to kill'

*adhijigāṃsate* 'desires to go'

1. This rule allows a long replacement for the short vowel of an *aṅga* which ends in a vowel, or one which is constituted by *han* and *gam*, provided a *saN* affix beginning with a consonant denoted by *jhaL* (Śs. 8-14) follows.



The *gam* in this rule refers to the replacement of verbal root *iṆ* 'to study' (2.4.48 *inaś ca*). This is in consonance with a *vārttika* proposal made under this rule (*vt. gamer inādeśasyeti vaktavyam*). Refer to derivational details of *tuṣṭuṣati*, etc., under the appendix of 1.2.9 *iko jhal*. The *Mahābhāṣya* offers *saṃjigāmsate* 'he wishes to go with', a *saN*-derivate of *saṃgam*, as a counter-example with no long replacement. We get *samajigāmsat* in the Vedic where *iṆ* does not get replaced with *gam* but a long replacement is accomplished in view of 6.3.137 *anyeṣām api dṛśyate*. A proposal is also made to formulate this rule simply as *hanagamām sani* 'long replacement of the final sound of an *aṅga* when *saN* follows'. An *aṅga* which ends in a consonant will not come under this lengthening proposal since we talk about long replacements only in the context of a vowel. It will apply to *gam* on the basis of its status as a replacement of *iṆ*, ending in a vowel. This proposed formulation will rule out any need for the word *acaḥ* in the wording of this rule. It will also rule out any need for the *vārttika* just mentioned.

Derivational details of *adhijigāmsate*, where *gam* is a replacement of *iṆ*, can be found under the appendix of 2.4.48 *inaś ca*. Deriving *jighāmsati* from *han* should pose no problem. Note, however, that the *h* occurring after the *abhyāsa* is replaced with *gh* (7.3.55 *abhyāsāc ca*).

#### 6.4.17 तनोतेर्विभाषा

*tanoter vibhāṣā*

/tanoteḥ 6/1 vibhāṣā 1/1/

(*ḍirghaḥ* #6.3.111 *aṅgasya* #1 *upadhāyāḥ* #7 *jhalī* #15 *sani* #16)

*tanoter aṅgasya sani jhalādaḥ vibhāṣā ḍirgho bhavati*

The next to the last vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *tanU*, is optionally replaced with its long counterpart when a *saN* affix beginning with a consonant denoted by *jhaL* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*titāṃsati* 'desires to extend'

*titāṃsati* 'ibidem'

1. This rule allows an optional long replacement to an *aṅga* constituted by verbal root *tan* when a *saN* affix beginning with *jhaL* follows. Follow derivational details of *saN*-derivates already discussed. Note, however, that an optional *iṭ* augment is also made available to *tan* (*vt. ad* 7.2.49 *sanvantardha* . . .). There is no long replacement when the option of augment *iṭ* is accepted. For, there will not be a following affix beginning with *jhaL*. The derivate with this option of augment *iṭ* will be *titaniṣati*. We will thus get three forms: *titāṃsati* and *titāṃsati*, with optional long replacement, and *titaniṣati*, with optional augment *iṭ* and no long replacement.

## 6.4.18 क्रमश्च क्त्वि

*kramaś ca ktvi*

/kramah 6/1 ca φ ktvi 7/1/

(*dirghah* #6.3.111 *aṅgasya* #1 *upadhāyāḥ* #7 *jhalī* #15 *sani* #16 *vibhāṣā* #17)

*krama upadhayā vibhāṣā dirgho bhavati ktvā pratyaye jhalādaḥ parataḥ*

The next to the last vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *kramU* 'stride', is optionally replaced with its long counterpart when affix *Ktvā*, with a sound denoted by *jhaL* at the beginning, follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*krantvā* 'after having stridden'

*krāntvā* 'ibidem'

*kramitvā* 'ibidem'

*prakramya* 'ibidem'

1. This rule allows an optional long replacement for the penultimate *a* of *kram* when the same occurs as an *aṅga* before affix *Ktvā* beginning with a sound denoted by *jhaL*. Thus, we get *krantvā* and *krāntvā*.

Why do we have to still retain *jhalādi* as a qualifier to *Ktvā*? So that no long replacement could be allowed when *Ktvā* receives augment *iṭ* (7.2.56 *udito vā*). That is, with *iṭ* as an augment, it will become vowel-initial (*ajādi*). We will thus get *kramitvā*, and no *\*krāmitvā*.

Now consider *prakramya* and *upakramya* where *Ktvā* is replaced with *LyaP*. It is stated that *LyaP*, even though externally conditioned (*bahiraṅga*), is applied first blocking an internally conditioned operation (*antaraṅga*) such as this long replacement. Once *LyaP* blocks this internally conditioned long replacement, *Ktvā* no longer remains *jhalādi* 'beginning with a sound denoted by *jhaL*'. It now begins with *y* of *LyaP*, a sound not included within *jhaL*. How do we know that an externally conditioned *LyaP* blocks the internally conditioned long replacement? It has been indicated by *Paribhāṣā* (55), ad 2.4.36 *ado jagdhir . . . : antaraṅgān vidhīn bahiraṅgo lyab bādhat* 'a replacement in *LyaP*, even though externally conditioned, blocks internally conditioned operations.

## 6.4.19 छवोः शूडनुनासिके

*chvoḥ śūḍ anunāsike ca*

/chvoḥ 6/2 = *cchaś ca vaś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoh*; *śūṭh* 1/1 = *śaś ca ūṭh ca* (*sam. dv.*); *ca φ*/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *kvijhaloh* *knīti* #15)

'*cch*, *va*' *ity etayoh sthāne yathāsaṃkhyam* 'ś, ūṭh' *ity etāv ādeśau bhavato* *nunāsikādaḥ pratyaye parata kvau jhalādaḥ ca knīti*

The *ch* and *v* of an *aṅga* are replaced with *ś* and *ūṬH*, respectively, when an affix beginning with a nasal, or one constituted by *KuI*, or one beginning with a *jhaL* and marked with *K* or *Ṇ* as an *it*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

*praśnaḥ* 'query, question interrogation'  
*viśnaḥ* 'ibidem'  
*syonaḥ* 'auspicious, pleasant'  
*śabdaṣṭāḥ* 'he who asks about words'  
*govit* 'procuring cows'  
*akṣadyūḥ* 'gambling with dice'  
*hiranyaṣṭhyūḥ*  
*prṣṭaḥ*  
*prṣṭavān*  
*dyūtaḥ*  
*dyūtavān*  
*dyūtvā*

1. This rule allows *cch* (*tUK* + *ch*) and *v* of an *aṅga* to be replaced with *ś* and *ūṬH*, respectively, when what follows is (i) an affix beginning with a nasal; (ii) an affix constituted by *KuI* (*KuIP*, etc.), or (iii) an affix which begins with a sound denoted by *jhaL* and is marked with *K* or *Ṇ* as an *it*. Thus, we get *pracch* + *naṆ* → *pra*(*cch* → *ś*) + *na*(*Ṇ*) = *praśna*, where *cch* includes augment *tUK* (6.1.73 *che ca*). Affix *naṆ* is, of course, introduced by 3.3.90 *yajayata*. . . . We similarly derive *viśna* from *vicch* *naṆ* → *vi*(*cch* → *ś*) *na* = *viśna*.

We also get *siv* + *na* → *si*(*v* → *ūṬH*) + *na* → *si*(*v* → *ū*) + *na* = *s(i* → *y*) + *ū* + *ona* → *sy* + (*ū* → *o*) + *na* = *syona* + *sU* = *syonaḥ*, with the *Uṇādi* affix *na* (III.9). Note that augment *ūṬH* (6.4.132 *vāha ūṭh*) is here introduced prior to the *guṇa* of 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukā*. . . . We will get a wrong form \**s(i* → *e*) *v* + *na* → *se*(*v* → *ū*) + *na* = \**seūna* if *guṇa* is applied before *ūṬH*. We can apply *sandhi* of *s(i* → *y*) before *ū* because this replacement in *yaN* (*yaṇādeśa*) will be treated as internally conditioned (*antaraṅga*) against the *guṇa*, an externally conditioned (*bahiraṅga*) operation. Recall here that an operation relative to an *aṅga* (*āṅga*) is more powerful than another which has *varṇa* 'sound-segments' as its focus (*PŚ* (56): *varṇād āṅgaṃ baḷīyo bhavati*). But this *paribhāṣā* cannot be invoked here since its applicational conditions are different. For example, *yaN* is conditioned by *ūṬH*; *guṇa* is conditioned by suffixes termed *ārdhadhātuka*. Augment *ūṬH* is thus internally conditioned, as against *guṇa* which is externally conditioned. A replacement in *yaN* is then accomplished first since it depends on *varṇa* 'sound' as its condition.

The word *śabdam prcchati* = *śabdaṣṭāḥ* derives from *śabda* + *am* + *pracch* + (*KuIP* → *φ*), where *samprasāraṇa* is blocked and *a* of *pracch* goes through a long replacement (*vt*: *kvibvacipracchyāyastu* . . .; cf. 3.2.178 *anyebhyo* 'pi

*drśyate*). Our present rule then applies to produce *śabdapr*(*a*→*ā*) *cch*→*śabdaprā*(*cch*→*ś*) = *śabdaprāś*. This *ś* is then replaced with *ṣ* of 8.2.36 *vraśca-bhrasj*. . . We finally get *śabdaprā*(*ṣ*→*ḍ*→*ṭ*) = *śabdaprāt*, through *ṣ*→*ḍ* (*jaśtva*; 8.2.39 *jhalām jaśo' nte*) and *ḍ*→*ṭ* (*cartva*; 8.4.56 *vāvasāne*).

#### 6.4.20 ज्वरत्वरस्त्रिव्यविमवामुपधायाश्च

*jvaratvarasrivyavimavām upadhāyās ca*

/jvar-tvar-srivy-avi-mavām 6/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām; upadhāyāḥ* 6/1 *ca*  $\phi$  / (*aṅgasya* #1 *kuijhaloḥ kṛiti* #15 *cchvoḥ anunāsike śūṭh* #19)

'*jvara*, *tvara*, *sriṇi*, *ava*, *mava*' *ity eṣām aṅgānām vakārasya upadhāyās ca sthāne 'ūṭh' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati kvau parato' nunāsike jhalādaḥ ca kṛiti*  
The *v* and next to the last vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *jvarA* 'to be feverish', *tvarA* 'to hasten', *sriṇi* 'to become dry', *avI* 'to help, protect' and *mavA* 'to move, go', is replaced with *ūṭH* when an affix beginning with a nasal, or one constituted by *KvI*, or else, one beginning with a *jhaL* and marked with *K* or *Ṇ* as an *it*, follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*jūh/ jūrau/ jūrah* 'nominative singular, dual and plural forms of *jūr* 'fever''

*jūrttiḥ* 'fever'

*tūh/ tūrau/ tūrah* 'nominative singular, dual and plural forms of *tūr* 'hasteful''

*tūrttiḥ* 'haste'

*sṛūh/ sṛuvau/ sṛuvah* 'nominative singular, dual and plural forms of *sṛū* 'dryness''

*sṛūtaḥ* 'dry'

*ūh/ uvau/ uvah* 'nominative singular, dual and plural forms of *ū* 'protector''

*ūtīḥ* 'protection'

*mūh/ muvau/ muvah* 'nominative singular, dual and plural of *mū* 'mover''

*mūtaḥ* '... has moved'

1. This rule offers *ūṭH* as a replacement for *v*, and the penultimate vowel as well, of an *aṅga*, namely *jvara*, *tvara*, *sriṇi*, *ava* and *mava*, when an affix beginning with a nasal, or one constituted by *KvI*, or beginning with a *jhaL* marked with *K* or *Ṇ* as an *it*, follows. Thus, we get *jvar* + *KvIP*→*j* (*va*→*ūṭH*) + *KvIP*→*jū* + (*KvIP*→ $\phi$ )→*jū* + *sU*→*jūh*, *jūrau* and *jūrah*. We similarly get *tūh*, *tūrau* and *tūrah*. Derivates of *sriṇi*, *avI* and *mavA* will have their *iv* and *av* replaced with *ū*. Note that *sriṇi* also has a different reading as *śriṇi*.

#### 6.4.21 राल्लोपः

*rāl lopah*

/rāt 5/1 lopah 1/1/

(aṅgasya #1 kvijhaloh kniti #15 cchvoḥ anunāsike śūṭh #19)

rephād uttarayayoś chvor lopo bhavati kvau parato jhalāḍau kniti ca parataḥ

A *cch* and *v* which occurs after *rin* in an *aṅga* is replaced with *LOPA* when affix *KvI*, or an affix beginning with a *jhaL*, and marked with *K* or *N* as an *it*, follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

mūḥ/ murau/ muraḥ 'nominative singular, dual and plural of *mur* 'swoon''

mūrttaḥ 'formed, manifest'

hūḥ/ hurau/ huraḥ 'nominative singular, dual and plural of *hur* 'crooked''

hūrmaḥ 'deceived'

hūrttiḥ 'deception'

tūḥ/ turau/ turaḥ 'nominative singular, dual and plural of *tur* 'harm''

tūrmaḥ '... has harmed'

tūrttiḥ 'harm'

dhūḥ/ dhurau/ dhuraḥ 'nominative singular, dual and plural of *dhur* 'yoke''

dhūrmaḥ '... has yoked'

dhūrttiḥ 'yoke'

1. This rule offers deletion via *LOPA* of *cch* and *v* when *KvI* and other specified affixes follow. Thus,  $mur(ch \rightarrow \phi) + (K)v(iP) \rightarrow mur + (v \rightarrow \phi) \rightarrow m(\bar{u} \rightarrow u\bar{T}H)r = mūr$  'swoon'. We similarly get *hūr* from *hurchā*. Deletion applies only to *ch* since we do not get augment *tUK* here (*Kāś*: *rāllope satukkasya chasyābhāvāt kevalo grhyate*). Deletion of *v* is witnessed in *tur* and *dhur* from *truvī* and *dhurvī*.

#### 6.4.22 असिद्धवदत्राभात्

asiddhavad atrābhāt

/asiddhavat  $\phi$  = na siddhaḥ; asiddhena tulyaṃ vartate = asiddhavat; atra  $\phi$  ābhāt 5/1/

asiddhavad ity ayam adhikāro yad ita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāma ā adhyāya-parisamāptes tad asiddhavad ity evaṃ veditavyam

Operations with identical conditions are, from here to the extent of the domain of 6.1.129 *bhasya*, treated as if suspended (*asiddhavat*).

#### EXAMPLES:

edhi 'second singular imperative active of *as*'

śādhi 'second singular imperative of *śās* 'instruct''

āgahi 'second singular imperative of *ā-gam*'

jahi 'second singular imperative of *han* 'to kill''

1. The use of *vatUP* in *asiddhavat* clearly marks this rule as extensional (*ātidesika*) in nature. It renders the status of something accomplished (*siddha*) as if it was not (*asiddha*). The domain of this rule extends to the end of the seventh book (*adhyāya; ā saptamādhyāyaparisamāpteh*).

The phrase *ā bhāt* 'up to *bha*' (6.4.29 *bhasya*) is used to specify the context (*viśaya*) of this extensional suspension (*ātidesika-asiddhatva*). Note that the word *atra* 'here' is generally used in the sense of *asmin* 'in here'. This general meaning will then refer to operations (*kārya*) stated within this domain of *bha* (*ābhīya*). But since accepting an accomplished operations as if not accomplished does not make any sense, a relatively more finer specification is needed. The word *atra* restricts the scope of such operations to rules contained within the domain ending with the last rule of 6.4.129 *bhasya* (*ābhīya*). But we still need some clarification. What operations within this domain of rules will be treated as *asiddha*? It is explained that an operation of this domain will be treated as *asiddha* if another operation of this domain is to be performed and if both operations share the same condition of application (*samāna-nimitta; Kās. atreti samānāśrayapratipatyartham*).

Consider the derivation of *śādhi* 'second person singular imperative active' of *śās* 'to instruct' for illustration. We get  $\bar{s}\bar{a}s + (LO\bar{T} \rightarrow siP) \rightarrow \bar{s}\bar{a}s + \bar{S}aP + siP \rightarrow \bar{s}\bar{a}s + (\bar{S}aP \rightarrow \phi) + si(P \rightarrow \phi) \rightarrow \bar{s}\bar{a}s + (si \rightarrow hi) = \bar{s}\bar{a}s + hi$ , where *hi* replaces *si* (3.4.87 *ser hy apic ca*), itself a replacement of *LO\bar{T}*, and *\bar{S}aP* goes through deletion by *LUK* (2.4.72 *adiprabhṛti* . . .). A replacement in *śā* is then ordered for *śās* before *hi* (6.4.35 *śā hau*) to produce *śā + hi*. It is at this stage that 6.4.101 *hujhalyo her dhiḥ* becomes applicable. But there is a problem. This replacement in *dhi* must come in place of *hi* when *hi* occurs after a sound denoted by *jhaL*. Recall that *śā*, by way of replacing *śās*, has removed *jhaL*, i.e., *s*, which occurred before *hi*. Since these replacements, i.e., *śā* and *dhi*, both are accomplished by rules contained within this domain, a *śā*-replacement can be treated as *asiddha* in accomplishing a replacement in *dhi*. That is, our string will still be *śās + hi*, as far the application of 6.4.101 *hu jhalyo her dhiḥ* is concerned. Thus, we get  $(\bar{s}\bar{a} \leftarrow \bar{s}\bar{a}s + (hi \rightarrow dhi)) = \bar{s}\bar{a} + dhi = \bar{s}\bar{a}dhi$ . A similar situation is also involved in deriving *edhi* from  $(as + LO\bar{T} \rightarrow siP) \rightarrow as + si$ , where *a* of *as* is deleted by 6.4.111 *śnasor allopaḥ* and *sa + hi* gets its *s* replaced with *e* (6.4.119 *dhvasor eddhāv* . . .) to produce *e + hi*. Rule 6.4.101 *hujhalyo her dhiḥ* now applies to replace *hi* with *dhi*, with the understanding that *e* (*etva*) as a replacement is *asiddha*. Thus we get  $(e \leftarrow s + (hi \rightarrow dhi)) = edhi$ .

Now consider the derivation of *āgahi* and *jahi*, both second person singular imperative active forms of *ā-gam* and *han*, where *si* has replaced *LO\bar{T}*, and *\bar{S}aP* has again been deleted. Additionally, the *m* of *gam* has been deleted (6.4.37 *anudāttopadeśa* . . .), and *han* has been replaced with *ja* (6.4.36 *hanter jah*). Rule 6.4.105 *ato heḥ* then becomes applicable to *āga + hi* and *ja + hi* to delete *hi*. Note that this deletion is required after an *aṅga* (1.4.13 *yasmāt*

*pratyayavidhi* . . .) which ends in *a*. This rule application will produce undesired (*aniṣṭa*) forms: \**āga* and *ja*. The desired forms, i.e., *āgahi* and *jahi*, could be derived only if deletion of *m* (after *ga*) and replacement in *ja* (of *han*) is treated as *asiddha*. This *asiddhatva* will make the *aṅga* end in a consonant. That is, *hi* could then not be deleted. This is how we can get the desired forms *āgahi* and *jahi*.

The *Mahābhāṣya* discusses the purpose of establishing this *asiddha* section as follows:

- (i) to facilitate application of a rule characterized as general (*utsarga-lakṣaṇa-bhāvārtham*) and
- (ii) to negate the application of a rule characterized with a replacement (*ādeśalakṣaṇa-pratiṣedhārtham*).

The word *utsarga* in the first purpose refers to a general rule in relation to a particular which displaces it. By inference, this *utsarga*, in the present context, refers to a substituendum (*sthānī*) which is replaced by its corresponding replacement (*ādeśa*). An illustration of the first can be found in the derivation of *sādhi* and *edhi* where a replacement in *dhi* after *jhaL* is facilitated. The second is illustrated by derivational details of *āgahi* and *jahi* where deletion by *LUK* is negated on the basis of *asiddhatva*.

2. Note that  $\bar{a}(N)$  of  $\bar{a} bhāt$  'up to *bha*' is used in the sense of *maryādā* 'exclusive and inclusive (*abhividhī*) limits'. That is why,  $\bar{a} bhāt$  can receive two interpretations: (i) 'up to and excluding rules of the domain of *bha*' and (ii) 'up to and including rules of the domain of *bha*'. The first interpretation will make *asiddhatva* applicable only where rules listed prior to the domain of *bha* are involved. The second interpretation will make *asiddhatva* applicable to rules listed through the end of the domain of *bha* (6.4.129 *bhasya*). The second interpretation is accepted here.

It is clear that  $\bar{a} bhāt$  is used here to exactly identify the scope and extent of rules governed by the extensional provision of *asiddhavadat*. If *asiddhavadat*, as an *adhikāra*, was left without any clear specification of its scope, it could have also covered rules such as 7.1.1 *yuvor anākau*. If *asiddhavadat* was given as an *adhikāra* without any clear indication of what *atra* means, it would create problems. Thus, 6.4.23 *śnān nalopah* will then be interpreted as: *śnād uttarasya nakārasya loṇo bhavati sa ca asiddhavadat bhavati* 'a *n* which occurs after *śnā* goes through deletion. It is, additionally, treated as if not accomplished'. The word *atra*, in this interpretation, will refer to rules contained within the reach of *asiddhavadat* as an *adhikāra* 'governing rule'. But since the extent of the domain of *asiddhavadat* will then not be clear, this interpretation of *atra* will not be acceptable. We will thus get another interpretation. That, because of proximity of context, could only be recognized as *n*-deletion (*na-loṇa*). Thus, *atra* will give the full meaning of rule 6.4.23 as: 'a *n* which occurs after *śnā* goes through deletion; and that deletion is treated as *asiddha* when

deletion of *n* is to be accomplished'. This interpretation will limit *asiddhatva* to contexts of identical operations. The fact is otherwise. That is, *asiddhatva* could apply also to contexts where two different operations are involved. However, they must both share similar conditions (*nimitta*). A clear specification of domain thus becomes desired also for correct interpretation of *atra*.

This specification of domain is needed so that, given *abhāji* 'he broke' and *rāgaḥ* 'affection, coloring', *asiddhatva* does not apply to contexts of penultimate (*upadhā*) *vr̥ddhi* of 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*. Thus, *bhañj* 'to break' and *rañj* 'to color' which go through deletion of their nasal by 6.4.33 *bhañješ ca ciṇi* and 6.4.26 *rañješ ca*, respectively, do not get their deleted nasal treated as *asiddha* in the context of application of 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*. For, 7.2.116 is not contained within this section generally known as *ābhīya*.

3. Why is *atra* 'here' used in this rule So that *samprasāraṇa* of *vas* could not be treated as *asiddha* when deletion of *ā* (*āl-lopa*), replacement in *yaN* (*yaṇādeśa*) and replacement in *uvAN* is to be accomplished. For, *ā-lopa*, etc., are accomplished when *vas* follows, and a form ending in *vas* goes through *samprasāraṇa* before a nominal endign (*viḥakti*). Thus, the conditions of these two operations both are identical. Consider the derivation of *papuṣaḥ*, *cicyuṣaḥ* and *luluṣaḥ*, as in *papuṣaḥ paśya*, etc., where we get *papā* + *us*, *cici* + *us* and *lulu* + *us*, after *LIT* is replaced with *KvasU* (3.2.107 *kvasuś ca*) and *vas* goes through *samprasāraṇa* (6.4.77 *vasoḥ samprasāraṇam*). Since the condition of *samprasāraṇa* is different from those of the deletion of *ā* (6.4.64 *āto lopa iṭi ca*) in *papā*, *yaN*-replacement for the final *i* (6.4.82 *er anekāco* 'saṃyogapūrvasya) of *cici*, and *uvAN*-replacement for *u* (6.4.77 *aci śnudhātubhruvām*) of *lulu*, *samprasāraṇa* cannot be treated as *asiddha* in accomplishing them.

Recall that an externally conditioned (*bahiraṅga*) operation is treated as *asiddha* when an internally conditioned operation is to be accomplished (*Pś* (51)). But since the validity of this *paribhāṣā* is established based upon application of rule 6.4.132 *vāḥ ūṭh*, it also becomes part of this *ābhīya* section. That is, the question of a conflict between an externally conditioned operation and one conditioned internally does not arise since *asiddhatva* can still cover it. That is, *samprasāraṇa*, etc., whose *asiddhatva* we are talking about, will not allow any conflict between *antaraṅga* and *bahiraṅga*. Rule 6.3.131 *vasoḥ samprasāraṇam* is also *ābhīya*. Hence, there is no conflict after the same becomes *asiddha*.

4. A *vārttika* proposal is made here to consider *vUK* and *yUT* as *asiddha* when *uvAN* and *yaN* are to be accomplished as replacements. Consider *babhūva*/*babhūvatuḥ* and *babhūvuḥ*, where *vUK* is introduced (6.4.88 *bhuvo yug . . .*). This *vUK* is treated as *asiddha* in accomplishing a replacement in *uvAN*. That is, a replacement in *uvAN* is not accomplished. Refer to derivational details of *babhūva* (II:429–30) under the appendix of rule 1.2.6



*indhībhavatibhyām ca*. Now consider *upadidiye/upadidiyire*, where we get *upadidi* + *e(Ś)* in the third singular middle from *upadi(Ñ)* + (*LIT*→*ta*→*e(Ś)*). Rule 6.4.63 *dīno yuḍ aci kñiti* now offers augment *yUT* to derive *upadidiye*. This *yUT* is treated as *siddha* with reference to the application of 6.4.82 *er anekāco' samyogapūrvasya*. This is what the *vārttika* offers. More generally, an *ābhīya* like this remains *siddha* in applying another *ābhīya*.

#### 6.4.23 इनान्नलोपः

*śnān nalopaḥ*

/śnāt 5/1 *nalopaḥ* = *na(kāra)sya lopaḥ* (śāś tat.)/

*śnād iti śnam ayam utsrṣtam akāro grhyate, tata uttarasya nakārasya lopo bhavati*

A *n* which occurs after *Śna* is deleted by means of *LOPA*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*anakti* IIIrd sing. pres. indicative active of *añjŪ* 'to show, protect, move, anoint'

*bhanakti* '... of *bhañj* 'to split, break''

*hinasti* '... of *hi* 'to kill, strike, harm''

1. Note that *śnāt* here specifies *ŚnaM* with no *M* (*Kāś*: *śnād iti: śnam ayam utsrṣtamakāro grhyate*). This rule offers deletion of *n* which may occur after *Śna(M)*. We interpret *Śna* as *ŚnaM* (3.1.78 *rudhādibhyaḥ śnam*) since no other interpretation is possible. Refer to *viruṇaddhi* and *bhinatti* under the appendices of 1.1.47 *mid aco' ntyāt paraḥ* and 3.1.78 *rudhādibhyaḥ śnam*, respectively, for derivational details of our current examples. Recall that augment *nUM* is introduced to *hi* to derive *hins* (7.1.58 *idito num* . . .). Deriving *anakti*, *bhanakti* and *hinasti* from *a + (Ś)na(M) + nja + ti*, *bha + na + nj + ti* and *hi + na + nUM + s + ti* involves deletion of *n* occurring after *ŚnaM*. Note that *ŚnaM* is marked with *M* as an *it*. Consequently, it is introduced after the last vowel (1.1.47 *mid aco' ntyāt paraḥ*) of the verb root.

2. Why is *Śna* specified here with an accompanying *Ś*? Consider *yajñānām* and *yatnānām*, which derive from *yajña + n(UT) + ām* and *yatna + n(UT) + ām*. Augment *n(UT)* is here introduced before the genitive plural nominal ending *ām*. Rule 7.3.102 *supi ca*, based on being *para* 'subsequent', orders a long replacement for the final *a* of *yajña* and *yatna* to produce *yajñānām* and *yatnānām*. If *Śna* was specified as *na*, instead, the long *ā* of *yajñā* and *yatnā* could still be treated as its short counterpart via *sthānivadbhāva* 'treating a replacement as what it replaced'. This would then allow deletion of *n* by this rule. Recall that *yajña* and *yatna* are derivatives of affix *naÑ* (3.3.90 *yajayācayata* . . .), introduced after verbal roots *yaj* and *yat*.

A question is raised as to why this deletion cannot apply in cases of *viśnānām* 'genitive plural' of *viśna* 'splendor' and *praśnānām* 'genitive plural' of *praśna*

‘question’, where *n* is found directly after *śna*. It is stated that *śna* of *viśna* and *praśna* is a *śna* derived with application of rules (*lākṣaṇika*). The *Śna* of this rule is a specifically enumerated element (*pratipadokta*). That is why, *Śna* alone should be accepted. It is also in consonance with the *Paribhāṣā* (PŚ: 114): *lakṣaṇapratipadoktayoh pratipadoktasyaiva grahṇam* ‘a specifically enumerated form should be accepted against one which is derived by a rule application’. A summary of this discussion is presented by the following *śloka-vārttika*:

*nān nasyāyaṃ vidheyo nanu lubaniditām  
nanditā cāpi siddhyed  
hiṃser na prāptir evam kṛiti sati tathā  
nandaḥmāno na siddhyet//  
kṛin nāc cec cātha yatnād bahuvacanavidhau  
duṣyati sthānivatvād  
viśnānām lakṣaṇoktapratipadavacanāt  
siddha evety adoṣaḥ//*

#### 6.4.24 अनदितां हल उपधायाः विडिति

*aniditām hala upadhāyāḥ kṛiti*  
/*aniditām* 6/3 = *ikāra it yasya (bv.)* = *iditaḥ*; *na iditaḥ* = *aniditaḥ (nañ.)*,  
*teṣām*; *halaḥ* 6/1 *upadhāyāḥ* 6/1 *kṛiti* 6/1 = *kṛau itau yasya (bv.)*, *tasmin/*  
(*aṅasya* #1 *nalopaḥ* #23)  
*aniditām aṅgānām halantānām upadhāyā nakārasya lopo bhavati kṛiti*  
*pratyaye parataḥ.*

The penultimate *n* of an *aṅga* which ends in a consonant and does not contain *i* as an *it* is deleted by means of *LOPA* when an affix marked with *K* or *Ṇ* as an *it* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*srastaḥ*  
*dhvastaḥ*  
*srasyate*  
*dhvasyate*  
*sanīsrasyate*  
*danīdhvasyate*

1. This rule allows deletion of a *n* which is penultimate in an *aṅga* and occurs before an affix marked with *K* and *Ṇ* as an *it*. Of course, when the *aṅga* ends in a consonant and is not marked with *I* as an *it* (*anidit*). We thus get *srastaḥ* and *dhvastaḥ* from (*sransU + Kta*) + *sU* and (*dhvansU + Kta*) + *sU*, where the *aṅga* ends in *s* and is marked with *U* as an *it*. The penultimate *n* of these forms goes through deletion. Now consider *srasyate* and *dhvasyate* where

we introduce *yaK* to the same *aṅga* (3.1.67 *sārvadhātuke yak*) under the condition of *sārvadhātuke*. The signification condition of this *yaK* must be *bhāva* ‘root-sense’ or *karman* ‘object’. Refer to derivational details of *pāpacyate*, etc., under the appendix of 3.1.22 *dhātor ekāco*. . . . Similar rules apply in deriving *sanīśrasyate* and *danīdhvasyate*, both with roots derived with *yaN* denoting *paunahpunya* ‘over and over again’. Note that augment *nīK* is here introduced to the *abhyāsa* (6.1.4 *pūrvō bhāsaḥ*) by 7.4.84 *nīgvañcusransudhvansu*. . . .

2. Why should we have the condition of *aniditām*? So that *nandyate* and *nānandyate* could not avail this deletion of a penultimate *n*. Recall that the root here is *TUṇadI* ‘to be prosperous, happy’ and it is because of its *I* as an *it* that we get *nUM* (7.1.58 *idito num dhātoḥ*). There is no deletion of *n* since the root has *I* as an *it*. Deriving *nānandyate* from *na + nand + yaN + te* involves long replacement for the short of the *abhyāsa* (7.4.83 *dirgho kitah*).

The condition of *halanta* ‘ending in a consonant’ is imposed so that *n*-deletion could not be accomplished in *nīyate* and *nenīyate* where the root is *nīN* ‘to lead’. Note that *nenīyate* is also a derivate of *yaN* where a *guṇa*-replacement (7.4.82 *guṇo yañlukoh*) of the *abhyāsa* yields *ne* at the beginning.

Why is this deletion intended for the penultimate *n*? Consider *nahyate* and *nānahyate* where *ṇah* ‘to tie’ does not have any penultimate *n*. Consequently, there is no deletion. The condition of *kniti* similarly blocks this deletion in *sransitā* and *dhvansitā*, both derivatives of *tṛC* with augment *iT*.

3. A *vārttika* proposal is made for deletion of *n* of *laghI* and *kapI* where 7.1.58 *idito num dhātoḥ* introduces *nUM*. This deletion is made available under the condition of *upatāpa* ‘affliction’ and *śrarīravikāra* ‘body-product’ (*vt. laṅgikampyor upatāpaśarīravikārayor upasaṃkhyānam kartavyam*). Since these roots are both marked with *I* as an *it*, *n*-deletion was not available. Consider *vigalitah* and *vikapitah* as examples. Note that *upatāpa* here does not refer to *roga* ‘disease’. For, *śarīravikāra* then would not make any sense. It here means *kṛcchraprāptih* ‘obtaining with difficulty’. Elsewhere, derivatives will be *viliṅgitah* ‘afflicted’ and *vikampitah* ‘shaken’, with no deletion.

Another *vārttika* proposal is made for deletion of *n* of *rañjI* ‘to color’ when *Ṇi* follows and the derivate denotes *mṛgaramaṇa* ‘sporting of deer’. Thus, *rajayati mṛgān* ‘he who has the deer sport’. Yet another *vārttika* proposal is made for *n*-deletion when affix *GHinUN* (3.2.142 *samprcānurudhā*. . .) follows *rañjI*. Thus, *rāgin* from *rañjI + GHinUN*, where *n*-deletion, penultimate *vṛddhi* and *kutva* (*j→g*) apply. It can also be derived via *nīpātana*. An additional *vārttika* proposal accounts for deriving *rajaka* from *rañjI + (ṣvuN→aka)*, *rajana* from *rañjI + (LyuT→ana)* and *rajas* from *rañjI + asUN*, through deletion of *n*.

#### 6.4.25 दंशसञ्जस्वञ्जां शपि

*daṃśasañjasvañjām śapi*

/daṃśa-sañja-svañjām 6/3 (itar. dv.); śapi 7/1/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *nalopaḥ* #23 *upadhāyāḥ* #24)

'*daśśa*, *sañja*, *ṣvañja*' *ity eteṣām aṅgānām śapi parata upadhāyā nakārasya lopo bhavati*

The penultimate *n* of an *aṅga*, namely *daśśa*, *sañja*, and *ṣvañja*, is deleted by means of *LOPA* when affix *ŚaP* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*daśati*

*sajati*

*pariṣvajate*

1. This rule allows deletion of *n* of a penultimate *aṅga*, namely *daśśa*, *sañja* and *ṣvañja*, when *ŚaP* follows. Thus, *daśati*, *sajati* and *pariṣvajate*. The *s* of *ṣvañj* is replaced with *ṣ* by 8.3.65 *upasargāt sunoti*. . .

#### 6.4.26 रञ्जेश्च

*rañješ ca*

/ *rañjeh* 5/1 *ca*  $\phi$  /

(*aṅgasya* #1 *nalopaḥ* #23 *upadhāyāḥ* #24 *śapi* #25)

*rañješ ca śapi parata upadhāyā nakārasya lopo bhavati*

The penultimate *n* of an *aṅga*, namely *rañjI* 'to color', is also deleted by means of *LOPA* when affix *ŚaP* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*rajati* 'third singular present active of *rañjI*'

*rajataḥ* 'third dual . . .'

*rajanti* 'third plural . . .'

1. This rule allows deletion of the penultimate *n* of an *aṅga*, namely *rañjI*, when *ŚaP* follows. Thus, we get '*rajati*, *rajataḥ* and *rajanti*'. Why was this rule not formulated jointly with the preceding? So that *rañjeh* alone could be carried to subsequent rules (*Kāś*: *prthag yogakaraṇam uttarārtham*). A joint formulation would have also required the following rule to carry the *anuvṛtti* of *daśś* and *ṣvañj*.

#### 6.4.27 घञि च भावकरणयोः

*ghañi ca bhāvakaraṇayoḥ*

/ *ghañi* 7/1 *ca*  $\phi$  *bhāva-karaṇayoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tasmin* /

(*aṅgasya* #1 *nalopaḥ* #23 *upadhāyāḥ* #24 *rañjeh* #26)

*bhāvakaraṇavācīni ghañi parato rañjer upadhāyā nakārasya lopo bhavati*

The penultimate *n* of an *aṅga*, namely *rañjI*, is also deleted by means of *LOPA* when affix *GHaÑ* with the signification of *bhāva* 'root-sense' and *karaṇa* 'most instrumental means' follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*āścaryo rāgaḥ* 'wonderful color'

*vicitro rāgaḥ* 'strange color'

*rajyate* 'neneti rāgaḥ' 'that by means of which something is colored'

1. This rule allows deletion of the penultimate *n* of *rañj* also when affix *GHañ* follows with the denotatum of *bhāva* 'root-sense' and *karaṇa* 'means; instrument'. Thus, *rāgaḥ* 'coloring' and *rāgaḥ* 'that by means of which one colors', respectively. Now consider *rañgaḥ* 'that in which they color' where no deletion of *n* can be allowed. For, the derivate here denotes *adhikaraṇa* (3.3.121 *halāś ca*). The *j* of *rañj* is replaced with *g* through *kutva* (7.3.52 *cajoḥ ku . . .*).

## 6.4.28 स्यदो जवे

*syado jave*

/syadaḥ 5/1 jave 7/1/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *nalopaḥ* #23 *upadhāyāḥ* #24 *ghañi* #27)

*jave* 'bhidheye 'syadaḥ' iti ghañi nīpātyate

The word *syada* is derived, via *nīpātana*, when affix *GHañ* follows and the signification is *java* 'speed'.

## EXAMPLES:

*gosyadaḥ* 'charge of a bull'

*aśvasyadaḥ* 'horse-speed'

1. This rule takes recourse to *nīpātana* for deriving *syada* with affix *GHañ*. Of course, under the meaning condition of 'speed'. It is via *nīpātana* that *vṛddhi* is blocked and the penultimate *n* is deleted. Thus, *syanda* + *GHañ* = *syanda*, as in *gosyandaḥ* and *aśvasyandaḥ*. Note that a *vṛddhi* characterized with *iK* (*iglakṣaṇā*; 1.1.3 *iko guṇavṛddhi*) can be negated by 1.1.4 *na dhātuloḥ*. . . , mostly because of deletion of *n*. The *vṛddhi* which is blocked here is related to *upadhā* (*upadhālakṣaṇā*; 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*). Thus, *nīpātana* must be used for blocking *vṛddhi*.

## 6.4.29 अवोदैधोदमप्राश्रथहिमाश्रथाः

*avodaidhodmapraśrathahimaśrathāḥ*

/avoda-edha-odma-praśratha-himaśrathāḥ 1/3 (itar. dv.)/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *nalopaḥ* #23 *ghañi* #27)

'avoda, edha, odma, praśratha, himaśratha' ity ete nīpātyante

The word *avoda*, *edha*, *odma*, *praśratha* and *himaśratha* are derived, via *nīpātana*, when affix *GHañ* follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*avodaḥ* 'soaking'  
*edhaḥ* 'glowing'  
*odmaḥ* 'flowing'  
*praśrathaḥ* 'abandoning, rejoicing'  
*himaśrathaḥ* 'melting of snow'

1. This rule derives *avoda*, *edha*, *odma*, *praśratha* and *himaśratha*, again via *nipātana*. Here again *GHañ* forms the right context of derivation. Consider *ava* + *und* + *GHañ* → *ava* + *u* (*n* →  $\phi$ ) *da* + *a* → *av* (*a* + *u* → *o*) *d* + *a* = *avoda*, through *n*-deletion and *guṇa* of *undI* 'to wet, be damp'. This *guṇa* cannot be negated by 1.1.4 *na dhātulopa* . . . because it comes in place of the *a* of *ava* and the *u* of the verb. This same is also applicable to *edha*, a derivate of *indhI* 'to kindle, glow'. Yet another derivate of *undI* is *odma*, derived with the *Uṇādi* affix *maN*, through *guṇa*. Derivates of *śranth* 'to release, let go', i.e., *praśratha* and *himaśratha*, also involve *n*-deletion. Their *vṛddhi* is again blocked via *nipātana*.

## 6.4.30 नाञ्जेः पूजायाम्

*nāñceḥ pūjāyām*  
 / *na*  $\phi$  *añceḥ* 6/1 *pūjāyām* 7/1  
 (*aṅgasya* #1 *nalopaḥ* #23 *upadhāyāḥ* #24)  
*añceḥ pūjāyām arthe nakārasya lopa na bhavati*

The penultimate *n* of an *aṅga*, namely *añcI*, is not deleted by means of *LOPA* when the derivate denotes *pūjā* 'respect'.

## EXAMPLES:

*añcitā asya guravaḥ* 'revered (by him is) his teacher'  
*añcitam iva śiro vahati* 'he is respectful; he carries his head in reverence'

1. This rule blocks deletion of *n* when derivates denote *pūjā* 'praise, respect'. Consider *añcita* 'respected', of *añcitā asya guravaḥ*, from *añc* + *Kta* (3.2.188 *matibuddhi* . . .) with augment *iñ* (7.2.35 *añceḥ pūjāyām*). This negation of *n*-deletion goes against the positive provision of 6.4.24 *aniditām hala upadhāyāḥ*.

*Kāśikā* orders *udaktam* 'drawn, taken out', of *udaktam udakam kūpāt* 'water fetched from the water-well' as a counter-example. Deletion of *n* applies here since *pūjā* 'respect' is not the derivational meaning. The *iṭ* in *udakta* is here negated by 7.2.15 *yasya vibhāṣā*.

## 6.4.31 क्तिव स्कन्दिस्स्यन्दोः

*ktvi skandisyandoḥ*  
 / *ktvi* 7/1 *skandi-syandoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*) /

(aṅgasya #1 nalopaḥ #23 upadhāyāḥ #24 na #30)

ktvā pratyaye parataḥ 'skanda, syanda' ity etayor nakāraloṇo na bhavati

The penultimate *n* of an *aṅga*, namely *skanda* 'to leap' and *syanda* 'to move (with speed)', is not deleted by means of *LOPA* when affix *Ktvā* follows

#### EXAMPLES:

*skantvā* 'having leaped over . . .'

*syantvā* 'having moved over . . .'

*syanditvā* 'ibidem'

1. Note that this negation of *n*-deletion of *skand* and *syand* is made against positive provisions of 6.4.24 *aniditām hala*. . . . Since *syandU* is marked with *Ū* as an *it*, we also get optional *iṭ* (7.2.44 *svaratisūti* . . .). That is, we will get *syanditvā*, optionally with *syantvā*. Recall that *syanditvā* will automatically avail non-deletion of *n* at the strength of negation of *Kiṭ*-status of *Ktvā* (1.2.18 *na ktvā seṭ*). A specification with *ktvi* demands that *Ktvā* follows *syand* immediately. An optional introduction of augment *iṭ* after *syandU* will impair this condition. That is why, the negation of *n*-deletion in case of *syanditvā* is accomplished based on non-*Kiṭ* status of 1.2.18 *na ktvā seṭ*. This rule does not do anything in saving *n* from deletion, especially when *iṭ* is introduced. Besides, the positive provision of *n*-deletion (cf. 6.4.24 *aniditām hala* . . .) applies only when an affix marked with *K* or *Ṇ* as an *it* follows. Verbal root *skandI* does not have any *iṭ* made available. It also does not have its *n* deleted by 6.4.24 *aniditām hala* . . . , especially because it is marked with *I* as an *it*. Our present rule thus saves *n* of *skandI* from deletion, as it does in case of the non-*iṭ* option of *syandU*. The *d* of *skand* will go through a replacement in *t* (*cartva*; 8.4.54 *khari ca*). One of the two resultant *t* sounds will be deleted by 8.4.64 *jharo jhari savarne*. Thus, *skand* + *Ktvā* → *skan*(*d*→*t*) + *tvā*→*skan*(*t*→*ϕ*) + *tvā* = *skantvā*. This same applies to *syantvā*.

#### 6.4.32 जान्तनशां विभाषा

*jāntanaśām vibhāṣā*

/jāntanaśām 6/3 vibhāṣā 1/1/

(aṅgasya #1 nalopaḥ #23 upadhāyāḥ #24 na #30 ktvi #31)

*jāntānām aṅgānām naśeś ca ktvāpratyaye parato vibhāṣa nakāraloṇo na bhavati*

The penultimate *n* of an *aṅga*, namely one which ends in *j*, and also the *n* of *naś* 'to perish', is optionally not deleted by means of *LOPA* when affix *Ktvā* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*rañktvā* 'having colored'

*raktvā* 'ibidem'  
*bhañktvā* 'having split, broken'  
*bhaktvā* 'ibidem'  
*naṣtvā* 'having destroyed'  
*naṁṣtvā* 'ibidem'  
*naṣitvā* 'ibidem'

1. This rule negates deletion of *n*, optionally, when an *aṅga* ends in *n*, or else, is constituted by *naś*. Consider *rañktvā* and *raktvā*; *bhañktvā* and *bhaktvā*, the two sets of forms of *rañj* 'to color' and *bhañj* 'to break, shatter'. Note that *j*→*g* and *g*→*k* are accomplished by 8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ* and 8.4.54 *khari ca*, respectively. The nasal of *rañj* + *tvā*, when not deleted, is replaced with *ṇ* (8.4.54 *anusvārasya yayi parasavarah*), via *ṁ* (*anusvāra*; 8.3.24 *naś cāpadāntasya . . .*). This optional deletion of *n* will yield two forms of *naś* 'to disappear, be destroyed': *naṣtvā* and *naṁṣtvā*. A third form, i.e., *naṣitvā*, will be gotten with optional *iT*. Recall that the *n* which optionally goes through deletion here is the *n* of *nUM* (7.1.60 *naśjer naśor jhalī*). The *ś* then goes through a replacement in *ṣ* (8.2.36 *vraścabhrasj . . .*). The *t* of *Ktvā* must then go through a replacement in *ṭ* (*ṣṭutva*; 8.4.4 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*).

2. Note that a specification made with a sound automatically invokes *tadantavidhi* 'a specification made with *x* also refers to that which ends in *x*'. That is, *j* alone should be enough to get the meaning of *jānta* 'that which ends in *j*'. Why use *anta*? Commentators explain that *anta* is used for clarity (*vispaṣṭārtham*).

#### 6.4.33 भञ्जेच चिणि

*bhañjeś ca ciṇi*  
*/ bhañjeh 6/1 ca ḥ ciṇi 7/1/*  
*(aṅjasya #1 nalopaḥ #23 upadhāyāḥ #24 vibhāṣā #32)*  
*bhañjeś ca ciṇi parato vibhāṣā nakāralopo bhavati*

The penultimate *n* of an *aṅga*, namely *bhañjI*, is optionally deleted by means of *LOPA* when affix *CiN* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*abhāji* 'it was broken (into pieces)'  
*abhañji* 'ibidem'

1. This rule offers optional deletion of *n* of *bhañjI* when *CiN* (3.1.66 *ciṇ bhāvakarmanoh*) follows. Recall that *CiN* is an affix not marked with *K* or *Ṇ* as an *it*. Consequently, it could not condition *n*-deletion. This deletion can thus be characterized as an option which is not made available (*aprāpta*). Refer to derivational details of examples under 3.4.66 *ciṇ bhāvakarmanoh*. The penultimate *vṛddhi* of 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ* will apply in deriving *abhāji*.



A non-deletion of *n* will block this *vrddhi* to produce *abhañji*. Incidentally, the third singular middle verbal ending *ta* will be deleted by 6.4.104 *ciṇo luk*. Refer to *akāri* (III:724–25) under the appendix of 3.1.66 *ciṇ bhāvakarmanoh* for derivational details.

#### 6.4.34 शास इदङ्हलोः

*śāsa id aṇhaloh*

*śāsaḥ 6/1 it 1/1 aṇ-haloh 6/2 (itar. dv.)/*

*(aṅgasya #1 upadhāyāḥ #24)*

*śāsa upadhāyā ikāra ādeśo bhavati aṇi parato halādaḥ ca kniti*

The penultimate sound segment of an *aṅga*, namely *śās*, is replaced with *i* when *aṇ*, or an affix which begins with a consonant (*haL*) and is marked with *K* or *Ṇ* as an *it*, follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*anvaśiṣat* ‘third singular active *LUN* form of *śās* ‘instruct’ used with the preverb *anu*’

*anvaśiṣatām* ‘third dual . . .’

*anvaśiṣan* ‘third plural’

*śiṣtaḥ* ‘derivate of *Kta*; instructed; taught’

*śiṣtavān* ‘derivate of *KtavatU*; ibidem’

*āvām śiṣvaḥ* ‘first dual active *LAṬ* form of *śās*’

*vayam śiṣmaḥ* ‘first plural . . .’

1. This rule allows the *upadhā* of an *aṅga* constituted by *śās* to be replaced with *i* when either *aṇ*, or a consonant-initial affix marked with *K* and *Ṇ* as an *it*, follows. Consider *anvaśiṣat*, a third singular active derivate of *LUN* introduced after verbal root *śās* used with the preverb *anu*. At the stage when the string is: *anu + (aT + śās + CLi + ti)*, *aṇ* comes as a replacement of *CLi* (3.1.56 *śarttiśāstyartibhyaś ca*). The *s* of *śis*, after the penultimate *ā* is replaced with *i*, is replaced with *ṣ* (8.3.60 *śāsivasighasīnām ca*). Refer to derivational details of *aśiṣat*, under the appendix of 3.1.56 *sarttiśāstyartibhyaś ca*, for deriving *anvaśiṣat*, etc., where *śās* is used with the preverb *anu*. Derivational details of *niṣṭhā* (1.1.26 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*), i.e., *śiṣtaḥ* and *śiṣtavān*, can be found under *mṛṣṭaḥ* and *mṛṣṭavān* (appendix, vol. II under 1.1.5 *kniti ca*). Note that *śiṣvaḥ* and *śiṣmaḥ* are derivatives of *śās + (LAT → vas)* ‘first person dual active present’ and *śās + (LA? → mas)* ‘first plural active present’, which both begin with a consonant. Additionally, 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit* accepts them as marked with *n* as an *it*. All these examples involve a replacement in *i* for the penultimate (*upadhā*) sound of *śās*. Their *s* is replaced with *ṣ* (8.3.60 *śāsivasighasīnām ca*) after *ā* is replaced with *i* (*itva*).

2. Note that *śās* is here intended as referring to *śāsU*, used with the signification of *anusiṣti* ‘instruction, command’. This is the root that allows *CLi* to

be replaced with *aŃ* (3.1.56 *sartīśāstyarttibhyaś ca*). A specification with *śās* thus does not refer here to *śāsU* ‘to wish’. Consider *āsāste* and *āsāsyamānaḥ* where *ā* is not replaced with *i*, even when a consonant-initial affix marked with *K* and *Ń* as it follows. *Nyāsa* states that a single root *śās* is here interpreted as one which is used with the preverb *anu* and allows active (*paraśmaipada*) endings. This is in consonance with its association with *sṛ* (*sarti*) and *ṛ* (*arti*) of 3.1.56 *sartīśāstyarttibhyaś ca*, further qualified with the introduction of *aŃ* for *CLI*. Verbal root *śās*, when used with the preverb *āŃ*, denotes *icchā* ‘desire’ and allows only middle (*ātmanepada*) endings.

3. A *vārttika* proposal is made, however, to allow a replacement in *i* for the *ā* of *śāsU* ‘to wish’ when affix *KuIP* follows. Thus, consider *āśīḥ*, *āśīṣau* and *āśīṣaḥ*, the nominative singular, dual and plural forms of *āśīṣ*. These examples can also be derived via *nipātana* (8.2.104 *kṣiyāśīḥpraiṣeṣu tiṅ-ākāṅkṣam*). That is, if *itva* is not accomplished under the *vārttika* proposal.

#### 6.4.35 शा हौ

*śā hau*

/śā 1/1 hau 7/1/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *śāsaḥ* #34)

*śāso hau parataḥ* ‘*śā*’ ity *ayam ādeśo bhavati*

An *aṅga*, namely *śās*, is replaced with *śā* when affix *hi* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*anuśādhi* ‘please instruct’

*praśādhi* ‘please instruct well’

1. This rule does not carry the *anuvṛtti* of *upadhāyāḥ* ‘in place of the penultimate’ and *knīti* ‘when an affix marked with *K* and *Ń* as an *it* follows’. The genitive (*śaṣṭhī*) of *śāsaḥ* is thus interpreted as meaning ‘in place of’ (*sthāne*). Dropping the *anuvṛtti* of *knīti* facilitates *i*-replacement, even when 3.4.84 *vā chandasi* extends, to *hi*, the status of being marked with *P* as an *it* (*pit*). The word *śādhi* is also seen as marked with *udātta* at the beginning. Refer to derivational details of *śādhi*, here used with *anu* and *pra*, under notes of 6.4.22 *asiddhavad atrā’ bhāt*.

#### 6.4.36 हन्तेर्जः

*hanter jaḥ*

/hanteḥ 6/1 jaḥ 1/1/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *hau* #35)

*hanter dhātor* ‘*ja*’ ity *ayam ādeśo bhavati hau parataḥ*

An *aṅga*, namely verbal root *han*, is replaced with *ja* when affix *hi* follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*jahi śatrūn* 'kill enemies'

1. This rule allows *han* to be replaced with *ja* when the same occurs before *hi*. Thus, *han* + (*LOT* → *siP* → *hi*) → (*han* → *ja*) + *hi* → *jahi*. Thus, we get *jahi śatrūn* 'kill enemies'. Refer to derivational details of *jahi* under notes of 6.4.22 *asiddhavad atrā bhāt*.

## 6.4.37 अनुदात्तोपदेशवनतितनोत्यादीनामनुनासिकलोपो झलि क्ङिति

*anudāttopadeśavanatitanotyādīnām anunāsikalopo jhali kṛiti*  
/ *anudāttopadeśa-vanati-tanotyādīnām* 6/3 = *anudāttaś ca te upadeśāś ca* =  
*anudāttopadeśāḥ* (*karmadhāraya*); *tanotir ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*); *anudāttopadeśāś*  
*ca vanatiś ca tanotyādayaś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām*; *anunāsika* (6/1 deleted);  
*lopaḥ* 1/1 *jhali* 7/1 *kṛiti* 7/1/

*anudāttopadeśānām aṅgānām vanates tanotyādīnām cānunāsikalopo bhavati*  
*kṛiti pratyaye parataḥ*

The nasal of an *aṅga*, namely that which is marked with *anudātta* in *upadeśa*, or one which ends in a nasal, or else, is constituted by *vanA* 'to like' and *tanU* 'to extend', etc., is deleted by means of *LOPA*, when an affix beginning with a *jhaL* and marked with *K* or *N* as an *it* follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*yatvā* 'having stopped, waited on'  
*yataḥ* 'stopped'  
*yatavān* 'ibidem'  
*yatiḥ* 'stopping'  
*ratvā* 'having sported'  
*rataḥ* 'sported'  
*rataṅvān* 'ibidem'  
*ratiḥ* 'sporting'  
*vatiḥ* 'liking'  
*tataḥ* 'extended'  
*tataṅvān* 'ibidem'  
*kṣataḥ* 'wounded, wound'  
*kṣataṅvān* 'wounded'

1. This rule specifies contexts under which the nasal of an *aṅga* will be subject to deletion via *LOPA*. Thus, we get *ya(m(U) + Ktvā* → *ya(m* →  $\phi$ ) + (*K*) *tvā* = *yatvā*. We similarly get (*yamU* + (*K*) *ta*) + *sU* = *yataḥ*, (*yamU* + (*K*) *tavat(U)*) + *sU* = *yatvān* and *yam(U)* + (*K*) *ti(N)* + *sU* = *yatiḥ*. This deletion also facilitates similar forms of verbal roots *vanU* and *tanU*. Thus, *van(A)* + (*K*) *ti(N)* = *vati* + *sU* = *vatiḥ*. A form of *vanU* with affix *KtiC* does not go through deletion of its nasal because of negation of 6.4.39 *na ktici dīrghasya*.

Elsewhere, since we get augment *iT* before affixes beginning with a sound denoted by *jhaL* and marked with *K* and *N* as an *it*, this deletion does not apply. Forms of *tanU* are: *tan(U) + Kta* → *tata + sU = tataḥ* and *tatavān* with *KtavatU*. Verbal root *kṣaṇU* will similarly get *kṣataḥ*, and *kṣatavān*. We will similarly get *ṛtaḥ*; *ṛtavān* and *ghṛtaḥ*; *ghṛtavān* from verbal roots *ṛṇU* 'to go, move' and *ghṛṇU* 'to glow', respectively. Verbal root *vanA* will yield *vataḥ* and *vatavān*. Note, however, that *n* of *san* will be offered a replacement in *ā* (*ātva*). Verbal roots *yam*, *ram*, *nam*, *gam*; and *han* and *man* are considered *anudāttopadeśa*. Their *m* and *n* is thus subject to deletion.

Now some examples of roots where a *jhaL*-initial affix marked with *N* follows. Consider *tanU + LUN*, where *LUN* gets replaced with third and second personal middle endings to yield: *aT + tan + ta* and *aT + tan + thās*. Note here that *ta* and *thās* (3.4.78 *tiptasjhi* . . .) are marked with *N* as an *it* on account of 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit* (3.4.113 *tiṣṣit sārvadhātukam*). Thus, we get *ataḥ* and *atathāḥ*.

2. Why do we have the condition of *anudāttopadeśa*, etc.? Consider *śāntaḥ*, *śāntavān*; *tāntaḥ*, *tāntavān*; and *dāntaḥ*, *dāntavān* where we do not get this deletion. Note that only four roots which end in *m*, i.e., *yam*, *ram*, *nam* and *gam*, are considered *anudāttopadeśa*.

Why do we have the deletion of a nasal (*anunāsika*)? Consider *pakvaḥ* 'cooked, ripe' and *pakvavān* 'ibidem' where we do not have any nasal. Why do we have the condition of an affix beginning with a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *jhaL*? Consider *gam + yaK + te = gamyate* ' . . . is gone to' and *ram + yaK + te = ramyate* ' . . . sports' where, in the absence of a *jhaL*-initial suffix we do not get the deletion of *m*.

Why the condition of *kniti* ' . . . marked with *K* and *N*'? Consider (*yam + tṛC*) + *sU = yantā* where *tṛC* is not marked with *K* or *N*. Consequently, we do not get the deletion of *m*. We similarly get non-deletion of *m* in *yantavyam*, a derivative of *yam* with *tavyaT*.

Why do we have the condition of a nasal in *upadeśa*? So that deletion of the nasal of *yam*, *ram*, *nam*, *gam*, *han* and *man* could be accomplished. So that this deletion does not apply in case of *śamU* 'to be tranquil' of *śāntaḥ* and *śāntavān* where *śamU* is not marked with *anudātta* in *upadeśa*. Incidentally, the penultimate lengthening in (*śamU + Kta*) + *sU* → *śāntaḥ* is accomplished by 6.4.15 *anunāsikasya kvijjhaloḥ*. Rule 7.2.15 *yasya vibhāṣā* blocks *iT* which was optionally made available (7.2.56 *udito vā*) against 7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyed valādeḥ*.

## 6.4.38 वा ल्यपि

*vā lyapi*

/ *vā* φ *lyapi* 7/1/

(*aṅasya* #1 *anudāttopadeśavānatitanotyādīnām anunāsikalopaḥ* #37)

*lyapi parato' nudāttopadeśa vanatitanotyādinām anunāsikalopo vā bhavati*  
 The nasal of an *aṅga*, namely one which is marked with *anudātta* in *upadeśa*, or one which ends in a nasal, or else, is constituted by *vanA* 'to like' and *tanU* 'to extend', etc., is deleted by means of *LOPA*, only optionally, when affix *LyaP* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*prayatya* 'absolute form of *pra-yam*'  
*prayamya* 'ibidem'  
*praratya* 'absolute form of *pra-ram*'  
*praramya* 'ibidem'  
*praṇatya* 'absolute form of *pra-nam*'  
*praṇamya* 'ibidem'  
*āgatya* 'absolute form of *ā-gam*'  
*āgamya* 'ibidem'

1. This rule makes the earlier provision optional when affix *LyaP* follows. Note that this option is fixed (*vyavasthita-vibhāṣā*). That is, an *aṅga* which ends in *m* goes through its deletion optionally (*Kāś. makārāntānām vikalpo bhavati*). All others, i.e., those which end in *n*, go through deletion of their nasals obligatorily (*nitya; Kāś. anyatra nityam eva lopah*). Thus *pra-yam* + (*Ktvā*→*LyaP*) = *prayamya* and *pra-yam* + (*Ktvā*→*LyaP*)→*pra-ya(m*→ $\phi$ ) + *ya*→*pra-ya* + *tUK* + *ya* = *prayatya* 'after having restrained'. We similarly get *pra-(n*→ $\eta$ ) *mya* = *praṇamya*, *praṇatya*; *ā(N)*-*gamyā* = *āgamya*, *āgatya*; *āhanya*, *āhatya*, etc., where, after the deletion of *m* or *n*, augment *tUK* is introduced to the short vowel. Consequently, we get two forms: one with the nasal and the other with nasal-deletion and *tUK*. Refer to *prakṛtya* and *prahṛtya* (appendix II:394) for additional derivational details.

6.4.39 न क्तिचि दीर्घश्च

*na ktici dīrghaś ca*  
*/ na  $\phi$  ktici 7/1 dīrghaḥ 1/1 ca  $\phi$  /*  
*(aṅgasya #1 anudāttopadeśavanatitanotyādinām anunāsika lopah #37)*  
*ktici parato' nudāttopadeśādinām anunāsikalopo dīrghaś ca na bhavati*  
 The nasal of an *aṅga* which is marked with *anudātta* in *upadeśa*, or ends in a nasal, or else, is constituted by *vanA* and *tanU*, etc., is optionally not deleted by means of *LOPA*, nor is a short vowel of the *aṅga* replaced with its long counterpart, when affix *KtiC* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*yantiḥ* 'restraint'  
*vantiḥ* 'liking'  
*tantiḥ* 'extension'

1. This rule does not allow nasal-deletion and lengthening to an *aṅga* included within the specification of the earlier rule. That is, when affix *KtiC* (3.3.174 *kticktau ca samjñāyām*) follows it. Consider *yantiḥ*, *vantiḥ* and *tantiḥ* where *m* and *n* of *yam*, *van* and *tan* are not deleted before *KtiC*. We also do not get a long replacement for their short *a*. The *m* and *n*, of course, go through a replacement homogeneous with what follows (8.4.58 *anusvārasya yayi parasavarṇaḥ*). The negation of a long replacement by this rule is aimed against the positive provision of rule 6.4.15 *anunāsikasya kvijjhaloḥ kñiti*).

#### 6.4.40 गमः कौ

*gamah kvau*

/gamah 6/1 kvau 7/1/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *anunāsikalopaḥ* #37)

*gamah kvau partato' nunāsikalopo bhavati*

The nasal of an *aṅga*, namely *gam*, is deleted by means of *LOPA* when affix *KvI* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*aṅgagat* 'those who go to the country of the Aṅgas'

*kaliṅgagat* 'those who go to the country of the Kaliṅgas'

*adhvagato harayaḥ* 'the horses are gone on road'

1. A nasal also gets deleted when the *aṅga* is followed by affix *KvI*. This rule begins deletion where the following affix does not begin with a sound denoted by *jhaL* (*ajhalādyartha ārambhah*). Thus, *aṅgagat* = *aṅgān gacchanti* and *kaliṅgagat* = *kaliṅgān gacchanti* and *adhvagato harayaḥ*. Notice that we also get augment *tUK* in these examples.

A *vārttika* proposal is made to also include verbal roots *gam*, etc., to facilitate deletion of their nasal (*vt. gamādīnām iti vaktavyam* 'nasal-deletion of *gam*, etc., should also be stated'). This will account for *sam-yam* + *KvIP* = *samyat* and *pari-yam* + *KvIP* = *parītat*, with *tUK*.

Yet another *vārttika* proposal is made for nasal-deletion of *gam*, etc., plus a replacement in *ū* for their *a* (*vt. ū ca gamādīnām iti vaktavyam*). Thus, we will get *agregūḥ* = *agre gacchanti* 'leader; he who goes ahead of everyone', etc.

#### 6.4.41 विड्वनोरनुनासिकस्यात्

*viḍvanor anunāsikasyāt*

/viḍvanoh 7/2 (itar. dv.) *anunāsikasya* 6/1 āt 1/1/

(*aṅgasya* #10)

*viṭi-vani ca pratyaye parato' nunāsikāntasyāṅgasyākāra ādeśo bhavati*

The final sound segment of an *aṅga* which ends in a nasal (*anunāsika*) is replaced with *ā* when affixes *vIT* and *van* follow.

## EXAMPLES:

*abjāḥ* 'born in water'; *gojāḥ* 'born among cows'  
*ṛtajāḥ* 'born with excellent values'  
*ādrījāḥ* 'mountain-born'  
*kūpakhāḥ* 'those who dig water-wells'  
*agregā unnetṛnām* 'leader'  
*goṣā indro nṛṣā asītyatra* 'bestower of cows . . .'  
*vi jāvā* 'born'  
*agrejāvā* 'born earlier'

1. This rule offers a replacement in *ā* for the nasal of an *aṅga* which ends in a nasal and is followed by affixes *viIT* and *van*. Refer to relevant derivational details under the appendix of rule 3.2.67 *janasanakhana* . . . (II:739–40). Thus we get *apsu jāyate* = *abjāḥ*; *goṣu jāyate* = *gojāḥ*, *ṛteṣu jāyate* = *ṛtajāḥ* and *adriṣu jāyate* = *ādrījāḥ*, etc., where affix *viIT* goes through total deletion (*sarvāpahārī-lopa*) and the *n* of *jan* is replaced with *ā*. The example derivatives are syntactically coordinated compounds (*upapada-samāsa*). Other examples follow similar patterns where this rule replaces *n* or *m* with *ā*. Thus, we get *kūpaṃ khanati* = *kūpakhā* and *agre gacchati* = *agragā*, etc. The *s* of verbal root *san* is replaced with *ṣ* (8.3.108 *sanoter anah*) after this rule replaces its *n* with *ā* before affix *viIT*. Thus, we get *goṣu sāyate* = *goṣā* and *nṛṣu sāyate* = *nṛṣā* of *goṣā indro nṛṣā asi*. Derivates such as *vi jāvā* and *agrejāvā* derive parallel to *vi jāyate* and *agre gacchati* with affix *vanIP* (3.2.75 *anyebhyo' pi dṛśyante*). Thus, *vi-ja(n→ā) + van→vi jāvan + sU→vi jāvā*.

2. Why was the word *anunāsika* used explicitly in this rule when the same could have been carried via *anuvṛtti*? So that the *anuvṛtti* of *anudāttopadeśa*, etc., could be blocked from applying to this rule. Note that *anunāsika* is associated with *anudāttopadeśa*, etc., in the earlier rule. Carrying one would have also required the *anuvṛtti* of others. This rule thus offers a replacement in *ā* only to an *anunāsika*.

Why was the replacement not given as *aT*? We could have gotten desired forms with the application of 6.1.101 *akāḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*. Thus, *vi-ja + van→vi ja(n→ā) + van→vi j(a + ā→ā) + van = vi jāvan*. One should not worry that an application of 6.1.97 *guṇe* will block the derivation of desired forms. One cannot argue here that Pāṇini should have offered deletion of *anunāsika* to avoid conflicts between the two applications of 6.1.101 *akāḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ* and 6.1.97 *ato guṇe*. For, this would have created problems with the derivation of *ghu(n→ā) + van(IP) = ghu + ā + van→ghvāvan*, as in *ghvāvā*. Consequently, provision of a long replacement (*dīrgha-vidhāna*) alone is proper (*Nyāsa ad Kāś. hrasve hi sati 'ghuṇa ghūraṇe' ity asmād vanīpi vihite ghvāvā iti na siddhyet. tato dīrghasyaiva vidhānaṃ yuktam*).

## 6.4.42 जनसनखनां सञ्जलोः

*janasanakhanām sañjhaloḥ*

/jana-sana-khanām 6/3 (itar. dv.) sañ-jhaloḥ 7/2 (itar. dv.)/

(aṅgasya #1 jhali kñiti #37 āt #41)

'jana, sana, khana' ity eteṣām aṅgānām sani jhalādaḥ kñiti jhalādaḥ ca pratyaye parata ākāra ādeśo bhavati

The final sound segment of an *aṅga*, namely *janA* 'to be born', *sana* 'to gain, bestow', and *khanA* 'to dig', is replaced with *ā* when a *saN* affix beginning with *jhaL*, or an affix beginning with *jhaL* and marked with *K* or *Ñ* as an *it*, follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*jātaḥ* 'born'

*jātavān* 'ibidem'

*jātiḥ* 'birth'

*siṣāsati* 'he wishes to gain, or bestow'

*sātaḥ* 'gained, bestowed'

*sātavān* 'ibidem'

*sātiḥ* 'gaining, bestowing'

*khātaḥ* 'dug'

*khātavān* 'ibidem'

*khātiḥ* 'digging'

1. This rule offers a long replacement to the final nasal of an *aṅga*, namely *jan*, *san* and *khan*, when an affix beginning with a sound denoted by *jhaL*, namely *saN*, or any other additionally marked with *K* and *Ñ* as an *it*, follows. Thus, we get *jan* + *Kta* → *ja(n→ā)* + *ta* = *jāta* + *sU* = *jātaḥ*, (*jan* + *KtavatU*) + *sU* = *jātavān* and (*jan* + *KtiN*) + *sU* = *jātiḥ*. Now consider *siṣāsati*, a third person singular present (*LAṬ*) indicative active form of the derived root *siṣāsa*, where affix *saN* is introduced after verbal root *sañU* → *san*. Note that *san* + *saN* → *sasan* + *saN* will produce *sisan* + *saN* after doubling (*dvitva*; 6.1.1 *ekāco dve prathamasya*) and operations relative to *abhyāsa* (6.1.4 *pūrvō bhyāsaḥ*). We will get *sisan* + *saN* → *sis(a + ā→ā)* + *saN* → *si(s→ś) ā* + *sa* = *siṣāsa* + *LAṬ* = *siṣāsati*, through *n→ā*, *s→ś* (*śatva*) and operations relative to *LAṬ* → *tiP*.

2. What will happen if *jhaL* is not brought here to qualify affix *saN*. This replacement in *ā* could be blocked from applying to desiderative derivatives, for example, of *jan*, *san* and *khan*, *jījanīṣati*, *sīsanīṣati* and *cikhanīṣati*, where 7.2.49 *sanīvantardhabhṛasja* . . . offers an optional introduction of augment *iṬ*. These forms do not avail this replacement in *ā* because, subsequent to the introduction of *iṬ*, the condition of a following *jhaL*-initial affix (*jhalādi-pratyaya*) cannot be met. Thus, *sisan* + *iṬ* + *saN* → *sisanisa* + *LAṬ* → *sīsanīṣati*.

3. Note that affix *saN* is used here only on account of verbal root *san*. For, this verb alone could get an optional augment *iṬ*. One can get a *jhaL*-initial



affix, i.e., *saN*, after verbal root *san* only when the option of *iT* is not accepted. This, in turn, will facilitate the *aṅga*-final *n* with *ā*. Why can we not delete the *n* of verbal root *san* before affix *saN* by the application of 6.4.37 *anudāttopadeśa*. . . ? A conflict of equal strength (*vipratishedha*) arises since enumeration of *tanoti*, etc., by 6.4.37 also includes verbal root *san*. That is why, operations relative to *tan*, particularly of rules such as 3.1.79 *tanā-dikrñbhyaḥ uḥ* and 2.4.79 *tanādibhyas tathāsoḥ*, apply to *san*. In fact, this establishes the independent scope of verbal root *san*. Here, in case of replacement in *ā*, we get both *n*-deletion and *ātva* applicable. We get *ā* on the basis of *paratva* 'subsequent order of enumeration'.

Since *pūrva* 'prior' and *para* 'subsequent' rules both are *asiddha* 'suspended' in this section of *ābhīya*, one cannot invoke *vipratishedha* 'conflict of equal strength' here. But Pāṇini anticipates *vipratishedha* also in this section of *ābhīya* rules. It is to indicate this that he includes *hali* in the wording of rule 6.4.66 *ghumāsthāgāpājahātisām hali*. This enables the replacement in *ī* (*īva*) to apply only when a consonant-initial (*halādi*) affix follows. That is, it does not apply in *godāḥ* 'cow-giver' and *kambaladaḥ* 'blanket-giver' where a vowel-initial affix, namely *Ka*, follows. If Pāṇini had not anticipated *vipratishedha* as operative in this section of *ābhīya*, he did not have to include *hali* in the wording of 6.4.66 *ghumāsthā*. . . . For, *ā*-deletion of 6.4.64 *āto lopa iti ca* would then have been blocked by *ī*-replacement (*īva*) of 6.4.66 *ghumāsthā*. . . on the basis of *paratva*. This is why *godāḥ* and *kambaladaḥ* go through deletion of *ā* (of *dā*), as per 6.4.64 *āto lopa iti ca*.

#### 6.4.43 ये विभाषा

*ye vibhāṣā*

/ye 7/1 *vibhāṣā* 1/1/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *kniti* #37 *āt* #41 *janasanakhanām* #42)

*yakārādaḥ kniti pratyaye parato janasanakhanām ākāra ādeśo bhavati*

The final sound segment of an *aṅga*, namely *jan*, *san*, and *khan*, is optionally replaced with *ā* when an affix beginning with *y* and marked with *K* or *Ñ* as an *it* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*jāyate/janyate* ' . . . comes into existence; optional *LAṬ*-derivates of *jan* with *yaK* denoting *bhāva*'

*jājāyate/jañjanyate* 'optional *LAṬ*-derivates of *jaN* ending in affix *yaÑ*'

*sāyate/sanyate* 'optional *LAṬ*-derivates of *saN* with *yaK* denoting *bhāva* or *karman*'

*sāsāyate/saṃsanyate* 'optional *LAṬ*-derivates of *san* ending in affix *yaÑ*'

*khāyate/khanyate* 'optional *LAṬ*-derivates of *khan* with *yaK* denoting *karman*'

*cākhāyate/caṅkhanyate* 'optional *LAṬ*-derivates of *khan* with affix *yaÑ*'

1. This rule makes an optional replacement in  $\bar{a}$  for the final nasal of *jan*, *san* and *khan* when a  $y$ -initial affix marked with  $K$  or  $\dot{N}$  as an *it* follows. Consider (*jan* + *yaK* + (*LAṬ*→*te*)) with optional forms: *janyate* (with no replacement in  $\bar{a}$ ) and *jāyate*. We similarly get *jājāyate* and *jañjanyate*, from (*jan* + *yaṆ*) + (*LAṬ*→*ta*→*te*)), where, in *jājāyate*, we get a replacement in  $\bar{a}$  (*jaja*( $n$ → $\bar{a}$ )). Doubling and operations relative to *abhyāsa*, especially lengthening of the *abhyāsa* (*j(a*→ $\bar{a})j\bar{a}$  . . .; 7.4.83 *dirgho*’ *kitah*), finally produce *jājāyate*. When the option of  $\bar{a}$  is not accepted, the *abhyāsa* is introduced with augment *nUM* (7.4.85 *nugato*’ *nunāsikasya*). Thus, *ja* + *nUM* + *jan* = *janjan*. An application of *anusvāra*, followed by *parasavarṇa* ‘replacement homogeneous with what follows’, will produce: *ja*( $n$ → $m$ → $\bar{n}$ )*jan* = *jañjan* + *ya* + *te* = *jañjanyate*. We will similarly get *sāyate* and *sanyate*, with *yaK* and *LAṬ*→*te*, where *LAṬ* may denote *bhāva* ‘root-sence’ or *karman* ‘object’. The long replacement of the *abhyāsa* will again be accomplished by 7.4.83 *dirgho*’ *kitah*. This same also applies to *sāsāyate* which is an optional derivate of *san* + *yaṆ*, used with *LAṬ*→*ta*→*te*. We will get *saṃsanyate*, with *nUM* and *anusvāra*, when the option of replacing  $n$  with  $\bar{a}$  is not accepted. Derivates such as *khāyate*/*khanyate*; *cākhāyate*/*cañkhanyate* follow similar derivational patterns where  $\bar{a}$ -replacement, homogeneous long replacement (*savarṇa-dirgha*); doubling, operations relative to *abhyāsa*, long vowel replacement for the short of an *abhyāsa*, *nUM* and *parasavarṇa* apply as may be the case. Note here that *jā* replaces *jan*, obligatorily, when *ṢyaN* is introduced (1.3.57 *jñājanor jā*).

#### 6.4.44 तनोतेर्यकि

*tanoter yaki*

/tanoteḥ 6/1 yaki 7/1/

(aṅgasya #1 āt #41 vibhāṣā #43)

*tanoter yaki parato vibhāṣa ākārādeśo bhavati*

The final sound segment of an *aṅga*, namely *tan* ‘to extend’, is replaced with  $\bar{a}$  when affix *yaK* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*tāyate* ‘*LAṬ*-derivate of *tan* with *yaK* denoting object’

*tanyate* ‘ibidem’

1. This rule offers  $\bar{a}$  to replace the final  $n$  of *tan* when *yaK* follows. Thus, we get *tāyate* and *tanyate*. A derivate with *yaṆ*, as against *yaK*, will thus not involve this replacement in  $\bar{a}$ . We will, therefore, get: *tantanyate*.

#### 6.4.45 सनः क्तिचि लोपश्चान्यतरस्याम्

*sanaḥ ktici lopaś cānyatarasyām*

/sanaḥ 6/1 ktici 7/1 lopaḥ #1 ca φ anyatarasyām 7/1

(aṅgasya #1 āt #41)

*sanoter aṅgasya ktici pratyaye parata ākāra ādeśo bhavati lopaś cānyatarasyām*  
The final sound segment of an *aṅga*, namely *san* 'to gain, donate' is replaced with *ā*, or is optionally deleted by means of *LOPA*, when affix *KtiC* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*sātiḥ* 'gain'  
*santiḥ* 'ibidem'  
*satiḥ* 'ibidem'

1. This rule offers an optional *ā*, against an optional deletion of *n* of *san*, when affix *KtiC* follows. Thus, since both *ā* and deletion are optional, we get three forms: *sātiḥ* (with *ā*), *satiḥ* (with *n*-deletion) and *santiḥ* (with no *ā* and *n*-deletion).

2. Since we have an express mention of *KtiC* in this rule, one may be confused about the *anuvṛtti* of *vibhāṣā*. For, *vibhāṣā* is used under the condition of an affix which began with *y*. This rule introduces a new condition of *ktici*. So that there is no confusion about the *anuvṛtti* of *vibhāṣā*, especially because of the use of *KtiC*, this rule uses *anyatarasyām* 'optionally' (*Kāś. anyatarasyām grahaṇam viśpaṣṭārtham*).

6.4.46 आर्धधातुके

*ārdhadhātuke*  
/ *ārdhadhātuke* 7/1/  
'*ārdhadhātuke*' ity *adhikārah*; '*na lyapi*' iti *prāg etasmād yad ita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāmaḥ* '*ārdhadhātuke*' ity *evam tad veditavyam*  
When an affix termed *ārdhadhātuka* (3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukam śeṣaḥ*) follows . . .

EXAMPLES:

*cikīrṣitā* 'he who wishes to do (with affix *tṛC*)'  
*bebhiditā* 'he who wishes to repeatedly break (*yaN* + *tṛC*)'  
*kāraṇā* 'instigation; (*kāri* + (*yuC* → *ana*) + *ṬāP*)'  
*hāraṇā* 'to have carried away; (*hāri* + (*yuC* → *ana*) + *ṬāP*)'  
*yānti* 'they go'  
*dāyate* ' . . . is given'  
*sneyāt* 'third singular active *LIN*-derivate of *snā* 'to bathe''  
*kāriṣiṣṭa* 'third singular middle *LIN*-derivate of *kṛN*'  
*hāriṣiṣṭa* 'third singular middle *LIN*-derivate of *hṛN*'

1. This is an *adhikāra* 'governing rule'. The word *ārdhadhātuke* is thus to be read with all rules enumerated prior to 6.4.69 *na lyapi*. Consider the following rules:

- (i) 6.4.48 *ato lopah* 'the final *a* of an *an̄ga* goes through deletion by *LOPA* when an affix termed *ārdhadhātuka* follows'

We thus get (*cikīrṣa* + *ṭṛC*) + *sU* = *cikīrṣitā* and (*jihīrṣa* + *ṭṛC*) + *sU* = *jihīrṣitā*, where verbal root *cikīrṣa* is derived with *saN* (appendix, II:435). The *a* of *cikīrṣa* is deleted by 6.4.48 *ato lopah* under the express condition of *ārdhadhātuke*. Note that, given *bh(ū→o→av)* + *ŚaP* + *ti* = *bhava* + *ti*, we cannot delete the final *a* of *bhava* because *tiP* is not an *ārdhadhātuka* affix. It is termed *sārvadhātuka*, instead.

This counter-example to the condition of *ārdhadhātuke* is, however, questioned. It is argued that we do not need this counter-example to show how deletion of *ŚaP* is not accomplished. We already have 2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ śapaḥ* as an indicator that, elsewhere, deletion of *ŚaP* is not accomplished. But 2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ śapaḥ* is not intended to do this. It is formulated to negate operations characteristic of affixes when those affixes get deleted (*Kāś*: *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ śapo luvacanam pratyayalopalakṣaṇapratiṣedhārthaṁ syād ity etan jañāpakam śapo lopābhāvasya*).

- (ii) 6.4.49 *yasya halaḥ* 'the *ya* which occurs after a consonant goes through deletion, via *LOPA*, when an affix termed *ārdhadhātuka* follows'

Consider *bebhīditā*, *bebhīditum* and *bebhīditavyam* where the root derives as *bhid* + *yaN* → *bebhīdya*, through doubling and operations relative to *abhyāsa*. We subsequently derive *bebhīdya* + *ṭṛC* = *bebhīditṛ*, *bebhīdya* + *tumUN* → *bebhīditum* and *bebhīdya* + *tavyaT* → *bebhīditavya*, with augment *iṭ* and deletion of *ya*. Note that *ṭṛC*, *tumUN* and *tavyaT* are all termed *ārdhadhātuka* (3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukam śeṣaḥ*). Now consider *bebhīdya* + (*LAṭ* → *ta* → *te*) → *bebhīdya* + *ŚaP* + *te* = *bebhīdyate*, where, since *te* is not an *ārdhadhātuka*, we do not get *ya*-deletion.

Note that 6.4.47 *yasya halaḥ* applies to delete *ya*, a sequence of *y* and *a*. Some argue here that *halaḥ* of 6.4.49 *yasya halaḥ* is specified with *pañcamī* 'ablative'. Consequently, 1.1.54 *ādeḥ parasya* facilitates only the deletion of *y*. The *a* of *ya* is then deleted by 6.4.48 *ato lopah*.

- (iii) 6.4.51 *ner aniṭi* '*Ni* goes through deletion via *LOPA*, when an *ārdhadhātuka* affix with no augment *iṭ* as its initial follows'

Consider *kāri* + (*yu(C)* → *ana*) → *kār(i→ϕ)* + *a(n→ṇ)a* = *kāraṇa* + *ṬāP* = *kāraṇā* and (*hāri* + *yuC*) + *ṬāP* = *hāraṇā* where deletion of the causal suffix *NiC* is accomplished under the condition of the *ārdhadhātuka* affix *yuC* (3.3.107 *nyāsaśrantho yuc*). Why the condition of *ārdhadhātuke*? Consider *kāri* + *ŚaP* + (*LA* → *tiP*) = *kārayati* and *hārayati*, where deletion of *NiC* must be blocked because *tiP* is not an *ārdhadhātuka* affix.

- (iv) 6.4.64 *āto lopa iti ca* 'an *aṅga*-final *ā* goes through deletion via *LOPA* when an *iṭ* or a vowel-initial affix marked with *K* or *Ṇ* as an *it* follows'

Consider *yayatuh* and *yayuh*, the third personal dual and plural perfect (*LIT*) forms of *yā* and *vā*, which derive from *ya* + *yā* + *atus* and *va* + *vā* + *atus* through doubling and operations relative to *abhyāsa*. Note that *ā* of *yayā* and *vavā* goes through deletion via *LOPA* before the *ārdhadhātuka* affixes *atus* and *us* (3.4.82 *parasmaipadānām* . . .). This *ā*-deletion cannot be accomplished in *yā* + (*ŚaP*→*LUK*) + (*jhi*→*anti*) = *yānti* and *vānti* because *ti* is an affix termed *sārvadhātuka* (3.4.113 *tiṣit sārvadhātukam*).

- (v) 6.4.66 *ghumāsthāgāpājahātisām hali* 'a replacement in *ī* (*itva*) applies to an *aṅga* which is either termed a *ghu* (1.1.20 *dādhāghv adāp*), or is constituted by *mā*, *sthā*, *gā*, *pā*, *jahāti* and *sā*, provided a consonant-initial affix marked with *K* or *Ṇ* as an *it* follows'

Consider  $d(\bar{a} \rightarrow \bar{i}) + yaK + (LA\bar{T} \rightarrow ta \rightarrow te) = \bar{d}iyate$  and  $\bar{d}hiyate$  where *yaK* is an affix termed *ārdhadhātuka*. Why the condition of *ārdhadhātuka*? Consider *adātām* and *adhātām*, third personal active immediate past (*LUN*) dual forms of *dā* and *dhā*, where, given  $a\bar{T} + dā + (sIC \rightarrow \phi) + (LUN \rightarrow tas \rightarrow tām)$  and  $a\bar{T} + dhā + (sIC \rightarrow \phi) + LUN \rightarrow tas \rightarrow tām$ , we do not get *ī* since, after the deletion of *sIC* (2.4.77 *gātisthāghupābhūbhyah sicah* . . .), what follows the *aṅga* is an affix termed *sārvadhātuka*.

- (vi) 6.4.68 *vā' nyasya saṃyogādeḥ* 'a non-*ghu* verbal root which begins with a conjunct and ends in *ā* receives a replacement in *e* (*etva*), optionally, when a *LIN*-replacement termed *ārdhadhātuka* follows'

Consider  $snā + yāsUT + (LIN \rightarrow ti) \rightarrow sn(\bar{a} \rightarrow e) + yās + t(i \rightarrow \phi) = sne + yā(s \rightarrow \phi) + t = sneyāt$  where augment *yāsUT* is treated as part of the affix (*PS* 12): *yadāgamā guṇibhūtās tadgrahanena grhyante*). The term *ārdhadhātuka*, in this case, is assigned by 3.4.116 *lināśiṣi*. We thus get *sneyāt* and *snāyāt* where *s* of *yāsUT* gets deleted by 8.2.29 *skoḥ saṃyogādyor ante ca*. One can also consider *snāyāt* as a counter-example where, since it is not a benedictive (*āsīh*) form of *LIN*, the affix cannot be termed *ārdhadhātuka*. This replacement in *e* thus does not apply in case of a non-benedictive derivate of *LIN*.

- (vii) 6.4.62 *syasicsīyuttāsiṣu bhāvakarmanor upadeśe* . . . 'operations similar to *CiN* (*cinvadbhāva*), an *iṭ* in addition, apply optionally to an *aṅga* which, in *upadeśa*, ends in a vowel, or else, is constituted by *han*, *grah* and *dṛś*, provided affixes *sya*, *sIC*, *sīyUT* and *tās* follow with the scope of *bhāva* 'root-sense' or *karman* 'object'

Consider  $kṛ + (LIN \rightarrow ta)$  and  $hṛ + (LIN \rightarrow ta)$  which produce  $kṛ + sīyUT + sUT + i\bar{T} + ta \rightarrow kāriṣiṣṭa$  and  $hṛ + sīyUT + sUT + i\bar{T} + ta \rightarrow hāriṣiṣṭa$  with the application of *cinvadbhāva*. These forms in-

volve *vṛddhi* of *ṛ* with a following *r* (*rapara*), deletion of *y* (*yalopa*), replacements in *ṣ* (*ṣatva*) and *ṭ* (*ṣṭutva*). Now consider *kriyet* and *hriyet*, the two benedictive forms of *kṛ* and *hṛ*, where, in the absence of a following *ārdhadhātuka* affix, *ciṇvadbhāva* cannot be applied. An application of *ciṇvadbhāva*, based upon the *aṅga* ending in a vowel on account of *yaK*, would end in *ā* through *vṛddhi*. Given *kriyā* + *īy* + *ta*, *guṇa* and *yUK* would both become applicable. Augment *yUK* (7.3.33 *āto yuk ciṅkrtoḥ*), since operations relative to an *aṅga* are more powerful, would have blocked *guṇa*. This would have yielded a wrong form. Thus, the condition of *ārdhadhātuka* becomes necessary.

A *śloka-vārttika* of the *Mahābhāṣya* enumerates seven purposes served by the condition of *ārdhadhātuka*. (i) *a-lopa* ‘deletion of *a*’, (ii) *ya-lopa* ‘deletion of *ya*’, (iii) *ṇi-lopa* ‘deletion of *ṇi*’, (iv) *ā-lopa* ‘deletion of *ā*’, (v) *itva* ‘replacement in *i*’, (vi) *etva* ‘replacement in *e*’ and (vii) *ciṇvadbhāva*, when *sīyUT* follows’:

*āto lopo yalopas ca ṇilopas ca prayojanam/  
ālopa itvam evaṃ ca ciṇvadbhāvas ca sīyuti//*

#### 6.4.47 भ्रस्जो रोपधयो रमन्यतरस्याम्

*bhrasjo ropadhayo ram anyatarasyām*  
/*bhrasjah* 6/1 *ropadhayoh* 6/2 = *rephaś ca upadhā ca = ropadhē (itar. dv.)*,  
*tayoh*; *ram* 1/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/  
*bhrasjo repahasyopadhāyās ca ram anyatarasyām bhavati*

Augment *rAM* is optionally introduced in place of the sequence of *r*, plus next to the last sound segment of an *aṅga* namely *bhrasj* ‘to roast’, when an affix termed *ārdhadhātuka* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*braṣṭā* ‘nominative singular of *bhrasj* + *tṛC*’  
*bharṣṭā* ‘ibidem’  
*bhraṣṭum* ‘... for roasting; (*bhrasj* + *tumUN*)’  
*bharṣṭum* ‘ibidem’  
*bhraṣṭavyam* ‘ought to roast; *bhrasj* + *tavyaT*’  
*bharṣṭavyam* ‘ibidem’

1. This rule introduces augment *rAM* after the last vowel (1.1.47 *mid aco*’ *ntyāt paraḥ*) of *bhrasj*, in place of its *r* (*repha*) and penultimate *s* (*upadhā*). Note that *rAM*, since it is marked with *M* as an *it* (*mit*), is to be introduced after the *a* of *bhrasj*. But this will create problems since the *r* of *bhrasj* will still be there. There are two operations involved here: (i) deletion of *repha* (*r*) and deletion of *upadhā* (*s*); and (ii) introduction of *rAM*. These two opera-

tions can both not be applied concurrently. It is therefore recommended that deletion of *r* and *s* be applied first. Introduction of *rAM* then follows. Thus, *bh(r)a(s)j + tṛC* → *bha(rAM)j + tṛC* → *bharṣṭā*, through applications of *ṣatva* (*j* → *ṣ*; 8.2.36 *vraś ca bhrasj* . . .) and *ṣtutva* (*t* → *ṣ*; 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*). We will get *bhraṣṭā* if the option of *rAM* is not accepted. The *s* of *bhrasj* will then be deleted by 8.2.29 *skoḥ samyogādyaḥ*. Operations such as *ṣatva* and *ṣtutva* will still apply. They will also apply in deriving the *tavyaT* forms *bharṣṭavyam* (with *rAM*) and *bhraṣṭavyam*. The *s* of (*bhrasj* + (*LYUT* → *ana*)) → *bhrasj* + *ana* will be replaced with *d* (8.4.52 *jhalām jaś jhaś*). This *d* will be further replaced with *j* through *ścutva* (8.4.41 *stoś cunā ścuḥ*). Thus, (*bhra(s* → *d* → *j*)*j* + *ana*) + *sU* → *bhrajjanam*. A form with *rAM* will be *bharjjanam*.

2. Note that the condition of *upadeśe* is still valid. Thus, we do not get *rAM* in deriving *barībhṛjyate*, third singular middle intensive (*yaŃ*) of *bhrasj*, where 7.4.90 *ṅg ṛdupadhasya ca* introduces augment *ṛK*.

#### 6.4.48 अतो लोपः

*ato lopah*

/ataḥ 6/1 lopah 1/1

(aṅgasya #1 ārdhadhātuke #46)

*akārāntasya ārdhadhātuke lopo bhavati*

The final sound segment of an *aṅga* which ends in *a* is deleted by means of *LOPA* when an affix termed *ārdhadhātuka* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*cikīrṣitā* ' . . . wishes to do; *tṛC*-derivate of *cikīrṣa*'

*cikīrṣitum* ' *tumUN*-derivate of *cikīrṣa*'

*cikīrṣitavyam* ' *tavyaT*-derivate of *cikīrṣa*'

*dhinutaḥ* 'third dual active *LAṬ*-derivate of *dhiuI* 'to please''

*kṛṇutaḥ* 'third dual active *LAṬ*-derivate of *kṛuI* 'to harm, to do''

1. This rule offers deletion of the final *a* (1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*) of an *aṅga* which ends in *a*. Refer to derivational details of *cikīrṣitā*, etc., under 6.4.46 *ārdhadhātuke*. The third personal dual present (*LAṬ*) indicative active forms of *dhiuI* and *kṛuI*, i.e., *dhinutaḥ* and *kṛṇutaḥ*, involve the introduction of augment *nUM* (7.1.58 *idito num dhātoḥ*). Affix *u*, with concurrent replacement of *v* with *a*, is introduced in consonance with 3.1.8 *dhinvikṛṇvyor a ca*. Thus, *dhiu* + (*LAṬ* → *tas*) *dhi* + *nUM* + *u* + (*v* → *a*) + *tas* → *dhin* + *u* + *a* + *tas* and *kṛṇ* + *u* + *a* + *tas*. This *a* is, however, deleted by our present rule. An application of *s* → *rU* → *ḥ* (*rutva-visarga*) finally produces *dhinutaḥ* and *kṛṇutaḥ*. Refer to the appendix (III:726) for derivational details of the singular forms *dhinoti* and *kṛṇoti*. Since they can be derived with *guṇa* of *u* and single replacement in *o* (6.1.97 *ato guṇe*, *dhin* + (*u* → *o*) + *a* + *ti* → *dhin* + (*o* + *a* → *o*) + *ti*), this rule does not offer them as examples.

2. Why deletion of *a*? Consider *cetā* and *stotā* (appendix, II: 328–29) where, since there is no *a*, this deletion does not apply. Why this deletion applies only to a short *a* (*aT*; *ta*parakaraṇa)? Consider *yātā* and *vātā* where the long *ā* does not go through deletion. Why the condition of *ārdhadhātuke*? Consider *vr̥kṣatvam* and *vr̥kṣatā* where no deletion of short *a* can be accomplished. For, the *aṅga* is followed by affixes which fall outside the scope of *ārdhadhātuke*.

3. A *vārttika* proposal is made to apply *a*-deletion prior to the application of *vr̥ddhi* and long-replacement (*dirgha*). Consider *cikīrṣa* + (*ṆvuL*→*aka*) where deletion of *a* and *vr̥ddhi* (7.2.115 *aco* 'ñṇiti') both become applicable. Deletion of *a* blocks *vr̥ddhi* on the basis of *pūrvā-vipratīṣedha* 'conflict between rules of equal strength where the rule which precedes in order wins'. Once this deletion applies condition of the application of *vr̥ddhi* is removed. This same happens in case of *jihīrṣakaḥ* (appendix, II: 406–7). A similar conflict between this deletion of *a* and long replacement is witnessed in deriving *cikīrṣa* + *yaK* + (*ta*→*te*)→*cikīrṣyate* and *jihīrṣa* + *yaK* + *te* = *jihīrṣyate*. The long replacement of 7.4.25 *akṛtsārvadhātukayor dirghaḥ* is blocked by deletion of *a*. Here again the condition of *dirgha* is removed by deletion of *a*.

#### 6.4.49 यस्य हलः

*yasya halaḥ*

/yasya 6/1 halaḥ 5/1/

(*aṅasya* #1 *ārdhadhātuke* #46 *lopaḥ* #48)

*hala uttarasya yaśabdasyārdhadhātuke loṇo bhavati*

A *ya* which occurs after a consonant in an *aṅga* is deleted by means of *LOPA* when an affix termed *ārdhadhātuka* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*bebhiditā* 'nominative singular of *bhid* 'to split' ending in affix *ṭrC*'

*bebhiditum* 'derivate of *bhid* ending in *tumUN*'

*bebhiditavyam* 'derivate of *bhid* + *tavyaT*'

1. This rule offers deletion of *ya* (cf. *yasya*) when an *ārdhadhātuka* affix follows. Of course, when *ya* occurs after a consonant. Refer to my notes under 6.4.46 *ārdhadhātuke* for illustrations. Note, however, that a sequence of *y* followed by *a* becomes the focus of this deletion. This rule does not accomplish deletion of a final *a* in consonance with 1.1.52 *alo* 'ntyasya'. Rule 6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ* is already to do that. I have already indicated that some do not accept deletion of *ya*. They would rather delete *y* with this rule in consonance with the ablative (*pañcamī*; 1.1.54 *ādeḥ parasya*) of *halaḥ*. They will of course resort to deletion of *a* by 6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ*.

2. Why is this specification made with the sequence *ya*? Consider *īṣy* + *iT* + *ṭrC*→*īṣyitā* and *mavy* + *iT* + *ṭrC*→*mavyitā* where, because of *ya* alone, this rule does not apply. Why the condition of *halaḥ* 'occurring after a conso-



nant'? Consider *lolūya* + *iṭ* + *ṭṛC* and *poṇūya* + *iṭ* + *ṭṛC* where *lolūya* and *poṇūya* are roots derived with *yaN̄*. This rule cannot apply here to delete *ya* because *ya* does not occur after a consonant. Consequently, *a*-deletion alone applies.

#### 6.4.50 क्यस्य विभाषा

*kyasya vibhāṣā*

/kyasya vibhāṣā 1/1/

(*ārdhadhātuke* #46 *lopaḥ* #48 *halaḥ* #49)

*kyasya hala uttarasya vibhāṣā loṇo bhavati ārdhadhātuke*

A *Kya* which occurs after a consonant in an *aṅga* is optionally deleted by means of *LOPA* when an affix termed *ārdhadhātuka* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*samidhitā* 'ṭṛC-derivate of *sam-idh* + *KyaN̄*'

*samidhyitā* 'ibidem'

*dṛṣaditā* 'ṭṛC-derivate of *dṛṣad* + *KyaN̄*'

*dṛṣadyitā* 'ibidem'

1. This rule offers optional deletion to *ya* of *Kya*. All other conditions remain the same. Note that *Kya* here refers to affixes *KyaC* (3.1.8 *supa ātmanah kyac*) and *KyaN̄* (3.1.11 *karṭtuḥ kyaṇ salopaś ca*) both. Consider *samidh* + *KyaC* + *iṭ* + *ṭṛC* → *samidh* + (*ya* →  $\emptyset$ ) + *iṭ* + *ṭṛC* = *samidhitṛ* + *sU* → *samidhitā*. We similarly get *dṛṣad* + *ya* + *iṭ* + *KyaN̄* + *ṭṛC* → *dṛṣaditṛ* + *sU* = *dṛṣaditā*. Forms with no optional deletion of *ya* will be: *samidhyitā* and *dṛṣadyitā*. This rule is necessary so that both forms could be accounted for. Our previous rule offers deletion obligatorily (*nitya*).

#### 6.4.51 णेरनिटि

/ner aniṭi

/neh 6/1 aniṭi 7/1 = na iṭ yasya = aniṭ (bv.), tamsin/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *ārdhadhātuke* #46 *lopaḥ* #48)

*aniṭādāu ārdhadhātuke ner loṇo bhavati*

Affix *Ṇi* of an *aṅga* is deleted by means of *LOPA* when an *ārdhadhātuka* affix, not conjoined with *iṭ* at its beginning, follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*atatakṣat* 'third singular active causal *LUN̄* of *takṣ*'

*ararakṣat* 'third singular active causal *LUN̄* of *rakṣ*'

*āṭiṭat* 'third singular causal active *LUN̄* of *aṭ*'

*āsīsat* 'third singular active causal *LUN̄* of *aś*'

*kāraṇā* 'derivate of (*kṛ* + *ṆiC* + *yuC*) + *ṬāP*'

*hāraṇā* 'derivate of (*hṛ* + *ṆiC* + *yuC*) + *ṬāP*'

*kārah* 'doer'  
*hārah* 'he who carries'  
*kāryate* 'that which is fetched'  
*hāryate* 'that which is carried'  
*jñāpsati* 'wishes to know'

1. This rule offers deletion of *ṆiC* as an exception to *iyAṆ*, *yaN*, *guṇa*, *vṛddhi* and *dirgha* 'long replacement' (*Kās*: *īyaṇyaṅguṇavṛddhidirghāṇām apavādah*). Since their application will render this deletion of *Ṇi* without any scope of application (*anavakāśa*), it is accepted as an exception (*apavāda*) to them (*PM* ad *Kās*: *īyaṇādibhiḥ sarvasya viśayasyāvaṣṭabdhavād anavakāśo' yaṁ vijñāyate*).

Consider *ata* + *takṣ* + *i* + *a* + *ti* = *atatakṣat* 'he planed the wood' and *ara* + *rakṣ* + *i* + *a* + *ti* = *ararakṣat* 'he protected', where *iyAṆ* and deletion both become applicable to *i* of *ṆiC*. This deletion blocks *iyAṆ*, by way of being an exception. It also blocks the application of *yaN* (6.4.82 *er anekāco* . . .) in *āti* + *ti* + *ati* = *ātiṣat* and *āsi* + *si* + *a* + *ti* = *āsiṣat*. An applicable of *guṇa* is blocked in favor of this deletion, also when *kāraṇā* and *hāraṇā* are derived from (*kāri* + *yuC* → *ana*) + *TāP* and (*hāri* + (*yuC* → *ana*) + *TāP*, respectively. Derivates such as *kāraṇa* ← *kāri* + *ṆvuL* and *hāraṇa* ← *hāri* + *ṆvuL* illustrate how *vṛddhi* is blocked by deletion. A blocking of *dirgha* 'long replacement' (7.4.25 *akṛtsārva-dhātukayor* . . .) by deletion is illustrated by *kāri* + *ya* + *ta* → *kāryate* and *hāri* + *yaK* + *ta* → *hāryate*. A long replacement (6.4.16 *ajjhanagamām* . . .) is again blocked by deletion in deriving *jñāpsati*.

Refer to derivational details of these examples in the appendix. Note also that (*kāri* + *iT* + *tṛC*) *sU* → *kārayitā* 'he who will have it done' (*hāri* + *iT* + *tṛC*) *sU* → *hārayitā* 'he who will have it carried' do not involve deletion of *ṆiC*. They must go through *guṇa* and *ay* of *i* since *iT* precedes *tṛC*.

#### 6.4.52 निष्ठायां सेटि

*niṣṭhāyām seṭi*  
 / *niṣṭhāyām* 7/1 *seṭi* 7/1 = *iṭā saha* = *seṭ* (*bv.*), *tasmin*/  
 (*aṅasya* #1 *lopaḥ* #48 *neḥ* #51)  
*niṣṭhāyām seṭi parato ṇer lopo bhavati*  
 Affix *Ṇi* of an *aṅa* is deleted by means of *LOPA* when an affix termed *niṣṭhā* conjoined with *iT* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*kāritam* 'that which was arranged to be done'  
*hāritam* 'that which was arranged to be carried'  
*gaṇitam* 'that which was counted'  
*lakṣitam* 'that which was marked'

1. This rule allows deletion of *Ṇi* when a *niṣṭhā* (1.1.26 *ktvaktavatU niṣṭhā*)

suffix augmented with *iT* follows. Thus, we get *kāri* + *iT* + *Kta* → *kārita* and *hāri* + *iT* + *Kta* → *hārita*, *gaṇi* + *Kta* → *gaṇita* and *lakṣi* + *Kta* → *lakṣita*.

2. *Kāśikā* offers *saṃjñāpitaḥ paśuḥ* as a counter-example for the condition of *seṭi*. That is, *saṃjñāpita* does not go through deletion of *ṆiC* since its *Kta* is not augmented with *iT*. Actually, an *iT* is optionally introduced after *jñap* (7.2.49 *saṃvāntardhabhṛasj* . . .). But this optional *iT* is negated before a *niṣṭhā* suffix (7.2.15 *yasya vibhāṣā*). If *iT* is negated based on the followig *niṣṭhā* then why can *aniṭi* of the earlier rule not accomplish *Ṇi*-deletion? This is not possible since our present rule expressly mentions *niṣṭhāyām seṭi*. If this deletion could be made possible by the earlier rule then why state this rule. Note that the *Mahābhāṣya* refutes this *sūtra*. I choose not to discuss this any further.

Questions have also been raised against adding the word *seṭi* to this rule. Many consider it unnecessary. Some state that *seṭi* is added to determine operational timing (*kālāvadhāraṇa*). That is, deletion of *Ṇi* must follow introduction of *iT*.

#### 6.4.53 जनिता मन्त्रे

*janitā mantre*

/ *janitā* 1/1 *mantrē* 7/1/

(*aṅgasya* #48 *lopaḥ* #48 *neḥ* #51)

*janiteti mantraviṣaye idādaṇi nilopo nipātyate*

The word *janitā*, in the *mantra*, is derived with deletion of *Ṇi* via *nipātana*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*yo nāḥ pitā jānītā* 'he who is our father the progenitor'

1. This rule derives *janitā*, via *nipātana*, when the usages is *mantra*. Thus, given (*jan* + *ṆiC*) = (*jān* + *i* + *iT* + *tr*) + *sU*, we get *janitā* in the *mantra* and *janayitā* in the classical usage. Recall that 6.4.51 *ner aniṭi* allows *Ṇi*-deletion only when an *ārdhadhātuka* not augmented with *iT* follows. This *nipātana* allows deletion even when an *ārdhadhātuka* augmented by *iT* follows. The *vṛddhi* vowel *ā* of *jāni* goes through shortening on the basis of *mit* (*Dhātupāṭha*: *janīṛṣṭknasuraṇjo* 'mantās ca'). The shortening is accomplished on the basis of its listing in the *mitādi* (*mit*) group (6.4.92 *mitām hrasvaḥ*).

#### 6.4.54 शमिता यज्ञे

*śamitā yajñe*

/ *śamitā* 1/1 *yajñe* 7/1/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *lopaḥ* #48 *neḥ* #51)

*yajñakarmaṇi śamiteti idādaṇi trci nilopo nipātyate*

The word *śamitā*, in ritual sacrifices (*yajñakarmaṇi*), is derived with deletion of *Ṇi* via *nipātana*.

## EXAMPLES:

*śṛtaṃ haviḥ* = *śamitaḥ* ‘vocative singular of *śam* + *NiC* + *iT* + *ṛC*’

1. This rule offers *śamitā*, again via *nīpātana*, when the context is sacrificial offering (*yajñakarma*). Our example *śamitaḥ* is an address (*sambuddhi*) form in the singular. Thus, (*śam* + *NiC* + *iT* + *ṛC*) *sU* produces *śamitaḥ*. The *sU* is deleted by 6.1.68 *hahnyābbhyo*. . . . The *ṛ* of *ṛC* goes through *guṇa* (*ṛto* . . .) and its resultant *r* goes through replacement in *visarga*. This all is accomplished after deletion of *NiC*.

## 6.4.55 अयामन्ताल्वाय्येत्विष्णुषु

*ayāmantaḥ* *ālvāyyetnviṣṇuṣu*

/ *ay* 1/1 *ām-anta-ālv-āyya-itnu-iṣṇuṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*) /

(*aṅgasya* #1 *ārdhadhātuke* #46 *neḥ* #51)

‘*ām, anta, ālu, āyya, itnu, iṣṇu*’ *ity eteṣu parato neṛ ay ādeśo bhavati*

The *Ni* of an *aṅga* is replaced with *ay* when *ām, anta, ālu, āyya, itnu* and *iṣṇu* combine to follow.

## EXAMPLES:

*kārayāñcakāra* ‘. . . had it made’

*hārayāñcakāra* ‘. . . had it carried’

*maṇḍayantaḥ* ‘ornamentation’

*sprhayāluḥ* ‘desirous, compassionate’

*grhayāluḥ* ‘householder’

*sprhayāyyaḥ* ‘desirous’

*grhayāyyaḥ* ‘householder’

*stanayitnuḥ* ‘thunder’

*poṣayiṣṇavaḥ* ‘desirous of nourishing’

*pārayiṣṇavaḥ* ‘desirous of going across’

1. This rule is an exception to *Ni*-deletion of 6.4.51 *neṛ anīti*. It allows *ay* to replace *Ni* when *ām, anta, ālu, āyya, itnu* and *iṣṇu* follow. Refer to derivational details of examples in the appendix (III: 717–18).

2. Why was this rule not formulated as *na*, to simply negate the deletion of *Ni*? This provision of non-deletion would have eventually resulted into a replacement in *ay*, via *guṇa* of *Ni*. This would also have proved more economical. Commentators note that a replacement in *ay* is intended more for subsequent rules (*Kāś*: ‘*na*’ *iti vaktavye ayādeśavacanam uttarārtham*).

## 6.4.56 ल्यपि लघुपूर्वात्

*lyapi laghupūrvāt*

/ *lyapi* 7/1 *laghupūrvāt* 5/1 = *laghuḥ pūrho yasmāt* (*bv.*), *tasmāt* /

(*aṅgasya* #1 *ārdhadhātuke* #46 *neḥ* #51 *ay* #55)

*lyapi parato laghupūrvād varṇād uttarasya ṇer ay ādeśo bhavati*

A *Ṇi*, when occurring after a sound segment preceded by a vowel termed *laghu* 'short', is replaced with *ay*, provided an affix termed *ārdhadhātuka*, namely *LyaP*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

*pranamayya* 'having caused to bow down'  
*pratamayya* 'having caused to fall down'  
*pradamayya* 'having caused to restrain'  
*praśamayya* 'having caused to quest down'  
*sandamayya* (*gataḥ*) 'having constrained he went'

1. This rule allows *ay* to replace *Ṇi*, when *LyaP* follows *Ṇi*, and what precedes *Ṇi* is preceded by a vowel termed *laghu*. Thus, Consider *pra* + *nam* + *ṆiC* + *LyaP* → *pranamayya*, etc., where a *laghu* vowel, i.e., *a*, precedes *m* occurring before *ṆiC*. The *LyaP*, of course, is a replacement of *Ktvā*, used after a verbal root signifying prior action (*pūrvakāla*; 7.1.37 *samāse* 'nañpūrve...'). Recall that *praśāmi* → *praśami*, etc., entail shortening of 6.4.92 *mitām hrasvaḥ*. Note also that *prabebhidayya*, etc., are derivatives of *LyaP* introduced after a *ṆiC*-derivate of *bhid*, etc., ending in *yaN*, used with the preverb *pra*. Thus, *pra* + *bhid* + *yaN* → *pra* + *bhi* + *bhid* + *yaN* → *pra* + *bi* + *bhid* + *yaN* → (*pra* + *be* + *bhid* + *yaN*) + *ṆiC*. The *ya* of *yaN*, however, gets deleted by 6.4.49 *yasya halaḥ*. This same also applies to other examples. The *curādi* verbal root *gaṇa* is enumerated as ending in *a*. This *a* goes through deletion as a result of being an *it*. The *vṛddhi* in *pragaṇayya* is blocked via *sthānivadbhāva*.

2. Note that shortening (*hrasva*) of *prañāmi*, etc., is accomplished by 6.4.92 *mitām hrasvaḥ*. This rule accomplishes a replacement in *ay*. These two operations both are contained within the domain of 6.4.22 *asiddhavad atrābhāt*. Why can we not accept *hrasva*, which enables *m* to be preceded by the *laghu* vowel *a*, as *asiddha*? Commentators state that such operations, i.e., *hrasva* 'shortening', *yalopa* 'deletion of *ya*', *ālopa* 'deletion of *ā*' cannot be accepted as *asiddha* since they do not share similar operational loci (*samānāśraya*) with, for example, this replacement in *ay*. That is, *hrasva*, etc., are conditioned by *Ṇi* and *ay* in place of *Ṇi* is conditioned by *LyaP*. Thus, shortening, etc., do not become a *asiddha* 'suspended'.

3. The condition of *laghupūrvāt* is imposed so that we do get *ay* as a replacement of *Ṇi* of *prapātya gataḥ*. Notice that *t* of *prapāti* is not preceded by a *laghu* vowel.

6.4.57 विभाषाऽऽपः

*vibhāṣā* " *paḥ*  
 / *vibhāṣā* 1/1 *āpaḥ* 5/1/  
 (*aṅsasya* #1 *ārdhadhātuke* #46 *ṇeḥ* #51 *ay* #55 *lyapi* #56)

*āpa uttarasya ner lyapi parato vibhāṣā' yādeśo bhavati*

A replacement in *ay* comes optionally in place of affix *Ṇi* when *Ṇi* occurs after *āp* and affix *LyaP* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*prāpayya gataḥ* 'having caused to obtain he went'

*prāpya gataḥ* 'having obtained he went'

1. This rule offers optional *ay* as a replacement for *Ṇi*, when *Ṇi* occurs after *āp* and is followed by *LyaP*. Note that *āp* refers here to *āpL* 'to attain' (*cur-ādi*) and *āpL* 'to pervade' (*sv-ādi*), both.

#### 6.4.58 युप्लुवोदीर्घश्छन्दसि

*yupluvor dīrghaś chandasi*

/yu-pluvoḥ 6/2 (itar. dv.) dīrghaḥ 1/1 chandasi 7/1/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *lyapi* #56)

'yu, plu' ity etayor lyapi parataś chandasi viṣaye dīrgho bhavati

The final sound segment of an *aṅga*, namely verbal roots *yū* 'to mix' and *plu* 'to float', is replaced with its long counterpart when affix *LyaP* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*dāntyānupūrvam viyūyā*

*yatrā yo dakṣiṇā pariplūya*

1. Note that this rule covers Vedic derivatives. Elsewhere, we will get *saṃyutya* and *āplutya* with no long replacements. Note that augment *iUK* (6.1.71 *hrasvasya piti* . . .) will be introduced in the absence of this long replacement.

#### 6.4.59 क्षियः

*kṣiyah*

/kṣiyah 6/1/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *lyapi* #56 dīrghaḥ #58)

*kṣiyaś ca dīrgho bhavati lyapi parataḥ*

The final vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *kṣi*, is replaced with its long counterpart when affix *LyaP* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*prakṣīya*

1. This rule does not carry this *anuvṛtti* of *chandasi*.

#### 6.4.60 निष्ठायामण्यदर्थे

*niṣṭhāyām anyadarthe*

/niṣṭhāyām 7/1 anyadarthe 7/1 = nyato' rthaḥ = nyadarthaḥ (śaś. tat.); na nyadarthaḥ (nañ. tat.)/  
 (aṅgasya #1 dīrghaḥ #58 kṣiyah #59)  
 nyataḥ kṛtyasyārtho = bhāvakarmanī, tābhyām anyatra yā niṣṭhā tasyām kṣiyo dīrgho bhavati

The final short vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *kṣi* 'to decay', is replaced with its long counterpart when a *niṣṭhā* suffix denoting something other than the sense of *NyaT* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

ākṣīṇaḥ 'decayed, having resided'  
 prakṣīṇaḥ 'ibidem'  
 parikṣīṇaḥ 'ibidem'

1. This rule offers a long replacement for the short *i* of *kṣi* when a *niṣṭhā* suffix with the signification of something other than *NyaT* follows. Recall that *NyaT* is an affix termed *kṛtya*, used with the signification of *bhāva* 'root-sense' and *karman* 'object' (3.4.70 *tayoreva* . . .). Obviously, this replacement in long applies when a *niṣṭhā* suffix follows with the signification of *kartṛ* 'agent' and *adhikaraṇa* 'locus'. Thus, *prakṣīṇa* and *parikṣīṇa* where *Kta* is introduced after the intransitive (*akarmaka*; 3.4.72 *gatyarthākarmaka* . . .) verbal root *kṣi*, used with the preverb *pari*. This *Kta* denotes an agent. Recall that this long replacement also causes the application of 8.2.46 *kṣiyo dīrghāt* whereby the *t* of *Kta* is replaced with *n*. This *n* is subsequently replaced with *ṇ*.

#### 6.4.61 वाऽऽक्रोशदैव्ययोः

vā" krośadainyayoh  
 /vā ākrośa-danyayoh 7/2 (itar. dv.), tayoh/  
 (aṅgasya #1 dīrghaḥ #58 kṣiyah #59 niṣṭhāyām anyadarthe #60)  
 ākrośe gamyamāne dainye ca kṣiyo niṣṭhāyām anyadarthe vā dīrgho bhavati  
 The final short vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *kṣi*, is replaced with its long counterpart when a *niṣṭhā* affix denoting the sense of something other than *NyaT* follows and the derivate denotes *ākrośa* 'anger, reproach' and *dainya* 'pity'.

#### EXAMPLES:

kṣitāyuh edhi 'may you have a very short life-span'  
 kṣīṇāyuh 'ibidem'  
 kṣitakah 'emaciated'  
 kṣīṇakah 'ibidem'  
 kṣito' yaṁ tapasvī 'this ascetic is emaciated'  
 kṣīṇo' yaṁ tapasvī 'ibidem'

1. This rule makes the long replacement optional when a *niṣṭhā* suffix not used with the signification of *NyaT* follows, and derivatives denote *ākrośa* 'anger' and *dainya* 'pity'. The *Kta* or *kṣi* + *Kta* is used with the denotatum of *kartr* 'agent'. Notice how this long replacement, when blocked, also blocks *n*-replacement of *t*. The question of a subsequent replacement of *n* with *ṇ* does not arise.

This optional replacement is not available to *kṣitam* of *kṣitam asya sarvaṃ* 'whatever is his is wasted', or *kṣitam asya tapasvinaḥ* 'this ascetic's (all) is wasted', because *Kta* of *kṣita* is used with the signification of *karman* 'object'.

#### 6.4.62 स्यसिच्सीयुत्तासिषु भावकर्मणोरुपदेशे ऽज्जनग्रहदृशां वा चिण्वदिट् च

*syasicsīyutlāsiṣu bhāvakarmanōrupadeśe' jñhanagrahadṛśām vā ciṇvat iṭ ca / sya-sic-sīyut-lāsiṣu 7/1 (itar. dv.); bhāvakarmanōḥ 7/2 (itar. dv.); upadeśe 7/1 ajj-hana-grāha-dṛśām 6/3 (itar. dv.), teṣām; vā φ ciṇvat φ iṭ 1/1 ca φ / (aṅgasya #1)*

'*sya, sic, sīyut, tāsi*' ity *eteṣu bhāvakarmaviṣayeṣu parata upadeśe' jantānām aṅgānām* 'han, grah, dṛś' ity *eteṣām ca ciṇvat kāryam bhavati*

An *aṅga*, namely *han* 'to kill', *grah* 'to seize, hold' and *dṛś* 'to see', and also that which ends in a vowel in *upadeśa* 'initial citation', is optionally treated like an *aṅga* occurring before affix *CiN*, when *sya, sIC, sīyUT* and *tāsi*, with the signification of *bhāva* 'root-sense' or *karman* 'object' with a concurrently introduced augment *iT* follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*cāyīṣyate* 'third singular middle *LRT* form of *ciN* 'to heap''

*ceṣyate* 'ibidem'

*acāyīṣyata* 'third singular middle *LRN* . . .'

*aceṣyata* 'ibidem'

*ghāṇīṣyate* 'third singular middle *LRT* form of *han* 'to kill''

*haniṣyate* 'ibidem'

*aghāṇīṣyata* ' . . . *LRN* . . .'

*ahanīṣyata* 'ibidem'

*grāhīṣyate* ' . . . *LRT* form of *grah* 'to seize, hold''

*grahīṣyate* 'ibidem'

*agrāhīṣyata* ' . . . *LRN* form of *grah*'

*agrahīṣyata* 'ibidem'

*darśīṣyate* 'third singular middle *LRT* form of *dṛś* 'to see''

*draṣyate* 'ibidem'

*adarśīṣyata* ' . . . *LRN* form of *dṛś*'

*adrakṣyata* 'ibidem'

*avāyīṣātām* 'third dual middle *LUN* form of *ci* 'to heap''

*aceṣātām* 'ibidem'

*adāyīṣātām* ' . . . *LUN* form of *dā* 'to give''



*adiṣātām* 'ibidem'  
*aśāmiṣātām* '... *LUN* form of causal *śami* 'be tired, quiet''  
*aśamiṣātām* 'ibidem'  
*aśamayīṣātām* 'ibidem'  
*aghāniṣātām* '... *LUN* form of *han* 'to kill''  
*avadhiṣātām* 'ibidem'  
*ahasātām* 'ibidem'  
*agrāhiṣātām* '... *LUN* form of *grah* 'to seize, hold''  
*agrahiṣātām* 'ibidem'  
*adarśiṣātām* '... *LUN* form of *dṛś* 'to see''  
*adrkṣātām* 'ibidem'  
*cāyīṣṭa* 'third singular middle benedictive *LIN* form of *ci* 'to heap''  
*ceṣṣṭa* 'ibidem'  
*dāyīṣṭa* '... benedictive of *dā* 'to give''  
*dāṣṣṭa* 'ibidem'  
*śāmiṣṣṭa* '... of *śami*'  
*śamiṣṣṭa* 'ibidem'  
*śamayīṣṣṭa* 'ibidem'  
*ghāniṣṣṭa* 'of *han*'  
*vadhiṣṣṭa* 'ibidem'  
*grāhiṣṣṭa* '... of *grah*'  
*grahiṣṣṭa* 'ibidem'  
*darśiṣṣṭa* '... of *dṛś*'  
*drkṣṣṭa* 'ibidem'  
*cāyitā* 'third singular *LUT* form of *ci*'  
*celā* 'ibidem'  
*dāyitā* '... of *dā* 'to give''  
*dātā* 'ibidem'  
*śāmitā* '... of causal *śami*'  
*śamitā* 'ibidem'  
*śamayitā* 'ibidem'  
*ghānitā* '... of *han*'  
*hantā* 'ibidem'  
*grahitā* '... of *grah*'  
*grahitā* 'ibidem'  
*darśitā* '... of *dṛś*'  
*darṣṭā* 'ibidem'  
*draṣṭā* 'ibidem'

1. This rule offers operations similar to *CiN*, optionally, along with the introduction of augment *iT*, to verbal roots which end in a vowel in *upadeśa*, or to roots *han*, *grah* and *dṛś*, provided *sya*, *sIC*, *sīyUT* and *tās* follow with the signification of *bhāva* and *karman*. Most of the cited examples are derivatives of *LRT* and *LRN* where augment *aT* is introduced with derivatives of *LRN*.

Additionally, there is no replacement in *e* (*etva*) for *ṭi* (1.1.64 *aco' ntyādi ṭi*). These and derivatives of *LiN* and *LuN* follow operational provisions made for *sIC*, etc., with *ciṇvadbhāva* where applicable. Derivates of *LuT* should present no difficulty.

Note that *ciṇvat* ends in *vatUP*. Consequently, provisions of this rule are extensional (*atidiṣṭa*). There are two ways in which *ciṇvat* can be interpreted to facilitate operations:

- (i) operations which *CiN* conditions and (ii) operations which may or may not be conditioned by *CiN*, but which generally obtain when *CiN* follows.

Commentators state that this second interpretation is generally accepted. Refer to my notes under rule 3.1.87 *karmavat karmanā tulyakriyaḥ* for further details. Note that, in addition to operations listed there, *ciṇvadbhāva* always brings augment *iT*. This *iT*, because of being contained within the section known as *ābhīya*, becomes suspended (*asiddha*).

This rule anticipates *ciṇvadbhāva* 'operations similar to when *CiN* follows'. That is, operations relative to an *aṅga* (*aṅga-kārya*) should be performed before *sya*, *sIC*, *sīyUT* and *tāsI*, in a manner similar to when *CiN* follows. There are basically four operations which are performed before *sya*, *sIC*, etc., under this extensional provision of *ciṇvadbhāva*:

- (i) A *vrddhi* conditioned by affixes marked with *N* as an *it* (*nin-nimittaka*; 7.2.115 *aco' nṇiti* and 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*);
- (ii) Introduction of augment *yUK* (7.3.33 *āto yuk ciṅkṛtoḥ*) to roots which end in *ā*;
- (iii) Replacement in *gh* for the *h* of verbal root *han* (7.3.54 *ho hanter nṇinnesu*) as conditioned by *N* as an *it* in *CiN*;
- (iv) An optional long replacement for the short penultimate of an *aṅga* marked with *M* as an *it* (*mit*; 6.4.93 *ciṇ ṇamulo dīrgho' nyatarasyām*).

The *Mahābhāṣya* summarizes *ciṇvadbhāva* as follows:

*ciṇvad vrddhir yuk ca hanteś ca ghatvaṃ*  
*dīrghaś cokto yo mitām vā ciṇṭi/*  
*iṭ cā' siddhas tena me lupyate nṛ*  
*nityaś cāyaṃ valnimitto vighātī/ /*

'*ciṇvadbhāva* is stated to offer operations similar to *vrddhi*, augment *yUK*, *gh*-replacement (for *h* of *han*) and optional replacement for those which are marked with *M*; since an *iT* which is concurrently introduced with *ciṇvadbhāva* is treated as *asiddha* (6.4.22 *asiddhavad atrābhāt*), rule 6.4.51 *ner anṭi* applies to delete *NiC*. The *iT* of *ciṇvadbhāva* is considered obligatory (*nitya*); the *iT* which is conditioned by an affix beginning with a sound denoted by *vaL* (*valādi-lakṣaṇa*) is considered non-obligatory (*anitya*)'

Note that an operation is called *nitya* if it obtains irrespective of whether or not a competing operation obtains (*kṛtākṛta-prasaṅga*). Introduction of *iṭ*, via *ciṇvadbhāva*, is considered obligatory (*nitya*). Introduction of *iṭ* characterized with a following affix beginning with consonants denoted by *vaL* is considered *anitya*. There are two things which must be remembered in connection with *ciṇvadbhāva* and the obligatory-non-obligatory nature of augment *iṭ*. Firstly, this provision of *ciṇvadbhāva* and introduction of augment *iṭ* is generally accepted as *sanniyogaśiṣṭa* ‘concurrently introduced’. That is, if one is removed the other must also be removed (*sanniyogaśiṣṭānām saha vā pravṛttiḥ saha vā nivṛttiḥ*). Secondly, rule 6.4.62 *syasicsyuf* . . . is optional. It is within this stipulation that *iṭ* of *ciṇvadbhāva* is considered obligatory against the non-obligatory *iṭ* characterized with an affix beginning with a consonant denoted by *vaL*. The *Mahābhāṣya* (ad 6.4.62: *yāvān iṇ nāma sa sarva ārdhadhātukasyaiva bhavati*) clearly specifies the locus of two operations in *ciṇvadbhāva*. That is, *ciṇvadbhāva* is to apply on what is termed an *aṅga*; augment *iṭ* is introduced to *syasicsyuf*, etc. Now consider an illustration. We get two forms, *bhāvitā* and *bhavitā*, which both derive from *bhū* + (*LUT*→*ta*). We get *bhāvitā* via optional *ciṇvadbhāva* which yields *bhū* + *iṭ* + *tās* + *ta* = *bh(ū→au)* + *itās* + *ta*. Obviously, we have the concurrent introduction of *iṭ* to *tās* and *vṛddhi* of the final vowel of *bhū*, the *aṅga*. The *au* and *ta* are then replaced with *āv* (6.1.78 *eco* ‘*yavāyāvah*’) and *Ḍā* (2.4.85 *luṭaḥ prathamasya* . . .), respectively. We thus get *bh(ū→au→āv)* + *itās* + (*Ḍā*) = *bhāv* + *itās* + *ā*. An application of *ṭi*-deletion finally yields *bhāv* + *itā(sā→φ)* = *bhāvitā*. If the option of *ciṇvadbhāva* is not accepted we will get *bhavitā*. Augment *iṭ* is then introduced by 7.3.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*. Of course, an application of *vṛddhi* and subsequent replacement in *āv*, relative to *ciṇvadbhāva*, cannot be availed here.

Now consider *bhāvitā* and *bhāvayitā*, the two causal derivatives of *bhū* + *ṆiC*→*bhāvi*. Given *bhāvi* + (*LAT*→*ta*), we can get the introduction of *iṭ* + *tās*. That is, with the understanding that *bhāvi* ends in a vowel (*ajanta*), i.e., which is *aupadesika* ‘given as part of first citation (*upadeśa*)’. The word *upadeśa* is here interpreted as ‘that which ends in (a vowel) in *upadeśa*’. The straightforward interpretation of ‘a root which ends in a vowel in *upadeśa*’ will create problems. The causal vowel *i* of affix *ṆiC* (3.1.26 *hetumati ca*) in *bhāvi* is what is accepted as *aupadesika* here. Our form *bhāvitā* receives *iṭ*, via *ciṇvadbhāva*. This *iṭ* is considered *asiddha* ‘suspended’ in view of 6.4.51 *ner aniṭi*. These two operations both are contained in the *ābhīya* section with similar operational locus. Hence, deletion of *Ṇi* by 6.4.51 *ner aniṭi* is accomplished. This gives us (*bhāvi*→*φ*) + *tas* + *ta*. We finally get *bhāvitā* with replacement in *Ḍā* and *ṭi*-deletion. In the absence of not accepting *ciṇvadbhāva* we will bring *iṭ* from 7.3.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*. This *iṭ* cannot be accepted as *asiddha* since it is not contained within the *ābhīya* section. We thus do not get the deletion of *ṆiC*. We will thus get the application of *guṇa*

(7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdha* . . .) and replacement in *ay* on: *bhāv(i→e→ay) + iṭ + tās + ta→bhāvay + itā(s + ta→ϕ) = bhāvayitā*. Refer to further derivational details in the appendix.

#### 6.4.63 दीङो युङचि किङिति

*dīno yuḍ aci kṛiti*

/ *dīnaḥ* 5/1 *yuṭ* 1/1 *aci* 7/1 *kṛiti* 7/1/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *ārdhadhātuke* #46)

*dīno yuḍ āgamo bhavati ajātau kṛiti pratyaye parataḥ*

Augment *yUṭ* is introduced to an *aṅga*, namely *dīn*, when a vowel-initial affix marked with *K* or *Ṇ* as an *it* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*upadidiye* 'third singular middle *LIT*-derivate'

*upadidiyāte* 'third dual middle . . .'

*upadidiyire* 'third plural middle . . .'

1. Note that *yUṭ*, an augment marked with *Ṭ* as an *it*, should be introduced at the beginning of *dīN* (cf. 1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau*). But such an introduction is possible only when *dīnaḥ* is interpreted as ending in the genitive (1.1.49 *ṣaṣṭhī sthāneyogā*). It is to facilitate the introduction of *yUṭ* to the following affix beginning with a vowel that *dīnaḥ* is here interpreted as ending in the ablative (*pañcamī*; 1.1.67 *tasmād ity uttarasya*). A genitive interpretation is blocked in favor of the ablative (*ubhayanirdeṣe pañcamīnirdeṣo balīyaḥ* (*pari*: 71)). Thus, consider the third personal middle forms of *LIT* introduced after *dī* used with the preverb *upa*. Recall that the *ta*, *ātām* and *jha* which replace *LIT* are further replaced with *eṢ*, *āte* and *ireC*, respectively. We get *upadidiye*, *upadidiyāte* and *upadidiyire* through iteration (*abhyāsa/ dvitva*), shortening (*hrasva*) and *yUṭ* (3.4.81 *liṭas tajhayor* . . .), introduced before *eṢ*, etc.

Note that augment *yUṭ*, and a replacement in *yaN* of 6.4.82 *er anekācaḥ*, are both contained within this *ābhīya* domain of rules. Commentators state that this *yUṭ* cannot be treated as suspended (*asiddha*) when considering the application of *yaN*. For, that will produce wrong forms such as \**upadidiyire*, etc. Besides, this express provision of *yUṭ* will then become meaningless (*vyartha*). Thus, *yUṭ* cannot be treated as if suspended (*asiddhavat*) when 6.4.82 *er anekācaḥ* . . . applies to cause a replacement in *yaN* (*Kāś*: '*dīnaḥ*' *iti pañcamīnirdeṣād ajāder yuḍ āgamo bhavati. vidhānasāmārthyac ca* 'er *anekācaḥ* . . .') *iti yaṇādeṣe kartarye tasyāsiddhatvaṃ na bhavati*). That is, this application of *yaN* is blocked.

#### 6.4.64 आतो लोप इटि च

*āto lopa iti ca*

/ātaḥ 6/1 loṇaḥ 1/1 iṭi 7/1 ca φ/

(aṅgasya #1 ārdhadhātuke #46 aci kṛiti #63)

idyajādāv ārdhadhātuke kṛiti cākārāntasyaṅgasya lopo bhavati

The final vowel of an aṅga ending in ā is deleted by means of LOPA when an ārdhadhātuka affix beginning with augment iṭ, or one which begins with a vowel and is marked with K or Ñ as an it, follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

papitha 'second person singular active LIT of pā 'to drink''

papatuḥ 'third person dual active LIT of pā'

papuḥ 'third person plural ...'

tasthita 'second person singular active LIT of sthā 'to stand''

tasthatuḥ 'third person dual ...'

tasthuḥ 'third person plural ...'

godāḥ 'giver of cow'

kambaladaḥ 'giver of blanket'

pradā 'gift, giving generously'

pradhā 'oblations, placing with great care'

1. This rule allows deletion of the final ā of an aṅga when an ārdhadhātuka affix either augmented with iṭ, or beginning with a vowel and marked with K and Ñ as an it, follows. A specification with iṭ is made separately to also allow this deletion before an ārdhadhātuka affix not marked with K and Ñ as an it. Now consider the second person active singular LIT forms of pā and sthā. Recall that siP is further replaced here with thaL (3.4.82 *parasmai-padānām* . . .). We get *papā + i + tha* and *tasthā + i + tha*, after iteration, operations relative to *abhyāsa* and introduction of argument iṭ (7.2.63 *ṛto bhāradvājasya*). The ā-deletion of this rule thus produces *papitha* and *tasthita*. Refer to derivational details of *papatuḥ* and *papuḥ* in the appendix of 1.1.59 *dvir vacane* ci. Rule 3.2.3 *āto* *nupasarge kaḥ* introduces affix *Ka* in deriving *godā* and *kambalada*. Affix *aÑ* is similarly introduced by 3.3.106 *ātaś copasarge* in deriving *pradā* and *pradhā*. These are both derivatives of *TāP*, introduced after deletion of ā.

2. *Kāśikā* offers *yānti* 'they go' and *vātni* '... move' as counter-examples to the condition of *ārdhadhātuke*. Recall that *ti* is an affix termed *sārvadhātuka*. Similar counter-examples are offered in *vyatyare* and *vyatyale*, the first person singular derivatives of *LAN* signifying reciprocal action (*karmavyatihāra*). Since there is no *ārdhadhātuka* affix to follow, the ā (of *rā* and *lā*) and *i* (of affix *i*) receive a single replacement in *guṇa*. This ā-deletion can also not be possible in *glāyate* and *dāsiya* where the condition of *ajādi* 'vowel-initial' cannot be met.

#### 6.4.65 ईद्यति

īd yati

/ī 1/1 yati 7/1/

(aṅgasya #1 ātaḥ #64)

ikāra ādeśo bhavati ākārāntasyāṅgasya

The final ā of an aṅga is replaced with ī when affix yaT follows.

EXAMPLES:

deyam '... to be given'

dheyam '... to be placed'

heyam '... to be discarded'

steyam 'theft; stealing'

1. This rule offers īT as a replacement for the aṅga-final ā when affix yaT follows. Note that *deyam*, etc., are derivatives of yaT. Refer to derivational details of *geyam* in the appendix (III: 729) of 3.1.97 *aco yat*.

6.4.66 घुमास्थागापाजहातिसां हलि

ghumāsthāgāpājahātisām hali

/ghu-mā-sthā-gā-pā-jahāti-sām 6/3 (itar. dv.) hali 7/1/

(aṅgasya #1 ārdhadhātuke #46 kṛiti #63 īt #65)

ghu-samjñakānām aṅgānām 'mā, sthā, gā, pā, jahāti, sā' ity eteṣām halādaḥ  
kṛiti pratyaye parata ikārādeśo bhavati

The final sound segment of an aṅga, namely one which is termed *ghu*, or one which is constituted by *mā* 'to measure', *sthā* 'to stand', *gā* (*gai*) 'to sing', *pā* 'to drink', *hā* 'to abandon' and *sā* (*so*) 'to destroy', is replaced with ī, when an ārdhadhātuka affix beginning with a consonant, and marked with K or Ñ as an *it*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

dīyate 'third singular passive LAT of dā 'to give' with affix yaK denoting *karman* 'object'

dedīyate '... with verbal root dā ending in yaÑ'

dhīyate 'third singular passive LAT of dhā 'to place'

dedhīyate '... with verbal root dhā ending in yaÑ'

mīyate 'it is measured (with yaK denoting object)'

memīyate '... with verbal root mā ending in yaÑ'

sthīyate 'third singular LAT of sthā with yaK'

teṣthīyate '... with verbal root sthā ending in yaÑ'

gīyate 'third singular LAT with yaK denoting object'

jegīyate '... with verbal root gā ending in yaÑ'

adhyagīṣṭa 'third singular middle LUN-derivate of adhi-i 'to study diligently'

adhyagīṣātām 'third dual middle LUN...'

adhyagīṣata 'third plural middle...'

*pīyate* 'third singular middle *LAṬ* of *pā* 'to drink' where *yaK* denotes object'

*pepīyate* '... with verbal root *pā* ending in *yaK*'

*hīyate* '... verbal root *hā* with *yaK*; '... is abandoned''

*jehīyate* '... with verbal root *hā* ending in *yaN*'

*avasīyate* '... is destroyed; *ava-so* + (*LAṬ*→*te*) with *yaK*'

*avasesīyate* '... with verbal root *so* ending in *yaN*'

1. This rule allows *ī* as a replacement for an *aṅga*-final *ā*, provided the *aṅga* is either termed *ghu* (1.1.20 *dādhāghv adāp*), or is constituted by *mā* (*meN*, *sthā*, *gā*, *pā*, *hā* (of *jahāti*)) and *sā*. Additionally, the following suffix must begin with a consonant and must be marked with *K* or *N* as an *it*. Thus, consider *diyate* and *dhiyate* where *ta* replaces *LAṬ* with the denotatum of *karman*, and *yaK* (3.1.67 *sārvadhātuke yak*) is introduced. Verbal roots *dā* and *dhā* are termed *ghu* and their *ā* is replaced with *ī*, under the condition of *yaK*. Note that *yaK* is marked with *K* and begins with a consonant (*halādi*). The consonant initial affix in *dedīyate* is *yaN* (3.1.22 *dhātor ekāco*...). Thus, *dā* + *yaK*→*dī* + *yaK*, etc. Refer to full derivational details of similar forms under the appendix of 3.1.22 *dhātor ekāco*... Similar rules apply in deriving *mīyate*, *memīyate*, *pīyate*, *pepīyate*, etc. Derivational details of *adhyagīṣṭa*, etc., can be found under the appendix of 1.2.1 *gāṅkūtādibhyo*... Operations relative to *dvitva* 'iteration' and *abhyāsa*, particularly retention of *khaR* (7.4.61 *śarpūrāvāḥ khayah*) in *teṣṭhiya* and replacement with *jaṢ* in *gigīya*→*jegīya*, should pose no problem. Refer to many example derivatives under 1.2.1 *gāṅkūtādi*..., etc., and also rules dealing with *dvitva* (6.1.1 *ekāco dve*...) and *abhyāsa* (6.1.4 *pūrvō bhyāsah*). Note that verbal root *ṣo* gets its *ṣ* replaced with *s* (6.1.64 *dhātuvādeḥ*...). It further receives *ā* as a replacement for *o* (6.1.45 *ādeca*...).

Note that *mā* refers to three verbal roots: *mā*, *meN* and *māN*. A similar reference with *gā* is made to *gāN*, *gai* and *gā*. Verbal roots *pā* 'to drink' and *Ohāk* 'to abandon' alone are referred to by *pā* and *hā*.

2. *Kāśikā* illustrates the conditions of *halī* with *dadatuḥ*/*daduḥ* and *dātā*/*dhātā*, respectively. Affixes *atus* and *us* do not allow *ā* of *dā* to be replaced with *ī* since they begin with a vowel. Affix *tṛC* of *dātā* and *dhātā* is marked with *C*, as against the required *K* and *N*.

Note that *halī* of this rule also serves as an indicator (*jñāpaka*). That is, its use indicates that *vipratīṣedha* applies in this section of *ābhiya* rules. Thus, this rule finds its independent scope in deriving *diyate* and *dhiyate* with *ī* as a replacement. Rule 6.4.64 *āto lopa*... finds its scope in *yayau* and *yayuh* to delete *ā* of *yā*. These two rules both find their scope in *dadatuḥ* and *daduḥ*. If *halī* was not used here, *ī*-replacement could have blocked *ā*-deletion on the basis of *paratva* (1.4.2 *vipratīṣedhe*...). One can argue here that the question of *vipratīṣedha* arises only when both rules are not *asiddha*. Both these rules, because of their inclusion in this section, are *asiddha*. Thus, the ques-

tion of *vipratishedha* does not arise. But since Pāṇini uses *hali* with the express purpose of only allowing *ī* before a consonant-initial affix, *hali* has been used to block deletion on the basis of *vipratishedha* 'conflict of equal strength'. That is, *vipratishedha* obtains in this section of *ābhīya* rules. For, if one does not accept *vipratishedha*, *itva* will not find its scope. That is, a specification with *hali* to block *vipratishedha* will not be needed.

#### 6.4.67 एलिङि

*er līṇi*

/eh 6/1 līṇi 7/1/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *ārdhadhātuke* #46 *kniti* #63 *ghumāsthāgāpājahātisām* #66)  
*ghumāsthāgāpājahātisām aṅgānām līṇi parata ekārādeṣo bhavati*

The final sound segment of an *aṅga*, namely one which is termed *ghu*, or one which is constituted by *mā*, *sthā*, *gā*, *pā*, *hā* and *sā*, is replaced with *e*, when a *LIN* affix termed *ārdhadhātuka* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*deyāt* 'third singular active *LIN* (benedictive)

derivate of *dā* 'to give'

*meyāt* '... of *māN* 'to measure'

*dheyāt* '... of *dhā* 'to place'

*stheyāt* '... of *sthā* 'to stand'

*geyāt* '... of *gai* 'to sing'

*peyāt* '... of *pā* 'to drink'

*avaseyāt* '... of *so* used with *ava*'

*dāsīṣṭa* 'third singular middle *LIN* (benedictive)

derivate of *dā* 'to give'

*dhāsīṣṭa* 'third singular middle *LIN* (benedictive) derivate of *dhā* 'to place'

1. This rule allows a replacement in *e* for the final *ā* of *ghu* and *mā*, etc., when an *ārdhadhātuka* replacement of *LIN* marked with *K* and *N* as an *it* follows. Recall that 3.4.116 *līnāśiṣi* assigns the term *ārdhadhātuka* to a *tiN* which replaces *LIN*. Rule 3.4.104 *kid āśiṣi* extends *kit*-status to augment *yāsUT* which, in turn, is introduced to an active (*parasmaipada*) replacement of *LIN*. Example derivates are all given for verbal roots which are active (*parasmaipada*). Examples for a following affix marked with *N* are impossible (*asambhava*) to find.

#### 6.4.68 वाऽन्यस्य संयोगादेः

*vā' nyasya saṃyogādeḥ*

/vā φ anyasya 6/1 saṃyogādeḥ 6/1 = saṃyogasya ādir yaḥ (bv.), tasya/



(aṅgasya #1 ārdhadhātuke #46 ātaḥ #64 er līni #67)

ghvādibhyo' nyasya saṃyogāder ākārāntasya vā ekārādeṣo bhavati līni parataḥ  
The final sound segment of an *aṅga* which is not specified here with *ghu*, etc., and which begins with a conjunct and ends in *ā*, is optionally replaced with *e* when a *LIN* affix termed *ārdhadhātuka* and marked with *K* or *Ṇ* as an *it* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*gleyāt* 'third singular active *LIN* (benedictive) derivate of *glai* 'to be glum''

*glāyāt* 'ibidem'

*mleyāt* 'third singular active benedictive (*LIN*) derivate of *mlai* 'to fade away, be sad''

*mlāyāt* 'ibidem'

1. This rule offers *e* as an optional replacement for roots which begin with a conjunct (*saṃyogādi*) and end in *ā*, but which are not covered by the specification of *ghu*, etc. The condition of a *LIN*-replacement termed *ārdhadhātuka* is still valid. The condition of *kniti* is also valid. Thus, we get *gleyāt*/*glāyāt*, *mleyāt*/*mlāyāt*, etc. Recall that *ai* of *glai* and *mlai* is replaced with *ā* (6.145 *ādeca upadeṣe* . . .). The exclusion of *ghu*, etc., is made in view of the obligatory (*nitya*) application of the preceding rule.

#### 6.4.69 न ल्यपि

*na lyapi*

/na φ lyapi 7/1/

(aṅgasya #1 ghumāsthāgāpājahātisām #66)

*lyapi pratyaye parato ghumāsthāgāpājahātisām yad uktaṃ tan na bhavati*  
That which is stated for an *aṅga* termed *ghu*, or one constituted by *mā*, *sthā*, *gā*, *pā*, *hā* and *sā*, does not become operative when *LyaP* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*pradāya* 'after having given'

*pradhāya* 'after having placed'

*pramāya* 'after having measured'

*prasthāya* 'after having started'

*pragāya* 'after having praised'

*prapāya* 'after having drunk'

*prahāya* 'after having abandoned'

*avasāya* 'after having destroyed'

1. The *ī*-replacement of 6.4.66 *ghumāsthā* . . . is here negated when *LyaP* follows. The question of negating a replacement in *e* does not arise since

that requires *LIÑ*. Recall that *LyaP* is a replacement of *Ktvā* (7.1.37 *samāse' nañ* . . .), treated as marked with *Kvia sthānivadbhāva*.

#### 6.4.70 मयतेरिदन्यतरस्याम्

*mayater id anyatarasyām*

/matayeh 6/1 it 1/1 anyatarasyām 7/1/

(*aṅasya* #1 *lyapi* #69)

*mayater aṅasya ikārādeśo bhavati lyapi parato' nyatarasyām*

The final sound segment of an *aṅga*, namely *meÑ*, is replaced optionally with *i* when affix *LyaP* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*apamitya* 'having exchanged after . . .'

*apamāya* 'ibidem'

1. Note that *mayateh* here specifies verbal root *meÑ* 'to exchange, barter' as an *aṅga*. This rule offers *i* as an optional replacement for the *ā* of *m(e→ā = mā)*. Of course, when *LyaP* follows. The *Ktvā* which subsequently gets replaced by *LyaP* is introduced in example derivatives by 3.4.19 *udācām māno* . . . A replacement in *i* also brings augment *tUK* (6.1.71 *hrasvasya pitikṛiti* . . .). Thus, *apamitya* and *apamāya*.

#### 6.4.71 लुङलान्लृङक्ष्वदुदात्तः

*luṅlaṅlṛṅkṣu aḍ udāttaḥ*

/luṅ-laṅ-lṛṅkṣu7/3 (*itar. dv.*) aḍ 1/1 udāttaḥ 1/1)

(*aṅasya* #1)

'*luṅ, laṅ, lṛṅ*' ity *eteṣu parato' ṅasyāḍ āgamo bhavati udāttaś ca sa bhavati* Augment *aḍ*, concurrently marked *udātta*, is introduced to an *aṅga* when affixes *LUN*, *LAN* and *LRN* follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*akārṣit* 'he made'

*ahārṣit* 'he carried, fetched'

*akarot* 'he did'

*aharat* 'he carried, fetched'

*akarīṣyat* 'he had done'

*aharīṣyat* 'he had carried, fetched'

1. This rule introduces the *udātta* augment *aḍ* to an *aṅga* when *LUN*, *LAN* and *LRN* follow. Refer to derivational details of *akārṣit* and *ahārṣit* under the appendix of rule 1.1.1 *vrddhir ādaic*. Derivational details of *akarīṣyat* and *aharīṣyat* can be found under 1.4.13 *yasmāt pratyayavidhis* . . . (II: 511). Refer to the appendix of 3.2.111 *anadyatane laṅ* for derivational details of

*akarot*. This same also applies to *aharat* where *ŚaP* is introduced before *tīP* as *vikaraṇa*.

#### 6.4.72 आडजादीनाम्

*āḍ ajādīnām*

/āṭ 1/1 *ajādīnām* 6/3 = *ac ādir yeṣām* (*bu.*), *teṣām*/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *luṇlaṇlṛṅkṣu udāttaḥ* #71)

*āḍ āgamo bhavaty ajādīnām luṇlaṇlṛṅkṣu parataḥ; udāttaś ca sa bhavati*

Augment *āT*, with concurrent marking of *udātta*, is introduced to an *aṅga* which begins with a vowel (*aC*) when affixes *LUN*, *LAN* and *LRN* follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*aikṣiṣṭa* 'third singular middle *LUN*-derivate of *ikṣ* 'to see, perceive''

*aihiṣṭa* '... of *ih* 'to desire, strive''

*aubjūt*

*aumbhūt*

*aikṣata* 'third singular middle *LAN* form of *ikṣ*'

*aihata* '... of *ih*'

*aubjata* 'third singular active *LAN* form of *ubj* 'to subdue, be straight''

*aumbhata* '... of *umbh* 'to confine, fill''

*aikṣiṣyata* 'third singular middle *LRN* form of *ikṣ*'

*aihiṣyata* '... of *ih*'

*aubjīsyata* '... *ubj*'

*aumbhīsyata* '... of *umbh*'

1. This rule introduces an *udātta* augment *āT* to an *aṅga* which begins with a vowel. The right condition of *LUN*, etc., is still valid. Refer to my notes under 6.1.90 *ātaś ca* for derivational details of many of these examples.

Note that *aījyata*, *aūpyata* and *auhyata* are derivatives of *LAN* introduced after *yaj*, *vap* and *vah*. Given *yaj* + (*LAN*→*ta*), etc., we get *yaj* + *yaK* + *ta*, etc., with the introduction of *yaK* (3.1.67 *sārvadhātuke yak*). Recall that augment *āT* is accepted an *anitya* 'non-obligatory' as compared with *lādeśa* 'replacements of *LA*', *vikaraṇa* and *samprasāraṇa*. Thus, *ta* replaces *LAN* before *āT* on the basis of being internally conditioned (*antarāṅga*). The *vikaraṇa*, i.e., *yaK*, is obligatory (*nitya*; *Paribh.*(44): *śabdāntarasya prāpnuvan vidhir anityo bhavati*). Consequently, it applies before *āT*. That is, *āT* is introduced to an *aṅga* qualified with the introduction of *vikaraṇa*. This renders *āT* as non-obligatory. A conflict is also witnessed between the application of *samprasāraṇa* and introduction of *āT*. Since *samprasāraṇa* is *nitya*, as compared with the introduction of *āT*, *samprasāraṇa* applies first. This is how (*yaj* + *ya* + *ta*, etc., produce *ij* + *ya* + *ta*, etc., which, after the introduction of *āT*, produce *aījyata*, etc., through *vrddhi* (6.1.90 *ātaś ca*). Refer to the appendix for further derivational details.

## 6.4.73 छन्दस्यपि दृश्यते

*chandasy api dṛśyate*

/ *chandasi* 7/1 *api*  $\phi$  *dṛśyate* (verbal *pada*) /

(*aṅgasya* #1 *udāttaḥ* #71 *āt* #72)

*chandasi viṣaye ād āgamo dṛśyate*

Augment *āT*, concurrently marked with *udātta*, is also seen in the Vedic.

## EXAMPLES:

*surucó vena āvaḥ*

*ānak* 'third singular active *LUN* form of *naś* 'to perish''

*āyunak* 'third singular active *LUN* of *yuj* 'to yoke''

1. This rule informs that *āT* is also found elsewhere in the Vedic usage. That is, *āT* is also seen in contexts where an *aṅga* does not begin with a vowel (*Kāś*: *anajādīnām api dṛśyate*).

Note that *āvaḥ* is a derivate of *LUN*→*tiP*, where *i* of *vṛ* goes through *guṇa* and *CLI*, before *LUN*, is deleted (2.4.80 *mantrē* . . .). Augment *āT* is then introduced to produce *āvar* + *ti* which, after the deletion of *ti* and *r*→*h*, yields *āvaḥ*. Deriving *ānak*, from (*n*→*n*)*aś* + *LUN*→*naś* + *CLI* + *ti*→*āT* + *naś* + *ti*, will involve *kutva* (8.2.63 *naśer vā*). Thus, *āna*(*ś*→*k*) = *ānak*. Similar rules apply in deriving *āyunak* from *yuj* + *LUN*. Recall, however, that the *vikaraṇa* is *ŚnaM* (3.1.78 *rudhādibhyaḥ śnam*). The *j* of *yuj* goes through *kutva* (8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ*) followed by *cartva* (8.4.56 *vā* 'vasāne').

## 6.4.74 न माङ्योगे

*na māṅyoge*

/ *na*  $\phi$  *mān-yoge* 7/1 = *māno yogaḥ* (*śāś. tat.*), *tasmin* /

(*aṅgasya* #1 *luṇlaṇlṛṅkṣu aḍ udāttaḥ* #71 *āt* #72)

*māṅyoge luṇlaṇlṛṅkṣu yad uktaṃ tan na bhavati*

Augments *aT* and *āT* which are stated when affixes *LUN*, *LAN* and *LRN* follow an *aṅga* do not become operative in connection with *māN* 'not'.

## EXAMPLES:

*mā bhavān kārṣīt* 'do not do (it)'

*mā bhavān hārṣīt* 'do not fetch (it)'

*mā sma karot* 'he did not do'

*mā sma harat* 'he did not carry'

*mā bhavān ihiṣṭa* 'do not try'

*mā bhavān iḁṣṭa* 'do not see'

*mā sma bhavān ihata* 'you did not strive'

*mā sma bhavān iḁsata* 'you did not understand'

1. This rule does not allow augments  $aT$  and  $\bar{a}T$  when  $LUN$ ,  $LAN$  and  $LRN$  follow and the root is used in conjunction with  $māN$ . Thus,  $mā bhavān kārṣīt$  and  $mā bhavān hārṣīt$ , where 3.3.175  $māni luñ$  introduces  $LUN$ . Affix  $LUN$  is similarly introduced after  $kṛ$  and  $hṛ$  in  $mā sma karot$  and  $mā sma harat$ . Other examples of  $LUN$  and  $LAN$  are  $ihiṣṭa/iḥṣiṣṭa$ ; and  $ihata/iḥṣata$ , respectively. These derivatives all follow patterns of  $LUN$  and  $LAN$ , except for introduction of  $aT$

#### 6.4.75 बहुलं छन्दस्यमाङ्योऽपि

*bahulam chandasy amānyoge' pi*

/bahulam 1/1 chandasi 7/1 amān-yoge = na mānyoge (nañ. with int. *ṣaṣ. tat.*); *api*  $\phi$ /

(*aṅgasya* #1 *luñlanñriḥṣu aḍ udāttah* #71 *āt* #72 *na mānyoge* #74)

*chandasi viṣaye mānyoge' pi bahulam aḍātau bhavataḥ*

Augments  $aT$  and  $\bar{a}T$  are introduced variously in the Vedic even when there is, or is not, any connection with  $māN$ .

#### EXAMPLES:

*janiṣṭhaā ugrāh* 'has been born . . .'

*kāmāmūnayīh* ' . . . has decreased'

*mā vaḥ kṣetre parabījānyavāpsuḥ mā bhitthāh*

. . . *bījāny avāpsuḥ* ' . . . procured'

*mā āvaḥ*

1. Note that *amānyoge' api* makes the *bāhulaka* provision rather wide. That is, in the Vedic, we find  $aT$  and  $\bar{a}T$  variously when  $māN$  is used in conjunction. They are also, variously, not found when  $māN$  does not occur in conjunction. Consider *janiṣṭhāh* where  $māN$  does not occur but no augment is introduced. Thus, *jan* +  $iT$  + *sIC* + ( $LUN \rightarrow thās$ ) = *janiṣṭhāh*, through  $s \rightarrow ṣ$  (*ṣatva*),  $t \rightarrow ṭ$  (*ṣṭutva*) and  $s \rightarrow r \rightarrow h$ . Refer to the appendix of 3.1.51 *nonayati* . . . for derivational details of *ūnayīh* and *ardayit*. Note that *abhitthāh* receives  $aT$  even when it is used in conjunction with  $māN$ . It goes through deletion of *sIC* by 8.2.26 *jhalo jhali*. Follow the derivational pattern of *kārṣuḥ* (under 3.1.51 *nonayati* . . .) for deriving *avāpsuḥ*.

#### 6.4.76 इरयो रे

*irayo re*

/irayaḥ 6/2 re (1/1 deleted)/

(*bahulam chandasi* #75)

'*ire*' *ity etasya chandasi viṣaye bahulam 're' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*

The form *ire*, in the Vedic, is variously replaced with *re*.

## EXAMPLES:

*garbhām prathamam dādhrā āpāh*  
*yāṣ' sya paridadhre*  
*paridadṛṣre*

1. This rule allows *re* to replace *ire* in the Vedic variously. Note that *ire* refers to *ireC*, itself a replacement of *jha* (3.4.81 *liṭas thayayor* . . .). Thus, consider *paridadhre*, from *paridhā* + (*LIT*→*jha*)→*paridhā* + (*jha*→*ireC*) = *paridhā* + *ire*, where deletion *ā* (6.4.64 *āto lopa iṭi ca*) is accomplished eventhough *re* replaces *ire*. This is done in view of *re* being *asiddha* (6.4.22 *asiddhavad atrābhāt*).

2. A question is raised against *irayoh* in dual. Why did Pāṇini not use *ire* in singular? Commentators state that *re* may become *ire* when *iṭ* (7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*) is introduced. It is to ensure that *re* alone replaces *jha*→*ire* and *iṭ* + *re* that *ire* is specified in the dual. Consider *cakrire* 'they have made' as an example of *iṭ* + *re*.

## 6.4.77 अचि णुधातुभुवां य्वोरियङ्वडौ

*aci śnudhātubhruvām yvor iyaṇuvaṇau*  
 / *aci* 7/1 *śnu* -*dhātu*-*bhruvām* 6/3 = *śnuś ca dhātuś ca bhrūś ca* (*itar. dv.*),  
*teṣām; yvoḥ* 6/2 = *iś ca uś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoh; iyaṇ-uvaṇau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*) /  
 (*aṅsya* #1)

*śnupratyayāntasya aṅsya dhātor ivarṇavarṇāntasya 'bhrū' ity etasya caṇ*  
*'iyaṇ, uvaṇ' ity etāv ādeṣau bhavato' jādau pratyaye parataḥ*

The final *i* and *u* of an *aṅa* which ends in affix *Śnu*, or is constituted by a root ending in *i* and *u*, or else, is constituted by *bhrū*, is replaced with *iyAṆ* and *uvAṆ*, respectively, when an affix beginning with a vowel (*aC*) follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*āpnuvanti* 'they obtain'  
*rādhnuvanti* 'they accomplish'  
*śaknuvanti* 'they are able to do'  
*cikṣiyatuḥ* 'those (two) wasted away'  
*cikṣiyuḥ* 'they wasted away'  
*luluvatuḥ* 'those (two) have cut'  
*luluvuḥ* 'they have cut'  
*niyau* 'nominative dual *KvIP* derivate of *nī* 'to lead''  
*niyaḥ* 'nominative plural . . .'  
*luvau* 'nominative dual *KvIP* derivate of *lū* 'to cut''  
*luvaḥ* 'nominative plural . . .'  
*bhruvau* 'nominative singular *KvIP* derivate of *bhrū*'  
*bhruvaḥ* 'nominative plural . . .'

1. This rule introduces *iyāṆ* and *uvāṆ*, respectively, as replacements for the final *i* and *u* (1.1.51 *alo' ntyasya*) of (i) an *aṅga* which may end in *śnu*, (ii) a root which may end in *i* and *u*, and (iii) verbal root *bhrū*, when a vowel-initial affix follows. Note that *yvoḥ* could be construed only as an adjective to roots ending in *i* and *u*. For, it cannot refer to *śnu* and *bhrū* as they end in *u*.

Consider *āp* + *śnu* + (*LAṬ*→*jh*→*ant*) *i* = *āpnuvanti*, where a replacement in *iyāṆ* for *u* is blocked in favor of *uvāṆ*. This same also happens in *rādhnuvanti* and *śaknuvanti*. Refer to the appendix for full derivational details of examples.

#### 6.4.78 अभ्यासस्यासवर्णे

*abhyāsasyāsavarṇe*

/ *abhyāsasya* 6/1 *asavarṇe* 7/1 (*nañ.*) /

(*aṅgasya* #1 *aci yvor iyañnuvaṇau* #77)

*abhyāsasyevamṇovamṇāntasyāsavarṇe* 'ci *parata* 'iyañ *uvan*' ity *etāv ādeśau bhavataḥ*

The final sound segment of an *abhyāsa* which, in an *aṅga*, ends in *i* and *u*, is replaced with *iyāṆ* and *uvāṆ* when a non-homogeneous (*asavarṇa*) vowel (*aC*) follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*iyeṣa* 'he has desired'

*uvoṣa* 'he has burnt'

*iyartti* 'he goes'

1. This rule allows a replacement in *iyāṆ* and *uvāṆ* for the final *i* and *u* of an *abhyāsa* when a non-homogeneous vowel follows. Consider *iyeṣa* and *uvoṣa* which derives from *iṣ* + (*LIT*→*tiP*→*NaL*) and *uṣ* + (*LIT*→*tiP*→*NaL*). Given *iṣ* + *a* and *uṣ* + *a*, we get *eṣ* + *a* and *oṣ* + *a* through *guṇa* of the short penultimate vowel (6.2.88 *pugantalaḥpādhasya ca*). Operations related to iteration (*dvitva*) are then performed by accepting *e* and *o* of *eṣ* and *oṣ* as if they were *i* and *u*, via *sthānivadbhāva*. This produces *i* + *eṣ* and *u* + *oṣ* which, after a replacement in *iyāṆ* and *uvāṆ*, yield (*i*→*iyāṆ*) + *eṣ* + *a* and (*u*→*uvāṆ*) + *oṣ* + *a*. Thus, *iy* + *eṣ* + *a* = *iyeṣa* and *uv* + *oṣ* + *a* = *uvoṣa*. Now consider *iyartti* which is a third singular *LAṬ*-derivate of *ṛ* 'to go'. Given *ṛ* + *ŚaP* + *tiP*→*ṛ* + *ŚLU* + *ti* where *ŚaP* goes through deletion by *ŚLU*, we get *ṛ* + *ṛ* + *ti*, via iteration (*dvitva*). The *ṛ* of the *abhyāsa* is then replaced by *a*, with a following *ṛ* (7.4.65 *ur at*; 1.1.51 *ur aṇ raparaḥ*). The *r* which follows *a*, however, is deleted by 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*. The *a* of *i* + *ṛ* + *ti* is then replaced with *i* (7.4.77 *arttipartyoś ca*) to yield: (*i*→*a*) + *ar* + *ti*. This rule then replaces *i* with *iyāṆ* to produce (*i*→*iy*) + *ar* + *ti* = *iyartti*.

Note that this replacement in *iyāṆ* and *uvāṆ* cannot be accomplished if the *abhyāsa* is followed by a vowel homogeneous with it. Thus, consider *iṣatuḥ*/

*iṣuḥ* and *ūṣatuḥ/ūṣuḥ*, both derivatives of *atus* and *us*. The *i* and *u* of *i + iṣ + atus* and *u + uṣ + atus*, etc., cannot be replaced with *iyāṆ* and *uvāṆ* because *i* and *u* of the *abhyāsa* are followed by homogeneous *i* and *u*. *Kāśikā* offers *iyāja* and *uvāpa* as counter-examples to show that *iyāṆ* and *uvāṆ*, in the context of this rule, can only replace an *abhyāsa* when what follows also begins with a vowel.

#### 6.4.79 स्त्रियाः

*striyāḥ*

/ *striyāḥ* 6/1/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *aci iyaṇ* #77)

'*strī*' *ity etasyājādaḥ pratyaye parata iyaṇādeśo bhavati*

The final sound segment of an *aṅga*, namely *strī*, is replaced with *iyāṆ* when an affix beginning with a vowel follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*strī* 'nominative singular of *strī* 'woman'

*striyau* 'nominative dual . . .'

*striyāḥ* 'nominative plural . . .'

1. This rule allows *iyāṆ* as a replacement for the final *ī* of *strī* when a vowel-initial affix follows. Note that *strīṇām* does not involve a replacement in *iyāṆ*. It, instead, requires introduction of augment *nUT* (7.1.54 *hrasvanadyāpo nuṭ*), which, for reasons of being subsequent (*para*) in order (*paratvāt*), blocks (1.4.2 *vipratīṣedhe . . .*) *iyāṆ* (*Kāś*: '*strīṇām*' *ity atra paratvān nuḍ āgamaḥ*). This being the case, we do not get a vowel-initial affix to follow.

2. How come this rule was not formulated along with the following? A separate formulation of this rule is intended to block the *anuvṛtti* of *dhāturbhruvoḥ* in the following rule (*Kāś*: *prthag yogakaraṇam uttarārtham*).

#### 6.4.80 वाष्वासोः

*vā aṃśasoh*

/ *vā*  $\phi$  *aṃ-śasoh* 7/2 = *am ca śas ca* = *aṃśasau* (*itar. dv.*) *tayoh/*

*ami śasi parataḥ striyā vā iyaṇādeśo bhavati*

The final sound segment of an *aṅga*, namely *strī*, is replaced with *iyāṆ*, only optionally, when affixes *am* and *śas* follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*strīm paśya* 'accusative singular of *strī*

*striyam paśya* 'ibidem'

*strīḥ paśya* 'accusative plural . . .'

*striyāḥ paśya* 'ibidem'



1. This rule allows *iyAṆ* and *uvAṆ*, only optionally, when affixes *am* and *Śas* follow. This option is available against a single replacement of *ī* + *a* similar to *ī*, when *am* follows (6.1.103 *ami pūrvah*). It is made against the *pūrvasavarnādīrgha* 'long replacement homogeneous with what precedes in a sequence' when *Śas* follows. Thus, we get two forms: *striyam/strīm* and *striyah/strīh*.

#### 6.4.81 इणो यण्

*iṇo yaṇ*

/iṇaḥ 6/1 yaṇ 1/1/

(aṅgasya #1 aci #77)

*iṇo' ṅgasya yaṇādeśo bhavati aci parataḥ*

The final vowel of an *aṅga* constituted by verbal root *iṆ* 'to go' is replaced with *yaṆ* when an affix beginning with a vowel follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*yanti* 'they go'

*yantu* 'they may go'

*āyan* 'they went'

1. Note that this rule is an exception to replacement in *iyaṆ*. Thus, an *aṅga* constituted by verbal root *iṆ* 'to go' gets its *i* replaced with *yaṆ*, when a vowel follows (*aci*). Recall that an exception read in between operations only blocks preceding operations, and not any subsequent. This replacement in *yaṆ* will thus block *iyaṆ*, but cannot block *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* which follow. Commentators cite *yanti*←(*i* + (ŚaP→ϕ) + (LAT→tiP)) and *yantu*←(*i* + (ŚaP→ϕ) + (LAT→antu)) as examples where *yaṆ* finds its independent scope. They cite *cayanam* 'heaping' and *cāyakaḥ* 'he who heaps' as examples for independent scope of *guṇa* and *vṛddhi*. They state that *ayanam* 'return' and *āyakaḥ* 'he who returns' may entail *yaṆ* and *guṇa-vṛddhi* both. They state that *yaṆ* is blocked here by *guṇa* ((*i*→e) + (LyuṬ→ana)) = *ayana* and *vṛddhi* (*i* + *NvuL* = *āyaka*) on the basis of *paratva*. Incidentally, *āyan* derives from *āṬ* + *i* + (LAN→(*jh*→*ant*)*i*) where *jh* is replaced with *ant* (7.1.3 *jho' ntaḥ*) with subsequent deletion of the final of the conjunct (8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopah*). Augment *āṬ* is introduced by 6.4.72 *āṭ ajādīnām* on the basis of the vowel-initial root as well as *asiddhatva* 'suspension'.

#### 6.4.82 एरनेकाचोऽसंयोगपूर्वस्य

*er anekāco' saṃyogapūrvasya*

/eḥ 6/1 anekācaḥ 6/1 = *na ekaḥ* = *anekaḥ* (*nañ. tat.*); *aneko'c yasmin sa* (*bu.*), *tasmin*; *avidyamānaḥ saṃyogah pūrvō yasmāt* (*bu.*), *tasya/* (*aṅgasya* #1 *aci dhātoḥ* #77 *yaṇ* #81)

*dhātor avayavaḥ saṃyogaḥ pūrvo yasmād ivarṇān na bhavaty asāu asaṃyogapūrvah, tadantasyāṅgasyānekāco' ci parato yaṇādeśo bhavati*

An *aṅga* which consists of more than one vowel and ends in an *i*, where *i* is not preceded by a conjunct (*saṃyoga*) contained within a verbal root, is replaced with *yaṇ*, when an affix beginning with a vowel follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*ninyatuḥ* 'those two led'

*ninyuḥ* 'they led'

*unnyau* 'nominative dual of *unnī* 'leader''

*unnyah* 'nominal plural . . .'

*grāmaṇyau* 'nominative singular of *grāmaṇī* 'village leader''

*grāmaṇyah* 'nominative plural . . .'

1. This rule allows *yaṇ* as a replacement for the final *i* of an *aṅga* which ends in *i*, provided *aC* follows, and *i* is not preceded by a conjunct contained within the *dhātu*. Note that *dhātoḥ* is carried here to qualify *saṃyoga* 'conjunct'. This is how we get the meaning: 'an *i* before which there does not occur a conjunct as part of a verbal root' (*dhātor avayavaḥ saṃyogaḥ pūrvo yasmād ivarṇāt*). A specification with *eḥ* is made here so that it could be qualified with *asaṃyogapūrvasya*. For, *asaṃyogapūrvasya* is not intended as a qualifier for *i*.

It is argued that if *eḥ* was not stated in this rule, *yaṇ* could replace *i* and *u* in general. This would then not require the formulation of 6.4.83 *oḥ supi*, whereby a final *u* is replaced with *yaṇ* before *sUP*. Rule 6.4.83 then becomes restrictive, requiring *yaṇ* only where *sUP* follows. This restrictive provision does not permit *yaṇ* where a *tiṆ* follows. This is why *luluvatuh*, etc., get a replacement in *uvāṆ*, as against *yaṇ*.

2. Why do we have to state *anekāc*? So that *yaṇ* could be blocked in favor of *iyāṆ* in the nominative dual and plural forms of *nī*, i.e., *niyau* and *niyah*. For, this derivate of *KuIP* consists of a single vowel (*ekāc*). Now consider *yavakriyau* and *yavakriyah*, the nominative dual and plural forms of *yavakrī*, again a derivate of *KuIP*. The *ī* of *yavakrī* must be replaced with *iyāṆ* because it is preceded by a conjunct contained within a *dhātu*. Now consider *unnyau* and *unnyah* where the conjunct, i.e., *nn*, occurs before *ī* in *unnī*. This conjunct is not any part of the *dhātu* 'verbal root'. Consequently, *ī* is replaced with *yaṇ*. This is how *saṃyoga* 'conjunct' must be qualified with *dhātu*.

3. A *vārttika* proposal is made to block *yaṇ* in case of an *aṅga* which ends in *i*, provided *i* is not preceded by anything other than a *gati* and *kāraka*. Consider *paramaniyau* and *paramaniyah*, where *nī*, a derivate of *KuIP*, combines with *parama*. Since *parama* is neither a *gati* nor a *kāraka*, *yaṇ* must be blocked in favor of *iyāṆ*.

## 6.4.83 ओः सुपि

*oh supi*

*/oh 6/1 supi 7/1/*

*(aṅgasya #1 aci #77 yaṇ #81 anekāco' samyogapūrvasya #82)*

*dhātuvavayavaḥ samyogaḥ pūrvō yasmād uvarṇān na tadantasyāṅgasyānekāco'  
jādau supi parato yaṇādeśo bhavati*

An *aṅga* which consists of more than one vowel and ends in *u*, not preceded by a conjunct (*samyoga*) contained within a verbal root, is replaced with *yaṇ* when a *sUP* affix beginning with a vowel follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*khalapvau* 'nominative dual of *khalapū* 'those who clean the threshing floor''

*khalapvaḥ* 'nominative plural . . .'

*śatasvau* 'nominative dual of *śatasū* 'he who produces a hundred . . .'

*śatasvaḥ* 'nominative plural . . .'

*sakṛllvau* 'nominative dual of *sakṛllū* 'he who cuts only once''

*sakṛllvaḥ* 'nominative plural . . .'

1. This rule allows *yaṇ*-replacement for *u* before a vowel-initial *sUP*. That is, when an *aṅga* consists of more than one vowel and ends in *u*, and this *u* is not preceded by a conjunct contained within a *dhātu*. Thus, consider *khalapvau* and *khalapvaḥ*, the nominative dual and plural forms of *khalapū*, where a derivate of *KvIP* combines to form a compound paraphrased as *khalam punāti*. This same is also true of other examples. They all get their *ū* replaced with *yaṇ*. Incidentally, the *t* of *sakṛt* is replaced with *l* before *lū* (8.4.60 *tor lī*). Recall that this replacement in *yaṇ* can be possible only when a *sUP* follows. Thus, *luhuvatuḥ* and *luhuvuḥ* will get a replacement in *uvAN* because *atus* and *us* are not denoted by *sUP*. This *uvAN* again blocks *yaṇ* in *luvau* and *luvaḥ* because the *aṅga*, i.e., *lū*, is monosyllabic (*ekāc*). We also get *uvAN* in *kaṭapruvau* 'nominative dual of *kaṭapṛū* 'he who makes a mat while going' and *kaṭapruvaḥ* 'nominative plural . . .' where *pr*, a conjunct (*samyoga*), not only precedes *u* but is also a part of verbal root *pru*.

2. A *vārttika* proposal similar to the preceding rule is also made here to block *yaṇ* where something other than a *gati* and *kāraka* precedes. Thus, consider *paramaluvau* and *paramaluvaḥ*.

## 6.4.84 वर्षाभ्वश्च

*varṣābhvaś ca*

*/varṣābhvaḥ 6/1 ca φ/*

*(aṅgasya #1 aci #77 yaṇ #81 supi #83)*

*'varṣābhū' ity etasyājādau supi parato yaṇādeśo bhavati*

The final *u* of *varṣābhū* 'born in the rainy season', termed an *aṅga*, is replaced with its *yaN* counterpart when a *sUP* affix beginning with a vowel follows.

EXAMPLES:

*varṣābhuvau* 'nominative dual of *varṣābhū*'  
*varṣābhvaḥ* 'nominative plural . . .'

1. This rule is formulated so that a replacement in *yaN*, negated by 6.4.85 *na bhūsudhiyoḥ*, can be made available. Thus, *varṣābhū* gets its *ū* replaced with *u* when a vowel-initial affix follows.

2. A *vārttika* proposal also allows *yaN* when *bhū* occurs in combination preceded by *punar* and *kārā*. Thus, we get *punarbhuvau*/*punarbhvaḥ* 'nominative dual and plural' of *punarbhū* 'nail'; *kārābhuvau*/*kārābhvaḥ* 'nominative dual and plural' of *kārābhū* 'born in jail'.

6.4.85 न भूसुधियोः

*na bhūsudhiyoḥ*  
 / *na*  $\phi$  *bhū-sudhiyoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*)/  
 (*aṅgasya* #1 *aci* #77 *yaṇ* #81 *supi* #83)  
 'bhū, sudhī' *ity etayor yaṇādeśo na bhavati*

The final vowels of an *aṅga*, namely *bhū* and *sudhī*, are not replaced with their *yaN* counterpart when a *sUP* affix beginning with a vowel follows.

EXAMPLES:

*pratibhuvau* 'nominative dual of *pratibhū* 'guarantor''  
*pratibhvaḥ* 'nominative plural . . .'  
*sudhiyau* 'nominative dual of *sudhī* 'intellectuals''  
*sudhiyaḥ* 'many intellectuals . . .'

1. Note that *bhū* of this rule is interpreted not only as *bhū* but also as: 'that which ends in *bhū*' (*PM ad Kāś. bhūgrahaṇena tadantasya grahaṇam, na kevalasya*).

6.4.86 छन्दस्युभयथा

*chandasy ubhayathā*  
 / *chandasi* 7/1 *ubhayathā*  $\phi$  /  
 (*aṅgasya* #1 *bhūsudhiyoḥ* #85)  
*chandasi viṣaye 'bhū, suddhī' ity etayor ubhayathā dṛśyate*

An *aṅga* constituted by *bhū* and *sudhī*, in the Vedic, is seen with forms of both kinds.

## EXAMPLES:

*vāneṣu cītram vibhuvām viśe*  
*viśe vibhuvām*  
*sudhyo havyamagne*  
*sudhiyo havyamagne*

1. This rule states that *yaN*, and *iyAN̄/uvAN̄*, both, are found in the Vedic usage. Thus, *vibhvam/vibhuvam*; *sudhyaḥ/sudhiyaḥ*

## 6.4.87 हुश्नुवोः सार्वधातुके

*huśnuvoḥ sārvaadhātuke*  
 / *hu-śnuvoḥ* 6/2 *sārvaadhātuke* 7/1/  
 (*aṅgasya* #1 *aci* #77 *yaṇ* #81 *anekāco* 'saṃyogapūrvasya' #82)  
 'hu' ity etasyāṅgasya śnupratyayāntasyānekāco' saṃyogapūrvasyājādau  
*sārvaadhātuke parato yaṇādeṣo bhavati*  
 The *u* of an *aṅga*, particularly *hu* 'to call, perform sacrifice', or of an *aṅga* which consists of more than one vowel and does not begin with a conjunct, though ends in *Śnu*, is replaced with *yaN* when a *sārvaadhātuka* (3.4.113 *tiñśit sārvaadhātukam*) affix beginning with a vowel follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*juhvati* 'they offer oblations'  
*juhvatu* 'let them offer oblations'  
*juhvat* 'nominative singular of *juhvat* ending in *ŚatR*'  
*sunvanti* 'they press-out'  
*sunvantu* 'let them press-out'  
*asunvan* 'they pressed out'

1. This rule allows *yaN* to the *u* of *hu*, and an *aṅga* which consists of more than one vowel and ends in *Śnu*, provided a *sārvaadhātuka* affix beginning with a vowel follows, and the *u* is not preceded by a conjunct. As usual, this *yaN* is an exception to the *iyAN̄* and *uvAN̄* replacements. Note that *asaṃyogapūrvah* is interpreted as a qualifier to *u*. The word *anekācaḥ* is similarly interpreted as a qualifier to *aṅgasya*. Refer to derivational details of *juhoti* (under 1.1.61 *pratyayasya* . . .) and *juhvat* (under 3.2.124 *lataḥ* . . .) in the appendix. A replacement in *at* for *jhi* is offered by 7.1.4 *ad abhyastāt*. Deriving *sunvanti*, etc., with *Śnu* should present no problem.

2. The condition of *hu* and *Śnu* blocks *yaN* in favor of *unAN̄* in *yoyuvati* and *roruvati*. These are both derivatives of verbal roots *yu* 'to mix' and *ru* 'to cry', respectively, with deletion of *yaN*, via *LUK*. The conditions of *sārvaadhātuke* and *asaṃyogapūrvasya* are also valid. Thus, *juhuvatuḥ* and *juhuvuḥ* illustrate how *uvAN̄* is favored against *yaN* because of the third person dual and plural *ārdhadhātuka* affixes *atus* and *us*. Examples such as *āpnuvanti* 'they obtain'

and *rādhnuvanti* ‘they accomplish’ illustrate how, because of *asaṃyogapūrvasya*, *yaN* is again blocked in favor of *uvAN*.

#### 6.4.88 भुवो वुग्लुङ्लितोः

*bhuvo vugluṅliṭoḥ*

/ *bhuvah* 6/1 *vuk* 1/1 *luṅliṭoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*) /

(*aṅgasya* #1 *aci* #77)

*bhuvo vug āgamo bhavati luṅi liṭi cājādau parataḥ*

Augment *vUK* is introduced to an *aṅga*, namely *bhū*, when a *LUN* and *LIT* affix beginning with a vowel follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*abhūvan* ‘third person plural active *LUN* of *bhū*’

*abhūvam* ‘first person singular active *LUN* of *bhū*’

*babhūva* ‘third person singular *LIT* of *bhū* ‘to be’

*babhūvatuḥ* ‘third person dual . . .’

*babhūvuh* ‘third person plural . . .’

1. This rule introduces augment *vUK* to *bhū* when a replacement of *LUN* and *LIT* which begins with a vowel follows. Thus, consider *abhūvan* and *abhvam*, the third and first person singular derivatives of *LUN*. The last three examples are third singular, dual and plural derivatives of *LIT* with *NaL*, *atus* and *us* as replacement (3.4.82 *parasmaipadānām* . . .). Refer to many examples of *LUN* and *LIT* in the appendix and notes for derivational details.

#### 6.4.89 ऊदुपधाया गोहः

*ūdupadhāyā gohaḥ*

/ *ūt* 1/1 *upadhāyāḥ* 6/1 *gohaḥ* 6/1 /

(*aṅgasya* #1 *aci* #77)

*goho’ ṅgasya upadhāyā ūkārādeśo bhavati ajādau pratyaye parataḥ*

The penultimate vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *goh*, is replaced with *ūt* (1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*) when an affix beginning with a vowel follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*nigūhayati* ‘. . . hides, preserves’

*nigūhakaḥ* ‘he who preserves, hides’

*sādhū nigūhī* ‘ibidem’

*nigūhamnigūham* ‘hiding over and over again’

*nigūho varttate* ‘. . . hiding goes on’

1. This rule allows *ūt* to replace the penultimate (*upadhā*) *o* of an *aṅga* constituted by *goh*, provided a vowel-initial affix follows. Note that *goh* is real-

ized via *guṇa* of *u* in *guh* when *ṆiC* follows. The *ṆiC* is then deleted by 6.4.51 *ṇer aniṭi*. The *o* of *goh* is then replaced by *ū* of our present rule. Thus, *nigūhayati* and *nigūhakah*, etc. Refer to derivational details in the appendix.

2. Note that the condition of *upadhāyāḥ* is imposed so that *ū* does not replace the final sound (1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*). A specification with *goh*, a modified form of *guh*, is made to restrict the scope of application of this rule (*Kās: vikṛtagrahaṇaṃ viśayārtham*). That is, a replacement in *ū* is blocked where *goh* is not found. Thus, *nijuguhatuḥ* and *nijuguhuh*.

Some claim that this modified form of *goh* is specified to block *ay* as a replacement of *Ṇi*, for example, in *nigūh + Ṇi*. They think that this *ū* replacement will become *asiddha* in view of the *ay* of 6.4.56 *lyapi laghupūrvāt*. But this view is not correct. These replacements do not share identical condition of application. Negating *ay* of *Ṇi* could hardly be accepted as the purpose of specifying *guh* with *goh*.

#### 6.4.90 दोषो णौ

*doṣo ṇau*

/doṣaḥ 6/1 ṇau 7/1/

(aṅgasya #1 upadhāyā ūt #89)

*doṣa upadhāyā ūkāra ādeṣo bhavati ṇau parataḥ*

The penultimate vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *duṣ*, is replaced with *ū* when affix *Ṇi* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*dūṣayati* 'he contaminates, corrupts'

*dūṣayataḥ* 'those two contaminate'

*dūṣayanti* 'they (all) contaminate'

1. This rule allows *ū* to replace the *o* of *doṣ* when *ṆiC* follows. A specification with the modified form of *duṣ*, i.e., *doṣ*, is made to maintain contextual similarity with the preceding rule (*prakramābheda*).

#### 6.4.91 वा चित्तविरागे

*vā cittavirāge*

/vā φ citta-virāge 7/1 (ṣaṣ. tat.), tasmin/

(aṅgasya #1 upadhāyā ūt #89 doṣo ṇau #90)

*cittavikārārthe doṣa upadhāyā vā ūkāraādeṣo bhavati ṇau parataḥ*

The penultimate vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *duṣ* used with the signification of *cittavirāga* 'distraction, indifference (of mind)', is optionally replaced with *ū* when affix *Ṇi* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*cittam doṣayati* '... agitates mind'

*cittam dūṣayati* 'ibidem'  
*prajñāṃ dūṣayati* '... corrupts intelligence'  
*prajñāṃ doṣayati* 'ibidem'

1. This rule offers an optional replacement in *ū* when the derivate denotes *cittavirāga* 'distraction, indifference (of mind)'. Thus, *doṣayati cittam* and *dūṣayati cittam*. This replacement will be obligatory, as against optional, in *sādhnam dūṣayati* 'fouls up the means'. It will be blocked in *cittasya doṣaḥ* where *doṣa* is a derivate of *GHaÑ*.

#### 6.4.92 मितां ह्रस्वः

*mitām hrasvaḥ*  
*mitām* 6/3 *hrasvaḥ* 1/1/  
 (aṅgasya #1 *upadhāyā* #89 *ṇau* #90)  
*mito dhātavaḥ 'ghaṭādayo mitaḥ' ity evam ādayo ye pratipāditāḥ teṣām*  
*upadhāyā hrasvo bhavati ṇau parataḥ*  
 The penultimate vowel of an *aṅga*, namely one specified with *m* as an *it* (*mit*), is replaced with its short counterpart when affix *ṆiC* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*ghaṭayati* '... brings about'  
*vyathayati* '... causes pain'  
*janayati* '... brings into existence'  
*rajayati* '... sports (colors)'  
*śamayati* '... quiets down, afflicts'  
*jñapayati* '... informs'

1. This rule offers *hrasva* 'short' as a replacement for the penultimate vowel of an *aṅga* constituted by roots called *mit* 'those which have *M* as their *i*'. This replacement is valid before affix *ṆiC*. Recall that roots of the *bhvādi* class, enumerated beginning with *ghaṭ* and ending with *pha*, are termed *mitādi*. This rule offers replacement for the *vṛddhi* vowel accomplished by 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*.

#### 6.4.93 चिण्णमुलोदीर्घोऽन्यतरस्याम्

*ciṇṇamulo dīrgho' nyatarasyām*  
 /*ciṇ-ṇamuloḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*); *dīrghaḥ* 1/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/  
 (aṅgasya #1 *upadhāyāḥ* #89 *ṇau* #90 *mitām* #92)  
*ciṇpare ṇamulpare ca ṇau parato mitām aṅgānām upadhāyā dīrgho bhavaty*  
*anyatarasyām*

The penultimate vowel of an *aṅga*, namely one specified as *mit*, is replaced with its long counterpart when affixes *cIN* and *ṆamUL*, preceded by *Ṇi*, follow.



## EXAMPLES:

*aśami* 'first person singular *LUN*-derivate of causal'  
*śāmi* 'to quiet down, cause affliction'  
*aśāmi* 'ibidem'  
*atami* 'first person singular *LUN* derivate of causal'  
*tāmi* 'to cause desire'  
*atāmi* 'ibidem'  
*śamaṁśamam* '*ṆamUL* form; . . . over and over again'  
*śāmaṁśāmam* 'ibidem'  
*tamantamam* '*ṆamUL* form; . . . over and over again'  
*tāmantāmam* 'ibidem'

1. Note that *aśami*/*aśāmi* and *atami*/*atāmi* are derivates of *LUN* introduced after causal verbal roots *śāmi* and *tāmi*. Given  $aT + \textit{śāmi} + (CLI \rightarrow CiN) + (LUN \rightarrow ta)$ , where *CiN* is introduced by 3.1.66 *ciṇ bhāvakarmaṇoḥ* as a replacement of *CLI*, we get the deletion of *Ṇi* (6.4.51 *ṇer anīti*). The *ta* is then deleted (6.4.104 *ciṇo luk*) after this rule introduces its optional long replacement. The remaining examples illustrate optional replacement in derivates of *ṆamUL*, introduced with the signification of *ābhikṣṇya* 'over and over again'. Recall that 8.1.4 *nityavīpsayoh* requires repeating a form such as *śamam* in toto. Thus, *śamaṁśamam*, etc.

2. Why was this specification made with the optional replacement in long? Why can we not offer the optional replacement in long for the short which is already available? This way, if the option of *hrasva* is not accepted then the *vrddhi*-replacement before *Ṇi* could be retained as long. But this cannot be done. Consider *śam* + *ṆiC* which yields *śāmi* after *vrddhi*-replacement, *Ṇi*-deletion and shortening. If *ṆiC* is introduced again, we cannot get *aśami*. For, given *aśāmi*, we cannot get optional shortening because of the earlier *ṆiC* appearing again in place of deletion, via *sthānivadbhāva*. If, however, a long is offered as opiton, *Ṇi*-deletion does not become *sthānivat* in accomplishing vocalic replacements (*ajādeśa*; 1.1.58 *na padānta* . . .). This same is also applicable to deletions (of *a* (of *yaN* and *ṆiC*) in deriving *aśaṁśami* and *aśaṁśāmi*. An optional replacement for *vrddhi* is not possible here. For, the deleted *Ṇi* will reappear via *sthānivadbhāva*. A *ṆiC*, when occurring after a verbal root ending in *yaN*, will block *vrddhi*. For, the deleted *a* of *yaN* will reappear via *sthānivadbhāva*. Consequently, there will not be any penultimate *a* to go through *vrddhi*. Thus, an optional provision of long is justified.

## 6.4.94 खचि ह्रस्वः

*khaci hrasvah*  
*/khaci 7/1 hrasvah 1/1/*  
*(aṅgasya #1 upadhāyāḥ #89 nau #90)*  
*khacpare nau parato hrasvo bhavaty aṅgasyopadhāyāḥ*

The penultimate vowel of an *aṅga* is replaced with its short counterpart when affix *Ṇi*, occurring before *KHaC*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

*dviṣantapaḥ* 'he who torments his enemy'

*parantapaḥ* 'he who torments others'

*purandaraḥ* 'he who destroys cities'

1. Refer to derivational details of these examples under (appendix, III:735–36) rules 3.2.39 *dviṣat parayos tāpe* and 3.2.41 *pūḥsarvayor*. . .

6.4.95 ह्रादो निष्ठायाम्

*hlādo niṣṭhāyām*

/hlādaḥ 5/1 niṣṭhāyām 7/1/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *upadhāyāḥ* #89 *hrasvaḥ* #94)

*hlādo* 'ṅasyopadhāyā hrasvo bhavati niṣṭhāyām parataḥ

The penultimate vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *hlād*, is replaced with its short counterpart when an affix termed *niṣṭhā* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*prahlannaḥ* '... has rejoiced'

*prahlannavān* 'ibidem'

1. Note that 8.4.42 *radābhyām* . . . replaces the *t* of *niṣṭhā*, and the preceding *d* as well, with *n*. This rule allows shortening and 7.2.14 *śvīdīto niṣṭhāyām* blocks introduction of *iṬ*. Thus, *prahlannaḥ* and *prahlannavān*.

Why do we state the condition of *niṣṭhāyām* 'when a *niṣṭhā* suffix follows'? Consider *prahlādayati* '... causes to rejoice' where, because *LAṬ* follows, we do not get a short vowel replacement.

2. A proposal is here made for split-formulation (*yoga-vibhāga*) of *hlādaḥ*. This is done so that a short replacement can be accomplished when affix *KtiN* follows. Thus, we get *prahlattiḥ*. Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāśikā*) claims that this proposal is not found in the *Mahābhāṣya*.

6.4.96 छादेर्घेऽद्वयुपसर्गस्य

*chāder ghe' dvyupasargasya*

/chādeḥ 6/1 ghe 7/1 a-dvy-upasargasya 6/1 = dvau upasargau yasya (bv.);

na dvyupasargah (nañ.), tasya/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *upadhāyāḥ* #89 *hrasvaḥ* #94)

*chāder aṅgasyādvyupasargasya ghapratyaye parata upadhāyā hrasvo bhavati*

The penultimate vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *chādi* when not used after two preverbs, is replaced with its short counterpart, provided affix *GHa* follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*uraśchadaḥ* ‘that which covers the chest; armor’  
*pracchadaḥ* ‘that which properly covers’  
*dantacchadaḥ* ‘that which covers teeth; lips’

1. This rule allows a short replacement to the penultimate vowel of an *aṅga* which is constituted by *chādi* and is not used with two preverbs at the beginning. Of course, when affix *GHa* follows. Look for derivational details under rule 3.3.118 *pum̐si samjñāyām*. . . .

Note that this rule will become vacuous if deletion of *Ṇi* is treated as *asiddha* (6.4.22 *asiddhavad* . . .), or else, is treated as *sthānivat* (1.1.57 *acaḥ parasmīn pūrvavidhau*). The penultimate short which this rule provides will then become impossible. It is to save this rule from becoming vacuous that *asiddhatva* ‘suspension’ and *sthānivadbhāva* ‘treatment of substitute as what it replaced’ of *ṆiC* is not accepted here.

## 6.4.97 इस्मन्त्रन्किषु च

*ismantrankviṣu ca*  
 /is-man-tran-kviṣu 7/3 (itar. dv.) ca φ/  
 (aṅgasya #1 upadhāyāḥ #89 hrasvaḥ #94 dhādeḥ #96)  
 ‘is, man, tran, kvi’ ity eteṣu parataś chāder upadhāyā hrasvo bhavati  
 The penultimate vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *chādi*, is replaced with its short counterpart when affixes *is*, *man*, *tran* and *KuI* follow.

## EXAMPLES:

*chadiḥ* ‘cover’  
*chadma* ‘cover; roof’  
*chattram* ‘umbrella’  
*dhāmacchat* ‘that (a roof) which covers a house’  
*upacchat* ‘a cover in general’

1. Note that *is* (II:108: *arciśuci* . . .), *manIN* (IV:145: *sarvadhātubhyo manin*) and *traN* (IV:159: *sarvadhātubhyaḥ śtran*), of *chadi*, *chadma* and *chatra*, are all *Uṇādi* affixes. Rule 3.2.76 *kviṣ ca* introduces *KuIP*. Deletion of *ṆiC*, as usual, is accomplished by 6.4.51 *ṇer anīti*.

## 6.4.98 गमहनजनखनघसां लोपः विङित्यनङि

*gamahanajanakhanaghasām lopah knity anāni*  
 /gama-hana-jana-khana-ghasām 6/3 (itar. dv.); lopah 1/1/ kniti 7/1/  
 anāni 7/1 = na aṅ (nañ.), tasmin/  
 (aṅgasya #1 aci #77 upadhāyāḥ #89)  
 ‘gama, hana, jana, khana, ghasa’ ity eteṣām aṅgānām upadhāyā lopo bhavaty  
 ajāḍau pratyaye knity anāni parataḥ

The penultimate sound segment of an *aṅga*, namely *gamA* ‘to go’, *hanA* ‘to kill’, *janA* ‘to be born’, *khanA* ‘to dig’ and *ghasA* ‘to eat’, is deleted by means of *LOPA* when a non-*aN* affix beginning with a vowel and marked with *K* or *Ñ* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*jagmatuḥ* ‘third person dual active *LIT*-derivate of *gam* ‘to go’  
*jagmuḥ* ‘third person plural . . .’  
*jaghnatuḥ* ‘third person dual active *LIT*-derivate of *han* ‘to kill’  
*jaghnūḥ* ‘third person plural . . .’  
*jajñe* ‘he came into existence (*LIT*; *ātmanepada*)’  
*jajñāte* ‘those (two) came into existence’  
*jajñire* ‘they (all) came into existence’  
*cakhnatuḥ* ‘third person dual active *LIT*-derivate of *khan* ‘to dig’  
*cakhnūḥ* ‘third person plural active . . .’  
*jakṣatuḥ* ‘third person dual active *LIT*-derivate of *ad* ‘to eat, consume’  
*jakṣuḥ* ‘third person plural active . . .’  
*akṣānnamāmadanta pītāraḥ*

1. This rule offers deletion of an *upadhā* ‘penultimate sound’ when *gam*, *han*, *jan*, *khan* and *ghas* constitute an *aṅga*, provided the affix which follows does not begin with a vowel, is not *aN* and is marked with *K* and *Ñ* as an *it*. Refer to derivational details of *jakṣatuḥ*, *jakṣuḥ*, *jaghnatuḥ*, *jaghnūḥ* and *akṣan* under the appendix of 1.1.58 *na padānta*. . . . Examples of *jan* are middle (*ātmanepada*) derivatives of *LIT* where *ta* and *jha* are replaced with *eś* and *ireC* (3.4.81 *liṭas tajhayor* . . .). Refer to many derivatives of *LIT* already derived in the appendix (II:412–13).

6.4.99 तनिपत्योश्छन्दसि

*tanipatyōś chandasi*  
 / *tani-patyōḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tayōḥ; chandasi* 7/1/  
 (*aṅgasya* #1 *aci* #77 *upadhāyāḥ* #89 *lopaḥ kniti* #98)  
 ‘*tani, pati*’ *ity etayoś chandasi viṣaye upadhāyā lopo bhavati ajādaḥ kniti*  
*pratyaye parataḥ*

The penultimate vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *tanI* and *patI* in the Vedic, is deleted by means of *LOPA* when a vowel-initial affix marked with *K* or *Ñ* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*vitātnire kvayagḥ* ‘the weavers weaved’  
*śākunā iva paptima* ‘. . . fell like a bird’

1. Note that *vitātnire* derives from *vitan* + (*LIT*→*jha*→*ireC*), where we get *vitatan* + *ire* after iteration. We get *vitat(a→∅)nire* = *vitātnire* after deletion of

*upadhā* by this rule. This deletion is also found in deriving *paptima*, from *pat* + (*LIT*→*mas*), after iteration. The condition of a following vowel-initial affix is met via introducing augment *iT* (7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasya* . . .).

#### 6.4.100 घसिभसोर्हलि च

*ghasibhasor hali ca*

/ *ghasi-bhasoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*); *hali* 7/1/

(*aṅasya* #1 *aci* #77 *upadhāyāḥ* #89 *lopaḥ kṛiti* #98 *chandasi* #99)

'*ghasi, bhas*' *ity etayoś chandasi upadhāyā lopo bhavati halādāv ajādau ca kṛiti pratyaye parataḥ*

The penultimate vowel of an *aṅa*, namely *ghasI* and *bhas*, is deleted, in the Vedic, by means of *LOPA* when an affix beginning with a vowel or consonant, and marked with *K* or *Ñ* as an *it*, follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*sagdhīś ca mḡ sapītiś ca mḡ*

*bābdhām tḡ harī dhānāḥ*

1. Refer to derivational details of *sagdhīḥ* 'eating together' and *bābdhām* 'third person dual active imperative of *bhas* 'to eat' in the appendix (II:410–12) of rule 1.1.58 *na padānta*. . . Note that penultimate deletion (*upadhālopa*) is subsequent (*para*) and obligatory (*nitya*) in comparison with iteration (*dvirvacana*). But, because of the usage being Vedic (*chāndasatvāt*), it is accomplished subsequent to the application of iteration and operations relative to *abhyāsa*.

*Kāśikā* offers *bapsati* as an example for the condition of *ajādi* 'when a vowel-initial affix follows'. Thus, *bhas* + (*LAT*→(*jh*→*at(i)*)→*bhas* + (*ŚaP*→*ŚLU*) + *ati*→*babhas* + *ati*. We finally get *babh(a*→*ϕ*)*s* + *ati*→*ba(bh*→*p*)*s* + *ati* = *bapsati*, through penultimate deletion and *cartva* (8.4.54 *khari ca*). A derivate with singular *tiP* will be *babhasti*. For, penultimate deletion will be blocked because of *P* as an *it* in *tiP*. That is, it cannot be accepted as marked with *K* and *Ñ* as an *it*.

#### 6.4.101 हुञ्जल्भ्यो हेर्धिः

*hujhalbhyo her dhiḥ*

/ *hujhalbhyoḥ* 5/2 = *huś ca jhalaś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyah; heḥ* 6/1/

(*aṅasya* #1 *hali* #100)

'*hu*' *ity etasmāt jhalantebhyas cottarasya halāder heḥ sthāne dhir ādeśo bhavati*  
A consonant-initial *hi*, which occurs after *hu*, or after a form ending in a sound denoted by *jhaL* (cf. *Śs*: 8–14), is replaced with *dhi*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*juhudhi* 'second person singular active *LOT*-derivate of *hu* 'to call out''

*bhindhi* ‘second person singular middle *LOT*-derivate of *bhid* ‘to split’  
*chindhi* ‘second person singular middle *LOT*-derivate of *chid* ‘to cut’

1. This rule allows a consonant-initial *hi* which either occurs after *hu*, or after a form which ends in a sound denoted by *jhaL*, to be replaced with *dhi*. Recall that *hi* is offered as a replacement of *siP* (3.4.87 *ser hy apic ca*) in the imperative (*LOT*). It is also treated as ‘not marked with *P* as an *it* (*apit*). Derivational details of *juhudhi* can be found in the appendix (3.3.166 *adhīṣṭe ca*). Deriving *bhindhi* and *chindhi*, from *bhid* + (*siP*→*hi*) and *chid* + (*siP*→*hi*), requires introduction of *ŚnaM* (3.1.78 *rudhādibhyaḥ śnam*). This rule replaces *hi* with *dhi* and 6.4.111 *śnasor allopaḥ* deletes the *a* of *ŚnaM*.

2. Recall that *hi* is allowed to be replaced with *dhi* after forms which end in a sound denoted by *jhaL*. That is why, *tām* is not replaced with *dhi* in *juhutām*. This replacement in *dhi* is also conditioned with *halādi* ‘that which begins with a consonant’. Notice that *hi* begins with a consonant. Why did Pāṇini have to restate this condition? Obviously to block this replacement where *hi*, because of the introduction of *iT*, may not remain consonant-initial. This is what happens in *rudhi* and *svapihi*, where *iT* (*rudādibhyaḥ sārva dhātuke* . . .) is introduced. The augment is treated as part of *hi* (*Pari* (12): *yad āgamā* . . .).

It is stated that an optional *tātAN* (7.1.35 *tuhyos tātān*) blocks *dhi*, as a replacement for *hi*, on the basis of *paratva*. Thus, we get *juhutāt* and *bhintāt*, the two derivates of *hu* and *bhid*. Furthermore, *dhi*, which has gone through blocking under *vipratīṣedha* once, will remain blocked forever (*Paribh* (*PŚ*: 41): *sakrd gatau vipratīṣedhe yad bādhitam tad bādhitam eva*). That is, application of *dhi*, once blocked, was not possible (*asambhavāt*). But then consider *bhindhaki* and *chindhaki* where *akAC* (5.3.71 *avyayasarvanām nām akac* . . .) was blocked on the basis of *paratva*. It was, however, introduced subsequently in consonance with: (*Paribh* (40): *punaḥ prasaṅgaviññānāt siddham*).

#### 6.4.102 श्रुशृणुपृक्वृभ्यश्छन्दसि

*śruśṛṇupṛkṛvṛbhyaś chandasi*

/śru-śṛṇu-pṛ-kṛ-vṛbhyaḥ 5/3 (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ; chandasi* 7/1/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *her dhiḥ* #101)

‘*śru*, *śṛṇu*, *pṛ*, *kṛ*, *vṛ*’ *ity etebhya uttarasya her dhir ādeśo bhavati chandasi visaye*

A *hi* which occurs after *śru*, *śṛṇu*, *pṛ*, *kṛ*, and *vṛ* is replaced with *dhi* when the usage is Vedic.

#### EXAMPLES:

*śṛadhi havāmindra* ‘listen to the invocation, O Indra’

*śṛṇudhi girāḥ* ‘listen carefully to the speech’

*pūrdhi* ‘fulfill’

*uruṇáskṛdhi* 'make . . . wide'  
*apāvṛdhi* 'uncover'

1. This rule replaces *hi* with *dhi*, in the Vedic, when the same occurs after *śru*, *śṛnu*, *pṛ*, *kṛ* and *vṛ*. Note that, except for *śṛnudhi*, all other examples receive *ŚaP*, via *bāhulaka* (3.21.85 *vyatyayo bahulam*). This *ŚaP* is subsequently deleted by *LUK* (2.4.73 *bahulaṃ chandasi*). The *i* of *śṛnudhi* is replaced with its long counterpart by 6.3.137 *anyeṣām api dṛśyate*. Thus, *śru* + (*LOT*→*hi*→*dhi*) = *śru* + *dh*(*i*→*ī*) = *śrudhī*. Remember that *Śnu* is not introduced here because of *bāhulaka*. We, however, do find *Śnu* in *śṛnudhī*. Note that *pūrdhi* is optional to *pūrdhi*, both deriving from *pṛ* + (*LOT*→*siP*→*hi*→*dhi*). Rule 7.1.102 *ud oṣṭhyapūrvasya* replaces *ṛ* with *u*, followed by *r*. This *u* is replaced with its long counterpart by 8.2.77 *hali ca*. The *dh* of *pūrdhi* goes through optional iteration (8.4.46 *aco rahābhyām dve*) and subsequent replacement in *d* (*dh*→*d*; *jaṣṭva*). Thus, *pūr*(*dh*→*d*) + *dhi* = *pūrdhi*. Similar rules apply in deriving *skṛdhi* and *apāvṛdhi*.

#### 6.4.103 अङितश्च

*aṇitaś ca*  
 / *aṇitaḥ* 6/1 = *ṇ it yasya* (bv.); *na nit* (nañ.), *tasya*; *ca* φ/  
 (her *dhiḥ* #101 *chandasi* #102)  
*aṇitaś ca her dhir ādeśo bhavati chandasi viṣaye*  
 A *hi* which is not marked with *Ṇ* as an *it* is also replaced with *dhi* when the usage is Vedic.

#### EXAMPLES:

*somaṃ rārandhi*  
*asmabhyāṃ taddhāryaśva prayāndhi*  
*yuyodhyaṣmajjūhuraṇamēṇaḥ*

1. A *hi*, when not marked with *Ṇ* as an *it*, is replaced with *dhi* in the Vedic. Recall that 3.4.88 *vā chandasi* assigns the optional non-*pit* status to *hi*. That is, if the non-*pit* option is not accepted then 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit* will treat it as marked with *Ṇ* as an *it*. Thus, if *Ṇit* status of *hi* is not accepted, this rule will apply on the basis of *Ṇit* status of *hi*. Consider *rārandhi*, the second person *LOT*-derivate of *ramU* 'to sport, please' where *parasmaipada* is used on the basis of *vyatyaya* 'transposition'. Rule 2.4.76 *bahulaṃ chandasi* is responsible for *ŚLU*-deletion of *ŚaP*. The *abhyāsa* also goes through lengthening after iteration (6.1.7 *tujādinām dīrgho' bhyāsasya*). The *m* of *ramU* is not deleted because *hi* is not marked with *Ṇ* as an *it* (*Ṇit*; 6.4.37 *anudātto-padeśa* . . .). The *ŚaP* which occurs after *yam* 'to strive' goes through deletion by *LUK* (2.4.73 *bahulaṃ chandasi*). The *ŚaP* after *yudh* 'to fight' goes through deletion by *ŚLU*. This causes iteration and optional *pit* and non-*Ṇit* status of *hi*. An application of *guṇa* yields *yuyodhi*.

## 6.4.104 चिणो लुक्

*ciṇo luk**/ciṇaḥ 5/1 luk 1/1/**(aṅgasya #1)**ciṇa uttarasya pratyayasya lug bhavati*An affix which occurs after *CiN* is deleted by means of *LUK*.

## EXAMPLES:

*akāri* '... made'*ahāri* '... fetched'*alāvi* '... cut'*apāci* '... cooked'

1. Note that *LUK* is used as a term for *adarśana* 'non-appearance' of an affix (1.1.61 *pratyayasya*...). That is, this rule offers deletion of an affix which occurs after *CiN*. Refer to derivational details of *akāri* under the appendix of rule 3.1.66 *ciṇ bhāvakarmanoh*. Similar rules apply in deriving *ahāri*, etc. This rule deletes *ta* which occurs after *CiN* in *kṛ* + (*LUN* → *ta*) → *aT* + *kṛ* + (*CLI* → *CiN*) + *ta* → *aT* + *kār* + *CiN* + (*ta* →  $\phi$ ) = *akāri*. But consider *akāri* + *tarām* = *akāritarām*, where *ta*-deletion becomes *asiddha* in view of deletion of *tarām*. This is done by interpreting 6.4.104 *ciṇo luk* differently in view of contextual requirements. Yet another suggestion is made to bring *kniti* from *anuvṛtti* and changing *ciṇaḥ*, the ablative, into genitive. This makes it possible for deletion of affixes which are marked with *k* and *N* as *it*. It saves *taraP* and *tamaP* from deletion since they are marked with *P* as an *it*.

## 6.4.105 अतो हे:

*ato heḥ**/ataḥ 5/1 heḥ 6/1/**(aṅgasya #1 luk #104)**akārāntād aṅgād uttarasya her lug bhavati*A *hi* which occurs after an *aṅga* ending in *a* is deleted by means of *LUK*.

## EXAMPLES:

*paca* 'cook!'*paṭha* 'study!'*gaccha* 'go!'*dhāva* 'run!'

1. This rule offers deletion of *hi* which may occur after an *aṅga* ending in *a*. Note that the genitive of *aṅgasya* is here changed into ablative (*pañcamī*) for facilitating proper interpretation of this rule.



2. *Kāśikā* offers *yuhi* ‘... mix’ and *ruhi* ‘... grow’ as counter-examples to the condition of an *aṅga* ending in *a*. Obviously, the *aṅga* here ends in *u*. Thus, deletion of *si*→*hi*, after *yu* and *ru*, is blocked. The specification of *a* with *t* (*aT*; *taparakaraṇa*) is also significant. Thus, given *lunā* + *hi* and *punā* + *hi*, we do not get deletion. The *aṅga* here ends in a long *ā*. Recall that the final derivatives are *lunīhi* and *punīhi* where, given *lunā* + *hi* and *punā* + *hi*, 6.4.113 *ī haly aghoḥ* replaces the long *ā* of *lunā* with *ī*. This *ī* is treated as *asiddha* in view of deletion of this rule. That is, the *aṅga* is still considered as ending in long *ā*, and not a short.

#### 6.4.106 उत्तश्च प्रत्ययादसंयोगपूर्वात्

*utaś ca pratyayād asaṃyogapūrvāt*  
 / *utah* 5/1 *ca*  $\phi$  *pratyayāt* 5/1 *asaṃyogapūrvāt* 5/1 = *avidyamānaḥ saṃyogaḥ*  
*pūrvō yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*/  
 (*aṅgasya* #1 *luk* #104 *heḥ* #105)  
*ukāro yo’ asaṃyogapūrvas tadantāt pratyayād uttarasya her lug bhavati*  
 A *hi*, when occurring after an affix which (i) occurs at the end of an *aṅga* and (ii) terminates in an *u* not used after a conjunct, is also deleted by means of *LUK*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*cinu* ‘heap!’  
*sunu* ‘listen!’  
*kuru* ‘do!’

1. This rule deletes a *hi* which occurs after an *aṅga*, provided the *aṅga* terminates in an affix ending in *u*, and there is no conjunct occurring before *u*. Thus, consider *cinu* and *sunu* where, given *ci* + (*LOT*→*si*→*hi*) and *su* + (*LOT*→*si*→*hi*), *Śnu* is introduced as a *vikaraṇa* (3.1.73 *svādibhyaḥ śnuḥ*). The *vikaraṇa* in case of *kṛ* of *kuru* is *u* (3.1.79 *tanādikṛñbhya* . . .). Our present rule deletes *hi*. We thus get *cinu* and *sunu*. Recall that *kṛ* + *u* + *hi* goes through *guṇa* to produce *k(ṛ→ar)* + *u* + *hi*. The *a* of *ar*, in addition to deletion of *hi*, is replaced with *u* (6.4.110 *at ut sārva dhātuke*).

*Kāśikā* offers *rādhnuhi* and *prāpnuhi* as counter-examples where deletion of *hi* is blocked because *u* occurs after a conjunct. Consider *lunīhi* ‘cut!’ and *punīhi* ‘cleansel!’ as counter-examples where deletion of *hi* is blocked because *hi* occurs after *ā*. Similar counter-examples are *ruhi* and *yuhi* where *hi* occurs after *u* which is part of the base and not of an affix.

2. A *vārttika* proposal is made to make this deletion optional in the Vedic. That is, this deletion of *hi* applies sometimes. But on occasions it also does not. Thus, consider *ātanuhi* ‘extend (it) properly’, *dhinuhi* ‘please!’ and *kṛnuhi* ‘do!’ where this deletion does not apply.

## 6.4.107 लोपश्चान्यतरस्यां म्वोः

*lopaś cānyatarasyām mvoḥ*

/lopaḥ 1/1 ca φ anyatarasyām 7/1 mvoḥ 7/2 = maś ca vaś ca (itar. dv.),  
tayoh/

(aṅgasya #1 utaḥ pratyayād asaṃyogapūrvāt #106/

yo' yam ukāro' saṃyogapūrvāḥ tadantasya pratyayasānyatarasyām lopo  
bhavati vakāramakārāḍau pratyaye parataḥ

An affix which ends in *u* and does not occur after a conjunct is optionally deleted by means of *LOPA*, provided an affix beginning with *m* or *v* follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*sunvaḥ* 'first person dual active *LOT* of *sUN* 'to press out''

*sunuvaḥ* 'ibidem'

*sunmaḥ* 'first person plural . . .'

*sunumaḥ* 'ibidem'

*tanvaḥ* 'first person dual *LOT* of *tanU* 'to extend''

*tanuvaḥ* 'ibidem'

*tanmaḥ* 'first person plural . . .'

*tanumaḥ* 'ibidem'

1. Notice how all derivatives end in *vaḥ* and *maḥ* in consonance with the affixal condition of *mvoḥ*. Note also that *asaṃyogapūrvā* is here interpreted as an adjective to *u*, and not to the affix which may end in *u*. The *vikaraṇa* in these examples is *Śnu*. This deletion applies only to an *u* which belongs to an affix. Thus, there is no deletion in *yuvaḥ* and *yumaḥ* where *u* is part of verbal roots. Now consider *śaknuvaḥ* and *śaknumaḥ* where these derivatives end in *vas* and *mas* but their *u* occurs after a conjunct. This *u* can also not be deleted.

2. Why is *LOPA* used here explicitly? Why could *LUK* not be brought via *anuvṛtti*? So that the final *u* of an affix alone could be deleted. If *LOPA* was not used, deletion would have applied to an affix terminating in *u*.

## 6.4.108 नित्यं करोतेः

*nityam karoteḥ*

/nityam φ karoteḥ 5/1/

(aṅgasya #1 utaḥ pratyayāt #106 lopaḥ mvoḥ #107)

karoter uttarasya ukārapratyayasya vakāramakārāḍau pratyaye parato nityam  
lopo bhavati

Affix *u* which occurs after an *aṅga*, namely *kr*, is obligatorily deleted by means of *LOPA*, when an affix beginning with *m* or *v* follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*kurvaḥ* 'first person dual active *LOT*-derivate of *kṛ* 'to do''

*kurmaḥ* 'first person plural . . .'

1. An affix in *u* which occurs after an *aṅga* constituted by *kṛ* is obligatorily deleted by *LOPA*, provided an affix beginning with *v* or *m* follows. Thus,  $k(\dot{r} \rightarrow ar) + u + mas \rightarrow kar + (u \rightarrow \phi) + mas \rightarrow k(a \rightarrow u) r + mas = kurma$  ( $s \rightarrow r \rightarrow h$ ). This same is also applicable to *kurvaḥ*. Recall that 3.1.79 *tanādikṛñbhyaḥ* . . . introduces *u* as the *vikarāṇa*. The *a* of the *guṇa*, i.e., *ar*, is replaced with *u* (6.4.110 *at ut sārva dhātuke*).

## 6.4.109 ये च

*ye ca*

/ye 7/1 ca  $\phi$ /

(*aṅgasya* # 1 *utah pratyayāt* # 106 *lopaḥ* # 107 *nityaṃ karoteḥ* # 108)

*yakārāḍau ca pratyaye parataḥ karoter uttarasyokārapratyayasya nityaṃ lopo bhavati*

Affix *u* which occurs after an *aṅga*, namely *kṛ*, is obligatorily deleted by means of *LOPA* also when an affix beginning with *y* follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*kuryāt* 'third person singular active *LIN*-derivate of *kṛ*'

*kuryātām* 'third person dual . . .'

*kryuḥ* 'third person plural . . .'

1. This rule obligatorily deletes an affix in *u* which occurs after an *aṅga* constituted by *kṛ*. Of course, when the *aṅga* is followed by an affix beginning with *y*. Refer to derivational details of *kuryāt*, *kuryātām* and *kryuḥ* (III:784), under 3.4.103 *yāsuṭ parasmaipade*. . . . The affix which conditions deletion of *u* is *yāsUT*.

## 6.4.110 अत उत्सार्वधातुके

*ata ut sārva dhātuke*

/ataḥ 6/1 ut 1/1 sārva dhātuke 7/1/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *kniti* #98 *utah pratyayāt* #106 *lopaḥ* #107 *karoteḥ* #108)

*ukārapratyayāntasya karoter akārasya sthāne ukāra ādeṣo bhavati sārva dhātuke kniti parataḥ*

The *a* of an *aṅga* which is constituted by *kṛ*, and ends in an affix ending in *u*, is replaced with *uT* (1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*) when a *sārva dhātuka* affix marked with *K* or *Ṇ* as an *it* follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*kurutaḥ* 'third person dual active *LAT*-derivate of *kṛ*'

*kurvanti* ‘third person plural . . .’

1. Refer to the appendix of 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit* for derivational details of *kurutaḥ* and *kurvanti*. This rule introduces *u* as a replacement for the *a* of an *aṅga*, namely *kr*, when the same ends in *u*, provided a *sārvadhātuka* affix marked with *K* and *Ñ* follows. Thus,  $k(r \rightarrow ar) + u + tas \rightarrow k(u \rightarrow ar) + u + tas \rightarrow k(a \rightarrow u) r + u + tas = kuruta(s \rightarrow r \rightarrow h) = kurutaḥ$ .

1. Why do we have to use *sārvadhātuke*? So that this replacement can take place even under the condition of a previously existing *sārvadhātuka*. Thus, consider *kuru* which I derive under 6.4.106 *utaś ca* . . . Recall that *hi*, a *sārvadhātuka*, is deleted after *kar* + *u*. The *utva* of this rule, because of the express mention of *sārvadhātuke*, can now take place under the condition of the removed *hi*. Recall also that a *hi*-replacement of *si* is also considered as not marked with *P* (3.4.87 *ser hy apic ca*). This enables *hi* to be accepted as marked with *K* and *Ñ*. It is still argued that the *utva* can be accomplished even without the express mention of *sārvadhātuke*? How? The deletion of *hi* will be considered as *asiddha* (PM: *asiddho hi, tasyāsiddhatvād utvaṁ bhaviṣyati*). Thus, *hi* being there, *utva* cannot be blocked. In that case, an express mention of *sārvadhātuke* can be accepted as made for clarity (*viśpaṣṭārtham*).

Why is *u* specified here with a following *t* (*taparakaraṇa*)? So that the penultimate *guṇa* (*laghūpadhaguṇa*; 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdha* . . .) of *u* can be blocked. A replacement specified with a following *t* cannot allow any further replacement.

Finally the condition of marked with *K* and *Ñ* is still valid. Consider *karoti*, *karoṣi* and *karomi* where *tiP*, *siP* and *miP* are marked with *P* as an *it*. This *utva* does not apply there since the condition of *kniti* is not satisfied.

#### 6.4.111 ङनसोरलोपः

*śnasor allopaḥ*

/ śnaṣoḥ 6/2 = śnaś ca aś ca = śnasau (itar. dv.), *tayoḥ*; *allopaḥ* = *ato lopaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*)/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *kniti* #98 *sārvadhātuke* #110)

*śnasyāsteś cākārasya lopo bhavati sārvadhātuke kniti parataḥ*

The *a* of *ŚnaM*, and that of verbal root *as* as well, is deleted by means of *LOPA* when a *sārvadhātuka* affix marked with *K* or *Ñ* as an *it* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*rundhaḥ* ‘third person singular active LAT-derivate of *rudh* ‘to obstruct’

*rundhanti* ‘third person plural . . .’

*bhintah* ‘third person singular active LOT-derivate of *bhid* ‘to split’

*bhindanti* ‘third person plural . . .’

*santi* ‘third person singular active LAT-derivate of *as* ‘to be’

1. This rule allows deletion of *a* of *ŚnaM* and *as*. Consider *rudhIR* +

(*LAT*→*tas*)→*ru* + *ŚnaM* + *dh* + *tas*, where *ŚnaM* is introduced after *u* of *rudh* (1.1.47 *mid aco' ntyāt paraḥ*). Refer to *ruṇaddhi* (appendix, 3.1.78 *rudhādi-bhyaḥ* . . .) for further derivational details. Our present rule deletes the *a* of *ŚnaM*. The *n* then goes through replacements in *anusvāra* (8.3.24 *mo' nusvāraḥ*) and back to *n* again via *parasavarna* (8.4.58 *anusvārasya* . . .). This *n* cannot be replaced with *ṇ* because of *asiddhatva* (8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham*). Examples such as *bhintaḥ* and *bhindanti* follow similar rules. Refer to derivational details of *staḥ* under the appendix of 1.1.58 *na padānta*. . . Deriving *santi* from: *as* + (*LAT*→*jhi*→*anti*) should then become easier.

Note that this deletion is also available before an affix marked with *Kor* *Ñ* as an *it*. It does not apply in *bhinatti* and *asti* since *tiP* is marked with *P* as an *it*.

2. How do we get the specification of *śnasoh*. It should be *śna* + *asoh* = *śnāsoḥ*. The *a* of *śna* goes through *pararūpa* because of the listing of *śakandhuvādi* (cf. *ut ad* 6.1.94 *enī pararūpam*).

#### 6.4.112 इनाभ्यस्तयोरातः

*śnābhyastayor ātaḥ*

/śnā-abhyastayoh 6/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tayoh*; *ātaḥ* 6/1/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *kṛiti* #98 *lopaḥ* #107 *sārvadhātuke* #110)

'śnā' *ity etasyābhyastānām cāṅgānām ākārasya lopo bhavati sārvadhātuke kṛiti parataḥ*

The *ā* of an *aṅga* which ends in *Śnā*, or of one which is termed *abhyasta*, is deleted by means of *LOPA*, when a *sārvadhātuka* affix marked with *K* or *Ñ* as an *it* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*lunate* 'third person singular middle *LAT*-derivate of *lūÑ* 'to cut''

*lunatām* 'third person dual middle *LOT*-derivate of *lūÑ*'

*alunata* 'third person plural middle *LAN*-derivate of *lūÑ*'

*mimate* 'third singular middle *LAT*-derivate of *māÑ* 'to measure''

*mimatām* 'third person dual middle *LOT*-derivate of *māÑ*'

*amimata* 'third person plural middle *LAN*-derivate of *māÑ*'

*sañjihate* 'third person singular middle *LAT*-derivate of *OhāÑ* 'to go' used with the preverb *saṃ*'

*sañjihatām* 'third person dual middle *LOT*-derivate . . .'

*samajihata* 'third person plural middle *LAN*-derivate . . .'

1. Note that our next rule proposes a replacement in *ī* under the condition of a consonant-initial *sārvadhātuka* affix marked with *K* and *Ñ*. By inference, we have to accept this rule's provision under the condition of a similar *sārvadhātuka* affix beginning with a vowel (*ajādi*).

Refer to derivational details of *vyatilunate* (appendix, II:468); 1.3.14

*kartari* . . .) for deriving *lunate*. The *e* of the derivate of *LOT* gets *ām* (3.4.90 *ām etaḥ*). Thus we get *lunatām*. The third plural middle form *alunata* is derived with *LAN* and introduction of augment *aT*. We find *mimate*, *mimatām*, and *amimata* as examples for items termed *abhyasta*. Recall that *māN* ‘to measure’ is a root of the *juhotyādi* class. A *ŚaP* introduced after it goes through deletion by *ŚLU*. This starts the process of iteration (*ditva*; 6.1.10 *ślau*). The *ā* of *abhyāsa* goes through shortening and its *a* is replaced with *i* (7.4.76 *bhṛṇām it*). The *ā* of *abhyasta* (6.1.5 *ubhe abhyastam*) goes through deletion of this rule. The rest of operational steps are similar to many *ātmanepada* derivatives of *LAṬ*, *LOT* and *LAN*. Derivational details of *sañjihate*, *sañjihatām* and *samajihata* are not very different. These are examples of verbal root *OhāN*, used with the preverb *sam*. The *m* of *sam* goes through *anusvāra* and *parasavarṇa* ‘homogeneous with the following’.

2. Recall that this deletion is limited to derivatives with *Śnā* and *abhyasta*. That is why we do not get it in *yānti* and *vānti*. This deletion is also available only when an affix marked with *K* and *N* follows. That is why this deletion is blocked before *tīP* in *alunāt*, *ajahāt*. A *mit* and *nīt* status is not allowable in the context of *tīP*.

3. Why was this specification made with *ā* used with *t* (*taṇakaraṇa*? That is, a specification with *a* should have accounted for it. A specification with *āt* is made for clarity (*spāṣṭārtham*).

#### 6.4.113 ई हल्यघोः

*ī haly aghoḥ*

/ī (1/1 deleted) *hali* 7/1 *aghoḥ* 6/1 = *na ghuḥ* (*nañ.*), *tasya/*

(*āṅgasya* #1 *kniti* #98 *sārvadhātuke* #110 *śnābhyastayor ātaḥ* #122)

*śnāntānām āṅgānām abhyastānām ca ghuvārjitānām āta ikārādeṣo bhavati halādaḥ sārvadhātuke kniti parataḥ*

The final *ā* of an *āṅga* which ends in *Śnā*, or else, is termed an *abhyasta* but is not termed *ghu*, is replaced with *ī* when a *sārvadhātuka* affix beginning with a consonant and marked with *K* or *N* as an *it* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*lunītaḥ* ‘third person dual active *LAṬ*-derivate of *lūN*’

*punītaḥ* ‘third person dual . . . of *pūN* ‘to cleanse’

*lunīthaḥ* ‘second person dual active *LAṬ* of *lūN*’

*punīthaḥ* ‘. . . of *pūN*’

*punīte* ‘third person singular middle *LAṬ* of *pūN*’

*mimīte* ‘. . . of *māN*’

*mimīṣe* ‘second person singular . . .’

*mimīdhve* ‘second person plural . . .’

*sañjihīte* ‘third person singular middle *LAṬ* of *OhāN* used with the

preverb *sam*'

*sañjihīse* 'second person singular . . .'

*sañjihīdhve* 'second person plural . . .'

1. Refer to derivational details of *parikrīṇite* (appendix, 1.3.18 *parivya-vebhyah* . . .) for deriving *lunīte* and *punīte* from *lū* + *LAT* and *pū* + *LAT*. Deriving *lunītaḥ* and *lunīthaḥ* with active (*parasmaipada*) *sārvadhātuka* affixes *tas* 'third dual' and *thas* 'second dual' should not present any difficulty. Recall that these affixes are termed *Ñit* by 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit*. Derivates such as *mimīte*, *mimṣe*, etc., will involve iteration as usual. Derivates of *OhāÑ*, used with *sam*, are not very difficult to derive.

2. A condition of *halādi* 'beginning with a consonant' is imposed so that this replacement in *ī* is blocked in deriving *lunanti* and *punanti* where *jhi* is replaced with *anti*. The condition of *aghoḥ* is needed to block this *ī* in deriving *dattaḥ* and *dhattaḥ*. Recall that *dā* and *dhā*, with the exception of *dāP*, are termed *ghu* (1.1.20 *dādhāghv adāp*). The condition of *kniti* is again valid. Thus, we do not get this replacement in *lunāti* and *jahāti* where *tiP* is marked with *P* as an *it*.

#### 6.4.114 इद् दरिद्रस्य

*id daridrasya*

/it 1/1 *daridrasya* 6/1

(*aṅgasya* #1 *kniti* #98 *sārvadhātuke* #110 *ātaḥ* #112 *hali* #113)

*daridrāter halādaḥ sārvadhātuke kniti parata ikārādeṣo bhavati*

The final *ā* of *daridrā* is replaced with *i* when a consonant-initial *sārvadhātuka* affix marked with *K* or *Ñ* as an *it* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*daridritaḥ* 'third person dual active *LAT*-derivate of *daridrā* 'to be poor''

*daridritaḥ* 'second person dual . . .'

*daridriṇaḥ* 'first person dual . . .'

*daridrimaḥ* 'first person plural . . .'

1. This rule offers *i* as a replacement for the *ā* of *daridrā*. Of course, when a *sārvadhātuka* affix marked with *K* and *Ñ* follows. We get *daridritaḥ*, *daridritaḥ*, *daridriṇaḥ* and *daridrimaḥ*, where *daridrā* occurs before *LAT* replaced with the active endings *tas*, *thas*, *vas* and *mas*. Note that *daridrā* is a root of the *adādi* class. A *ŚaP* which occurs after it is thus deleted (2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyah* . . .).

2. This replacement is blocked in deriving *daridrati* and *daridrāti* because of the twin conditions of *halādi* and *kniti*, respectively.

3. A *vārttika* proposal is made for deletion of *ā* of *daridrā* when an *ārhdhadhātuka* affix follows (*vt*: *daridrāter ārdhadhātuke loṇo vaktavyaḥ*). Additionally, it is stated that *ā*-deletion remains valid in affixal operations (*vt*:

*siddhaś ca pratyayavidhau bhavātīti vaktavyam*). Thus, *daridrātīti* = *daridraḥ* 'poor'.

The following verse of the *Mahābhāṣya* summarizes:

*na daridrāyake loṇa daridrāṇe ca neṣyate/  
didaridrāsātīty eke didaridraṣātīti vā//*

'there is no deletion in *daridrāyakaḥ*; no deletion is also desired in *daridrāṇaḥ*; some accept optional deletion in *didaridrāsati* and *didaridriṣati*'

#### 6.4.115 भियोऽन्यतरस्याम्

*bhiyo' nyatarasyām*

/ *bhiyaḥ* 6/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *kniti* #98 *sārvadhātuke* #110 *hali* #113 *it* #114)

'*bhī*' *ity etasyāṅgasyāntarasyām ikārādeśo bhavati halāḍau kniti sārvadhātuke parataḥ*

The final *ī* of an *aṅga*, namely *bhī*, is optionally replaced with *i* when an affix beginning with a consonant, and marked with *K* or *Ñ* an an *it*, follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*bibhitah* 'third person dual active LAT-derivate of *Ñibhī* 'to fear'

*bibhūtaḥ* 'ibidem'

*bibhithaḥ* 'second person dual . . .'

*bibhūthaḥ* 'ibidem'

*bibhivaḥ* 'first person dual . . .'

*bibhīvaḥ* 'ibidem'

*bibhimah* 'first person plural . . .'

*bibhīmah* 'ibidem'

1. The *i*-replacement of the preceding rule is made optional (*anyatarasyām*) in case of verbal root *bhī*. Thus, we get two forms. Note that example derivates all involve iteration and operations relative to *abhyāsa*. This replacement in short *i* comes in place of the final *ī* of *bī* + *bhī*. The first *ī* goes through shortening.

2. This replacement is blocked in deriving *bibhyati* where *jh* of *jhi* is replaced with *at*. That is, a consonant-initial affix does not follow. The final *ī* is thus replacement with *yañ*. A lack of meeting the condition of *kniti* again blocks this replacement in *bibheti*. This example goes through a replacement in *guṇa*. The condition of *sārvadhātuke* similarly does not allow this replacement in *bhīyate*. Affix *yaK* is obviously an *ārdhadhātuka*.



## 6.4.116 जहातेश्च

*jahāteś ca*

/jahāteḥ 6/1 ca φ/

(aṅgasya #1 kṛiti #98 sārvaadhātuke #110 hali #113 it #114 anyatarasyām #115)

*jahāteś ca ikārādeśo bhavaty anyatarasyām halādaḥ kṛiti sārvaadhātuke parataḥ*

The final *ā* of an *aṅga*, namely *OhāK* 'to abandon', is also optionally replaced with *i*, when an affix which begins with a consonant and is marked with *K* or *Ñ* as an *it* follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*jahitaḥ* 'third person dual active LAT-derivate of *OhāK*'

*jahītaḥ* 'ibidem'

*jahithaḥ* 'second person dual . . .'

*jahīthaḥ* 'ibidem'

1. A separate formulation of this rule is intended so that, in subsequent rules, only *jahāteḥ* could be carried (*prthag yogakaraṇam uttarārtham*).

2. Refer to derivational details of *juhoti* (appendix, 1.1.61 *pratyayasya* . . .) for operations relative to iteration and *abhyāsa*. Recall that 6.4.113 *ī haly aghoḥ* offers *ī* as an obligatory (*nitya*) replacement for the final *ā* of *abhyāsa*. That *ī* becomes applicable if this optional *i* is not accepted. This replacement option is again not available where a non-*sārvaadhātuka* affix follows. Thus, we get *hiyate* and *jehiyate* where affixes *yaK* and *yaÑ* are termed *ārdhadhātuka*.

## 6.4.117 आ च हौ

*ā ca hau*

/ā ca φ hau 7/1/

(aṅgasya #1 it #114 anyatarasyām #115 jahāteḥ #116)

*jahāter ākāraś cāntādeśo bhavati ikāraś cānyatarasyām hau parataḥ*

The final *ā* of an *aṅga*, namely *OhāK*, is optionally replaced with *ā*, in addition to an optional *i*, when affix *hi* follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*jahāhi* 'second person singular active LOT-derivate of *OhāK* 'to abandon''

*jahihi* 'ibidem'

*jāhihi* 'ibidem'

1. This rule offers *ā* as an optional replacement for an *aṅga* in *hā*. The optional *i* of the preceding rule is also applicable. The *ca* is used here to attract *anyatarasyām* and *i* both (*Nyāsa*: *cakāra ittvānyatarasyāmgrahaṇayor*

*anukarṣaṇārthaḥ*). Since these two options are both made against *ī* of 6.4.113 *haly aghoḥ*, we will end up with three forms: *jahāhi*, *jahihi* and *jahīhi*. Operations relative to deletion by *ŚLU* (of *ŚaP*) and iteration all obtain as usual.

#### 6.4.118 लोपो यि

*lopo yi*

/lopaḥ 1/1 yi 7/1/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *kniti* #98 *sārvadhātuke* #100 *jahāteḥ* #116)

*lopo bhavati jahāter yakārāḍau kniti sārvadhātuke parataḥ*

The final *ā* of an *aṅga*, namely *OhāK*, is deleted by means of *LOPA* when a *sārvadhātuka* affix which begins with *y* and is marked with *Kor* *N* as an *it* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*jahyāt* 'third person singular active *LIÑ*-derivate of *OhāK*'

*jahyātām* 'third person dual . . .'

*jahyuh* 'third person plural . . .'

1. This rule offers deletion of *ā* when *hā* is followed by a *sārvadhātuka* affix marked with *K* and *N*. Additionally, this *sārvadhātuka* affix must begin with *y* (*yakārāḍi*). Incidentally, the deletion applies to a final *ā* (1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*). Refer to many *LIÑ*-derivates in the appendix where operational steps common to these examples, i.e., *ŚaP*, *ŚLU*-deletion, doubling, introduction of *yāsUT*, and *tām* and *us*, have been explained.

#### 6.4.119 घ्वसोरेद्वावभ्यासलोपश्च

*ghvasor edd hāv abhyāsalopas ca*

/ghvasoḥ 6/2 (*itar. dv.*); et 1/1 hau 7/1 *abhyāsa-lopaḥ* 1/1 (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *ca*  
 φ/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *kniti* #98)

*ghusamjñakānām aṅgānām asteś ca ekārāḍeśo bhavati hau parato' bhyāsalopas ca*

The final sound segment of an *aṅga* termed *ghu*, or of an *aṅga* constituted by *as*, is replaced with *e* when affix *hi* follows, with an additional provision that the *abhyāsa* be deleted by means of *LOPA*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*dehi* 'second person singular active *LOT*-derivate of *dā* 'to give''

*dhehi* '... of *dhā* 'to place''

*edhi* '... of *as* 'to be''

1. This rule offers *e* as a replacement for an *aṅga* constituted by roots termed *ghu*, and *as* as well. Additionally, these *aṅga* also go through deletion

of their *abhyāsa*. Refer to the appendix (II: 352–54) of 1.1.20 *dādhāghv adāp* for general derivational direction for imperative forms of *dā* ‘to give’ (*dehi*), *dhā* ‘to place’ (*dhehi*) and *as* ‘to be’ (*edhi*). Rule 6.4.22 *asiddhavad atrābhāt* shows derivational details of *edhi*.

2. Commentators explain that this *lopa* is here intended as marked with Ś (*Kās: śid ayam lopah*). Consequently, deletion applies to an *abhyāsa*, in toto (1.1.55 *anekālsit sarvasya*). This provision now becomes an exception to deletion of the final sound segment (1.1.52 *alo’ ntyasya*).

#### 6.4.120 अत एकहल्मध्ये ऽनादेशादेर्लिटि

*ata ekahalmadhye’ nādeśāder liṭi*

/ atah 6/1 ekahalmadhye 7/1 = *ekas ca ekaś ca = ekau; ekaś ca tau halau ca = ekahalau (karmadhāraya); ekahalor madhyaḥ (ṣaṣ. tat.), tasmin; anādeśādeḥ 6/1 = avidyamāna ādeśa ādir yasya (bv.), tasya; liṭi 7/1/ (aṅgasya #1 kṛiti #98 eta abhyāsalopaś ca #119)*

*liṭi parata ādeśa ādir yasyāṅgasya nāsti tasya ekahalmadhye asahāyayor halor madhye yo’ kāras tasya ekārādeśo bhavati abhyāsalopaś ca liṭi kṛiti parataḥ*  
An *a* which occurs in between two single consonants of an *aṅga* whose initial sound has not gone through a replacement is replaced with *e*, with an additional provision of deletion of *abhyāsa*, when a *LIT* affix marked with *K* or *Ṇ* as an *it* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*reṇatuḥ* ‘third person dual active *LIT*-derivate of *raṇ* ‘to be happy’

*reṇuḥ* ‘third person plural . . .’

*yematuḥ* ‘third dual active *LIT*-derivate of *yamA* ‘to be indifferent’

*yemuḥ* ‘third person plural . . .’

*pecatuḥ* ‘third dual active *LIT*-derivate of *pac*’

*pecuḥ* ‘third person plural . . .’

*dematuḥ* ‘third person dual active *LIT*-derivate of *damU* ‘to control, suppress’

*demuḥ* ‘third person plural . . .’

1. This rule replaces the *a* of an *aṅga* with *e*, provided this *a* occurs in between two consonants. Additionally, the *abhyāsa* of this *aṅga* is also deleted. These two operations apply to an *aṅga* which does not go through deletion of its initial sound, and which occurs followed by a *LIT* affix marked with *K* and *Ṇ* as an *it*. Thus, consider *raṇ* + *atus* where *atus* is a replacement of *LIT*, via *tiP* (3.4.82 *parasmaipadānām ṇalatusus . . .*). This string produces *ra* + *raṇ* + *atus* after iteration (*dvitva*) and *halādiṣeṣa* (7.4.60). Our present rule replaces the *a* of *ra* with *e* and deletes *ra*. We thus get *reṇatu*(*s*→*r*→*ḥ* = *reṇatuḥ*).

Notice how the *aṅga*, i.e., *ra* + *raṇ*, meets the condition of *anādeśādi* ‘that

of which there is no replacement at the beginning'. The *a* of *ra* meets the condition of *ekahalmadhyā* because the two *r* sounds in between which it occurs are not conjuncts. Similar derivational details apply in deriving *reṇuḥ* from *ra* + *raṇ* + (*LIT*→*tas*→*us*). Other examples follow similar derivational applications.

The word *eka* is not used here in the sense of a number (*saṃkhyā*). It is, instead, used here in the sense of *asahāya* 'without an accompanying consonant, non-conjunct'. This interpretation of *eka* is valid in view of the specification of *madhyā* 'in between'. Obviously, 'in between' is a relative notion and, hence, is impossible to make sense in the context of *eka* interpreted as a number. Commentators explain that this *eka* is derived from *ekas ca ekas ca*, a *dvandva* paraphrase, where only one *eka* is retained (*ekasēṣa*).

2. Note that *e* comes as a replacement for *a*. Thus, we get *didivatuh* and *didivuh* from *div* + *LIT*, where *e* and deletion of *abhyāsa* do not apply. Obviously, because there is no *a*. Since this *a* is specified with *taparakaraṇa* 'marking with *T*', our present rule does not apply on the string yielded by *rās* + *LIT*→*rarāse*/*rarāsāte*/*rarāsire*. That is, the replacement and deletion of this rule applies only when the *aṅga* has a short *a*, occurring in between two single consonants.

Why is the specification made with *ekahalmadhyā* 'in between two non-conjunct consonants'. So that this rule does not apply on derivatives of *tsar* 'to hide, move', i.e., *tatsaratuh* and *tatsaruh*. A condition of *anādeśa* blocks the application of this rule on *cakanatuh* and *cakanuh*, etc., where the initial *k* of *kaṇ* goes through a replacement in *c*.

3. Note that the negation of *anādeśādeḥ* is also construed with *liṭi*. That is, *liṭi* of this rule is read twice via repetition (*āvṛtti*). One *liṭi* is thus read with *anādeśādeḥ* and the other with *kniti*, constrained by the condition of a following *LIT*. Thus, replacements which may block the application of this rule must result under the condition of a following *LIT*. Consider *nematuh*/*nemuh*; and *sehe*/*sehāte*. These sets of examples involve a replacement of *ṇ* and *ṣ* with *n* and *s*, respectively. These consonants, *ṇ* and *ṣ*, are replaced with *s* and *n* when occurring as initial of a verbal root (6.1.64 *dhātvādeḥ* . . .; 6.1.65 *no naḥ*). Obviously, they are replaced prior to the introduction of *LIT* and are thus not conditioned (*animittika*) by *LIT*. The negation of *anādeśādeḥ* does not apply to these examples.

Commentators explain that there are two types of replacements: (a) where a replacement causes formal difference (*bheda*) and (b) where no such difference (*abheda*) results. Our present rule applies only where the first kind of replacement is involved. Consider 6.4.126 *na śasādadivādiguṇānām* which negates *etva* 'replacement in *e*' and *abhyāsalopa* 'deletion of *abhyāsa*' in *viśāśasatuh* and *viśāśasuh*, etc. Now consider 8.1.54 *abhyāse car ca* which replaces sounds denoted by *caR* and *jaŚ*, in an *abhyāsa*, with corresponding *caR* and *jaŚ*. This results in non-difference of forms such as *śas* and *dad*. If the

negation of *anādeśādiḥ* does not make a difference in replacements depending on formal difference or a lack of it, *śas* and *dad* will become *ādeśādi*. This rule itself will be able to block *etva* and *abhyāsalopa*. What is the need of formulating 6.4.126 *na śaṣadadivādi*...? This, in turn, indicates that our present rule considers a replacement resulting in formal difference.

Finally, the condition of *kiti* is also valid. Consider *aḥam paṇaca* and *aḥam paṇaṭha* where *NaL*, of *pac* + (*LIT* → *miP* → *NaL*) and *paṭh* + (*LIT* → *miP* → *NaL*), cannot be considered as *knit* (1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit*). That is, it will still be accepted as marked with *P* as an *it*, via *sthānivadbhāva* 'treating a replacement as what it replaced'. A replacement in *e*, with concurrent deletion of *abhyāsa*, is blocked.

4. There are four *vārttika* proposals under this rule:

- (i) A replacement in *e* (*etva*) and deletion of *abhyāsa* should also be stated for *dambhi*, i.e., in *debhatuḥ* and *debhuḥ*. This *vārttika* is necessitated because deletion of *m* in *dambh* becomes *asiddha*, thereby impairing the condition of *ekahalmadhya*.
- (ii) A replacement in *e* should also be stated for *naś* and *man* when followed by a non-*LIT*. Thus, we get *aneśam* and *menakā*, derivatives of *LUN* and *vuK*, respectively.
- (iii) A replacement in *e* should be stated for *am* and *pac* in the Vedic when a non-*LIT* affix follows. Consider (*vi-am* + (*CānaŚ*) + *sU* → *vyemānam*, where augment *mUK* is not introduced. Examples of *pac* in *LIT*: *pac* + *a* + *sīyUT* + (*LIN* → *jha* → *ran*) = *peciran*.
- (iv) An *etva* must also be stated for *yaj* and *vac*, in the Vedic. Thus, we get (*āy(a→e)j(a+i→e)*) = *āyeje* and *āvepe*, both derivatives of *LAN*, where augment *āT* is introduced by 6.4.73 *chandasy api dṛśyate*. Note that this *āT* is introduced to *anajādi* 'that which does not begin with a vowel'.

#### 6.4.121 थलि च सेटि

*thali ca seṭi*

/ *thali* 7/1 *ca*  $\phi$  *seṭi* 7/1/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *ed abhyāsalopas ca* #119 *ekahalmadhya'e nādeśāder liṭi* #120)

*thali ca seṭi parato' nādeśāder aṅgasya ekahalmadhyagatasyātaḥ sthāne ekāra ādeśo bhavati abhyāsalopas ca*

An *a* which occurs in between two single consonants of an *aṅga* whose initial sound has not gone through a replacement is also replaced with *e*, with an additional provision of deletion of *abhyāsa*, when affix *thaL* used with *iṭ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*pecitha* 'second person singular active *LIT*-derivate of *pac* 'to cook''

*śekitha* ‘second person singular active *LIT*-derivate of *śak* ‘to be able to’

1. Note that *thaL* is not an affix marked with *K* and *Ñ* as an *it*. This rule is thus formulated for allowing *etva*, and concurrent deletion of *abhyāsa*, in contexts outside of *kniti*. Consider *pecitha* and *śekitha* (appendix (III:787), 3.4.115 *liṭ ca*) where *etva* and deletion of *abhyāsa* apply before *LIT*. A condition of *seṭi* is imposed so that, in case of the non-*iT* option of 7.2.63 *ṛto bhāradvājasya*, we can get *papaktha* with no *etva* and concurrent deletion of *abhyāsa*.

It is stated that *thaL* need not be stated in this rule. For, this rule is needed for contexts not covered by *kniti*. The condition of *seṭi*, outside the context of *kniti*, can only be met by *thaL*. Why then make an explicit mention of *thaL*? It is made for clarity (*Kāś*: *thalgrahaṇam viśpaṣṭārtham*).

The conditions of *at*, *ekahalmadhya* and *anādeśādi* are also valid. Thus, consider *didevitha* where *i* is not replaced with *e*. The deletion of the *abhyāsa* also does not apply. Now consider *tataḥṣitha* where replacement does not apply because the vowel does not happen to be used in between two single consonants. Finally, consider *cakaṇitha* and *babhaṇitha* where we do have the replacement at the beginning. Consequently, we do not get a replacement in *e*. We also do not get deletion of the *abhyāsa*.

#### 6.4.122 तुफलभजत्रपश्च

*tṛphalabhajatrapaś ca*

/ *tṛ-phala-bhaja-trap-aḥ* 6/1 (*sam. dv.*), *tasya*; *ca*  $\phi$ /

(*aṅgasya* #1 *kniti* #98 *ed abhyāsalopas ca* #119 *ataḥ liṭi* #120 *thali ca seṭi* #121)

*‘tṛ, phala, bhaja, trapa’ ity eteṣām aṅgānām ata ekārādeśo bhavati abhyāsalopas ca liṭi kniti paratas thali ca seṭi*

The final *a* of an *aṅga*, namely *tṛ* ‘to float’, *phal* ‘to be fruitful’, *bhaj* ‘to serve’, and *trap* ‘to be ashamed, be shameful’, is also replaced with *e*, with an additional provision of deletion of *abhyāsa*, when a *LIT* affix marked with *K* or *Ñ* as an *it*, or else, affix *thaL* used with *iT* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*teratuḥ* ‘third person dual active *LIT*-derivate of *tṛ*’

*teruḥ* ‘third person plural . . .’

*teritha* ‘second person singular . . .’

*phelatuḥ* ‘third person dual . . . of *phal*’

*pheluḥ* ‘third person plural . . .’

*phelitha* ‘second person singular . . .’

*bhejatuḥ* ‘third person dual . . . of *bhaj*’

*bhejuḥ* ‘third person plural . . .’

*bhejitha* ‘second person singular . . .’

*trepe* 'third person singular middle *LIT*-derivate of *trap*'  
*trepāte* 'third person dual . . .'  
*trepire* 'third person plural . . .'

1. This rule allows *etva*, and deletion of *abhyāsa*, where a *LIT* affix marked with *K* and *Ṇ*, or a *thaL* with *iT*, follows. Note that *ṛ* of *tṛ* goes through a replacement in *guṇa*, i.e., *ar* (7.4.11 *ṛchatyṛtām*). We thus get (*ta*→ $\emptyset$ ) + *t*(*a*→*e*)*r* + *atus* = *teratu*(*s*→*h*) = *teratuḥ*. This *etva* and deletion of *abhyāsa* is negated by 6.4.126 *na śaśadada*. . . . Our present rule makes it available. Examples such as *phelatuḥ*/*pheluḥ*/*phelitha*; and *bhelatuḥ*/*bhehuḥ*/*bhelitha* involve doubling and a replacement in *p* and *b* for initial *ph* and *bh*. This, in turn, could have blocked *etva*, and deletion of *abhyāsa*, in accord with the negation of *anādeśādi*. Our present rule makes these operations both possible. A similar explanation can be offered for *etva* and deletion in *trepe*/*trepāte* and *trepire* where *tr* impairs the condition of *ekahalmadhya*. This rule again facilitates *etva* and deletion.

2. A *vārttika* proposal recommends that *etva* and deletion should also be stated for *śranth*, i.e., in *śrethatuḥ* and *śrethuh*.

#### 6.4.123 राधो हिंसायाम्

*rādho hiṃsāyām*

/ *rādhah* 6/1 *hiṃsāyām* 7/1/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *kniti* #98 *ed abhyāsalopas ca* #119 *ataḥ liṭi* #120 *thali ca seṭi* #121)

*rādho hiṃsāyām arthe* ' *varṇasya ekāra ādeśo bhavati abhyāsalopas ca liṭi kniti paratas thali ca seṭi*

The *a* of an *aṅga*, i.e., *rādh*, signifying *hiṃsā* 'wishing harm to' is replaced with *e* with the additional provision of deletion of its *abhyāsa* when a *LIT* affix marked with *K* or *Ṇ* as an *it*, or else, affix *thaL* used with *iT* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*aparedhatuḥ* 'third person dual active *LIT*-derivate of *rādh* used with the preverb *ap*'

*aparedhuḥ* 'third person plural . . .'

*aparedhitha* 'second person singular . . .'

1. This rule allows *etva*, and deletion of *abhyāsa* as well, when *rādh* is used with the signification of *hiṃsā* 'harm'. All other conditions remain similar to those of the preceding rule. Thus, consider *aparedhatuḥ*/*aparedhuḥ* and *aparedhitha*. This *etva* and deletion of *abhyāsa* is not available to *rarādhatuḥ*/*rarādhuh* and *rarādhitha*, mainly because this *rādh* is not used with the signification of *hiṃsā*.

2. Note that *ataḥ* is still carried. It thus requires *e* as a replacement in place of the short *a*. What we find in *rādh* is a long. Commentators state that *ataḥ* is indeed carried. It, however, is interpreted as denoting *a* in general. That is, it also includes *ā*. Some suggest that, because of the specification of *rādh*, we must carry *ātaḥ* from 6.4.112 *śnābhyastayor ātaḥ*. Others say that this is not necessary. Since a specification for *etva* and deletion of *abhyāsa* is made with express mention of *rādh*, there is no problem in replacing *ā* with *e*. Since the vowel which is to be replaced must meet the condition of *ekahalmadhyā* and also since it is not possible to find any vowel other than *ā* here, *etva* applies to *ā*.

#### 6.4.124 वा जृभमुत्रसाम्

*vā jṛbhramutrasām*

/vā φ jṛ-bhramu-trasām 6/3 (itar. dv.), teṣām/

(aṅgasya #1 kṛiti #98 ed abhyāsalopas ca #119 ataḥ liṭi #120 thali ca seṭi #121)

'jṛ, bhramu, trasa' ity eteṣām aṅgānām ataḥ sthāne vā ekāra ādeśo bhavati abhyāsalopas ca liṭi kṛiti paratas thali ca seṭi

The *a* of an *aṅga*, namely *jṛ* 'to decay, be old', *bhramU* 'to ramble, err' and *trasA* 'to tremble', is optionally replaced with *e*, with the additional provision of deletion of their *abhyāsa* when a *LIT* affix marked with *K* or *N* as an *il*, or else, affix *thaL* used with *iT* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*jeratuh/jajaratuh* 'third person dual active optional *LIT*-derivates of *jṛ*'

*jeruh/jajaruh* 'third person plural<sup>1</sup> . . .'

*jeritha/jararitha* 'second person singular . . .'

*bhrematuh/babhramatuh* 'third person dual . . . of *bhram*'

*bhremuh/babhramuh* 'third person plural . . .'

*bhremitha/babhramitha* 'second person singular . . .'

*tresatuh/tatrasatuh* 'third person dual . . . of *tras*'

*tresuh/tatrasuh* 'third person plural . . .'

*tresitha/tatrasitha* 'second person singular . . .'

1. This is an optional rule. It offers *etva* and concurrent deletion of *abhyāsa* to an *aṅga* relative to verbal roots *jṛ*, *bhramU* and *tras*. All other conditions, namely *ataḥ*, *liṭi*, *thali ca seṭi* and *kṛiti*, also remain in force. Thus, consider *jajaratuh*, etc., where *ṛ* goes through *guṇa* (7.4.11 *ṛcchatyṛtām*) and yields *a* followed by *r*. Consequently, *etva* and deletion, both get blocked in view of negation of 6.4.126 *na śasadavādiguṇānām*. Our present rule allows it in case of *a* of *jar*. Derivates of verbal root *bhramU* involve a replacement at the beginning and do not meet the condition of *ekahalmadhyā*. Derivates of verbal root *tras* also do not meet the condition of *ekahalmadhyā*. Our present



rule makes it possible for *etva* and deletion of *abhyāsa* to apply. Since this rule is optional, we also get examples with no *etva* and deletion of *abhyāsa*.

#### 6.4.125 फणां च सप्तानाम्

*phaṇām ca saptānām*

/ *phaṇām* 6/3 *ca*  $\phi$  *saptānām* 6/3/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *knīti* #98 *ed abhyāsalopas ca* #119 *ataḥ liṭi* #120 *thali ca seṭi* #121 *vā* #124)

*phaṇādīnām saptānām dhātūnām avarṇasya sthāne vā ekāra ādeśo bhavati abhyāsalopas ca liṭi knīti paratas thali ca seṭi*

The *a* of an *aṅga*, namely one constituted by one of the seven verbal roots beginning with *phaṇA* ‘to move, go’, is also optionally replaced with *e*, with the additional provision of deletion of their *abhyāsa*, when a *LIT* affix marked with *K* or *Ṇ* as an *it*, or else, affix *thaL* used with *iṬ*, follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*phenatuḥ/ paphaṇatuḥ* ‘third person dual active optional *LIT*-derivates of *phaṇ*’

*phenuḥ/ paphaṇuḥ* ‘third person plural . . .’

*phenītha/ paphaṇītha* ‘second person singular . . .’

*rejatūḥ/ rarājatūḥ* ‘third person dual active optional *LIT*-derivates of *rāj* ‘shine’

*rejuḥ/ rarājuḥ* ‘third person plural . . .’

*rejītha/ rarājītha* ‘second person singular . . .’

*bhreje/ babhrāje* ‘third person singular middle optional *LIT*-derivates of *bhrāj* ‘to shine’

*bhrejāte/ babhrājāte* ‘third person dual middle . . .’

*bhrejire/ babhrājire* ‘third person plural middle . . .’

*bhreṣe/ babhrāṣe* ‘third person singular middle optional *LIT*-derivates of *bhrās* ‘to shine’

*bhreṣāte/ babhrāṣāte* ‘third person dual middle . . .’

*bhreṣire/ babhrāṣire* ‘third person plural middle . . .’

*bhṛeṣe/ babhlāṣe* ‘third person singular middle optional *LIT*-derivates of *bhlās* ‘to shine’

*bhṛeṣāte/ babhlāṣāte* ‘third person dual middle . . .’

*bhṛeṣire/ babhlāṣire* ‘third person plural middle . . .’

*syematūḥ/ sasyamatūḥ* ‘third person dual active optional *LIT*-derivates of *syam* ‘to sound’

*syemuḥ/ sasyamuḥ* ‘third person plural active . . .’

*syemītha/ sasyamītha* ‘second person singular . . .’

*svenatuḥ/ sasvanatuḥ* ‘third person dual active optional *LIT*-derivates of *svan* ‘to sound’

*svenuḥ/sasvanuḥ* 'third person plural active . . .'

*svenitha/sasvanitha* 'second person singular . . .'

1. Note that a specification with the genitive plural of *phaṇām* is made to indicate the meaning of *ādi* 'a set of verbs beginning with *phaṇ*'. We get the meaning of 'seven roots beginning with *phaṇ*' when *phaṇām saptānām* is read together. Recall that *pha* is listed as a root in the *bhvādi* class. This listing *phaṇ, rājR, ṬubhrājR, ṬUbhāŚR, ṬUbhlāŚR, syamU* and *svanA*.

An *aṅga* constituted by these verbal roots may not qualify for *etva* and deletion, mainly because of not meeting the conditions of *anādeśādiḥ, eahalmadhya* and *ataḥ*. This rule expressly provides for *etva* and concurrent deletion against such requirements, optionally. Thus, *phenatuḥ/phenuḥ/phenitha* and *paphanatuḥ, paphanuḥ* and *paphanitha*, etc.

2. Derivational details of these examples are not hard to comprehend. That is, if one applies doubling and operations relative to *abhyāsa*. Refer to many derivations already discussed.

#### 6.4.126 न शसददवादिगुणानाम्

*na śasadadavādiguṇānām*

*/na φ śasa-dada-vādi-guṇānām* 6/3 *vakāra ādir yasya sa vādiḥ (bv.)*; *śasās ca dadaś ca vādiś ca guṇaś ca (itar. dv.)*, *teśām/ (aṅgasya #1 kniti #98 ed abhyāsalopaś ca #119 ataḥ liṭi #120 thali ca seṭi #121)*

'śasa, dada' ity etayor vakārādīnām ca dhātūnām guṇa ity evam abhinirvṛtasya ca yo' akāras tasya sthāne ekārādeśo na bhavati

The *a* of an *aṅga*, namely *śas, dad, vādi* 'that which has *v* as its initial', and that which has a *guṇa*-replacement in *a*, is not replaced with *e*, with the additional provision of non-deletion to their *abhyāsa*, when a *LIT* affix marked with *K* or *Ṇ* as an *it*, or else, affix *thaL* used with *iṬ*, follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*viśaśasatuḥ* 'third person dual active *LIT*-derivate of verbal root *śas* 'to cut' used with the preverb *vi*'

*viśaśasuh* 'third person plural active . . .'

*viśaśasitha* 'second person singular active . . .'

*dadate* 'third person singular middle *LIT*-derivate of verbal root *dā* 'to give''

*dadadāte* 'third person dual middle . . .'

*dadadire* 'third person plural middle . . .'

*vavamatuḥ* 'third person dual active *LIT*-derivate of verbal root *vamA* 'to vomit''

*vavamuh* 'third person plural active . . .'

*vavamitha* 'second person singular active ...'

*viśaśaratuḥ* 'third person dual active *LIT*-derivate of verbal root *śṛ* 'to harm' used with the preverb *vi*'

*viśaśaruḥ* 'third person plural active ...'

*viśaśaritha* 'second person singular active ...'

*lulavitha* 'second person singular active *LIT*-derivate of verbal root *lū* 'to cut''

1. This is a negation (*pratiṣedha*) rule. It blocks *etva* and deletion of *abhyāsa* in contexts where an *aṅga* involves *śaśU* 'to harm', *dadA* 'to give', or a verbal root beginning with *v*, or else, an *aṅga* where a replacement in *guṇa* has applied. Consider *viśaśasatuḥ*, etc., where *śaś* is used with *vi* before *LIT*. This rule negates *etva* for *a* of *viśaśas* + *atus*. This same is also true in case of *dadade*, where *ta* of *dad* + (*LIT*→*ta*) is replaced with *eś* (3.4.81 *liṭastajhayor* ...). Other examples of *dadA* are similarly derived with doubling and related operations. This rule blocks *etva* and deletion of *abhyāsa*. An example where the *aṅga* involves *vam*, a verbal root beginning with *v*, is: *vavamatuḥ*. Derivates such as *viśaśaratuḥ* and *lulavitha* illustrate instances where *etva* gets a *guṇa*-replacement in *a* as its focus. Thus, *viśṛ* + (*LIT*→*tas*→*atus*), where *ṛ* yields *ar* through application of *guṇa* (7.4.11 *ṛcchatyrtām*). The *lū* of *lū* + (*LIT*→*siP*→*tha*) also goes through *guṇa*, though followed by a replacement in *av* before *iṭ*. Commentators point out that the *a* which forms the focus of *etva* must result out of an application of expressly mentioned *guṇa*. Thus, we get *a* of *ṛ*→*ar* and *ū*→*o*→*av* as the focus.

#### 6.4.127 अर्वणस्त्रसावनञः

*arvaṇas* *tṛ asāv anaṇaḥ*

/ *arvaṇaḥ* 6/1 *tṛ* (1/1 deleted) *asau* 1/2 (*nañ*.); *anaṇaḥ* 5/1 (*nañ*.)/  
(*aṅgasya* #1)

'*arvan*' *ity etasya aṅgasya* 'tṛ' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati suś cet tataḥ paro na bhavati sa ca nañ uttaro na bhavati*

The final sound segment of *arvan* is replaced with *tṛ*, provided *arvan* is not combined after *nañ* and *sU* does not follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*arvantau* 'nominative dual of *arvan* 'courser''

*arvantaḥ* 'nominative plural ...'

*arvantam* 'accusative singular ...'

*arvantau* 'accusative dual ...'

*arvataḥ* 'accusative plural ...'

*arvatī* 'nominative singular (feminine with *ñiP*)'

*ārvatam* 'a derivate of *añ* denoting *apatya* 'offspring''

1. This rule allows  $tR$  as a replacement for an *aṅga* constituted by *arvan*, provided it does not occur after  $na\tilde{N}$  and is also not followed by  $sU$ . This replacement in  $tR$  comes in place of the final  $n$  (1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*) of *arvan*. Thus,  $arva(n \rightarrow tR) + au$ . Recall that augment  $nUM$  is introduced here as a result of  $R$  as an *it* (7.1.70 *ugid acām . . .*), before an affix termed *sarva-nāmasthāna* (1.1.43 *suḍ anapumsakasya*). Thus,  $arva + (n \rightarrow tR) + au \rightarrow arva + nUM + t + au = arvantau$ . Other forms, i.e., *arvantah*; *arvantam*, *arvantau*, *arvataḥ*, follow similar rules. Affix  $\tilde{N}iP$  (4.1.6 *ugitś ca*) is introduced in deriving feminine forms, also as a result of  $R$  as an *it*. Thus, we get *arvatī*. Our last example, i.e., *ārvata*, is derived from *arvat*, through initial *vṛddhi*, with affix  $a\tilde{N}$  (4.1.104 *anṛṣyā' nantarye . . .*) denoting *apatya* 'offspring'.

2. Note that  $sU$  of *asau* 'when  $sU$  does not follow' is here interpreted as the nominative singular. It cannot be accepted as the locative plural (*PM*: . . . *prathamaikavacanasya cātra grahaṇam, na saptamībahuvacanasya*). This condition of *asau* blocks  $tR$ , and yields *arvā*, through penultimate *vṛddhi*,  $sU$ -deletion and deletion of  $n$ . Thus,  $arv(a \rightarrow \bar{a})n + sU \rightarrow arvān + (sU \rightarrow \phi) \rightarrow arvā(n \rightarrow \phi) = arvā$ . The restriction of *anañāḥ* 'not used after  $na\tilde{N}$ ' also blocks  $tR$ . We thus get *anarvāṇau* and *anarvāṇah*, where *anarvan* is interpreted as *na arvā* 'non-arvan'.

#### 6.4.128 मघवा बहुलम्

*maghavā bahulam*

/maghavā 1/1 bahulam 1/1/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *tr* #127)

'maghavan' *ity etasyaṅgasya bahulam 'tr' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*

The final sound segment of an *aṅga*, namely *maghavan*, is variously replaced with  $tR$ .

#### EXAMPLES:

*maghavān* 'nominative singular of *maghavan* 'Indra''

*maghavantau* 'nominative dual . . .'

*maghavantaḥ* 'nominative plural . . .'

*maghavantam* 'accusative singular . . .'

*maghavantau* 'accusative dual . . .'

*maghavataḥ* 'accusative plural . . .'

1. Note that *maghavān* is derived from *maghavan* +  $sU$ , where  $n$  gets replaced with  $tR$  to yield *maghavat* ( $R \rightarrow \phi$ ) = *maghavat* +  $sU$ . Augment  $nUM$  is now introduced (7.1.70 *ugidacām . . .*) to derive *maghavant* +  $sU$ . We can now derive *maghavān* by deleting  $sU$  (6.1.66 *halnābbhyo . . .*) and the conjunct final  $t$  (*saṃyogānta*; 8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopah*). Our final form *maghavān* is derived by replacing the penultimate  $a$  by its *vṛddhi* counterpart (6.4.8 *sarvanāmasthāne cā' sambuddhau*). Remember that the conjunct-final dele-

tion of *t* is not treated as *asiddha* in accomplishing this penultimate *vr̥ddhi*. It is to accomplish this, and also non-deletion of *n*, that *bahulam* 'variously' is used in this rule.

The use of *bahulam* also suggests that *tR* does not have to be accepted as a replacement. We thus get forms such as *maghavā*, etc., parallel to *rājā* (appendix, 1.1.43 *suḍ anapūṃsakasya*): *maghavā*/*maghavānau*/*maghavānaḥ*, in the nominative, and *maghavānam*/*maghavānau*/*maghonaḥ*, in the accusative. Our accusative plural form involves *samprasāraṇa* (6.4.133 *śvayuvamaghonām* . . .), thereby yielding: *magha*(*v*→*u*) + *an* + (*ś*)*as* = *magha* + *uan* + *as*. The *u* and *a* of *uan* is then replaced with *u* (6.1.104 *samprasāraṇāc ca*). We thus get *magha* + *u* + *n* + *as*. Rule 6.1.84 *ād guaḥ* then replaces the *a* + *u* sequence of *magha* + *u* with a single *guṇa* vowel *o*. We thus get *magh*(*a* + *u*→*o*)*n* + *as*→*maghon* + *a*(*s*→*h*) = *maghonaḥ*. Recall that augment *nUM* is not introduced when a non-*sarvanāmasthāna* ending follows. Derivational details of *maghavat* and *māghavatam* are similar to those of *arvatī* and *ārvatam* of the previous rule. Deriving *maghonī* from *maghavan* + *NiP* will again involve *samprasāraṇa*, etc. Deriving *māghavanam* from *maghavan* + *Nas* + *aN*, with initial *vr̥ddhi*, should pose no problem.

#### 6.4.129 भस्य

*bhasya*

/ *bhasya* 6/1/

(*aṅgasya* #1)

'*bhasya*' ity *ayam* *adhikāra ā adhyāyaparisamāpteh*

Of the *bha* (1.4.18 *yaci bham*) of an *aṅga* . . .

#### EXAMPLES:

*dvīpadah* (*paśya*) 'accusative plural of *dvīpād* 'biped''

*dvīpadā* (*kṛtam*) 'instrumental singular . . .'

1. This is a governing (*adhikāra*) rule. One should consider *bhasya* present in whatever is stated till the end of this quarter (*āpādaparisamāpteh*). Thus, the following rule offers *pat* as a replacement for *pād*. The word *bhasya*, when read with the following rule, yields this interpretation: '*pād*, which occurs as final of an *aṅga* termed *bha*, is replaced with *pat*'.

Recall that 1.4.18 *yaci bham* assigns the term *bha* to a string which occurs before a non-*sarvanāmasthāna* affix beginning with *y*, or a vowel. An affix before which the term *bha* is assigned must also be one enumerated within the list headed by *sU* (*svādi*). This covers affixes enumerated by rules 4.1.2 *svaujasmauḥ* . . . through 5.4.151 *urah prabhṛtibhych kap*. Thus, a non-*sarvanāmasthāna* affix which is listed as part of *svādi* and which begins either with a *y*, or a vowel, conditions the assignment of the term *bha*. A string which does not occur before an affix specified for *bha* is termed *pada*. Whether or

not a string is assigned the term *pada* and *bha* also depends on whether or not an affix is assigned the term *sarvanāsthāna*. A *Śi* replacement of nominative and accusative plural endings *Jas* and *Śas* (7.1.20 *jaśśasoḥ śi*) is termed *sarvanāsthāna* (1.1.42 *śi sarvanāsthānam*). Affixes *su*, *au*, *Jas*, *am* and *auṬ* (*sUṬ*) are also termed *sarvanāsthāna* when they occur after a non-neuter nominal stem (1.1.43 *suḍ anapumsakasya*). A non-neuter string which occurs before a *sarvanāsthāna* affix is neither termed a *pada*, nor a *bha*. A neuter which occurs before *su* is termed *pada*. It is termed *bha* when occurring before *au* and *am*. Since a *Jas* and *Śas* is replaced with *Śi* which, in turn, is termed *sarvanāsthāna*, we do not get *pada* or *bha* before them. The term *bha* is also assigned before affixes *Śas*, *Ṭā*, *Ñe*, *ÑasI*, *Ñas*, *os* and *Ñi*, obviously because they begin with a vowel. A string before the genitive plural *ām* can also be termed *bha*, provided it has not receive augment *nUṬ*. Note that *nUṬ* impairs the vowel-initial status of *ām* which, in turn, occasions the assignment of the term *pada*. Similar reasoning applies in assigning the terms *pada* and *bha*, outside the domain of nominal endings.

#### 6.4.130 पादः पत्

*pādaḥ pat*

/pādaḥ 6/1 pat 1/1/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129)

'*pādaḥ*' iti *pādaśabdo* *luptākāro* *grhyate*, *tadantasyāṅgasya* *bhasya* 'pat' ity *ayam ādeśo bhavati*

The final *pād* of an *aṅga* termed *bha* is replaced with *pat*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*dvīpadaḥ* (*paśya*) 'accusative plural . . .'

*dvīpadā* 'instrumental singular . . .'

*dvīpade* 'dative singular of *dvīpād*'

*dvīpadikām* (*dadāti*) 'gives two quarters each'

*vaiyāghrapadyaḥ* 'offspring of Vyāghrapād'

1. The base in *pādaḥ* is specified with its final *a* deleted (*luptākāra*). Since such a deletion takes place only in a compound, *pādaḥ* is interpreted as referring to 'that which ends in *pād* (*tadantasya*)'. Note that *pat* will come in place of *pād*, since a replacement is introduced in place of that which is specified (*nirdīśyamānasyādeśā bhavanti*). That is, *pat* will not replace the final *d* of *pād*. Nor will it replace the *aṅga* which ends in *pād*.

Note that *dvīpat*, of *dvīpadaḥ paśya*, is a *bahuvrīhi* (2.2.24 *anekam anyapadārthe*), where 5.4.140 *saṃkhyāsupūrvasya* deletes the final *a* of *pāda*. Our present rule replaces this *pād* with *pat*. The word *dvīpadikā*, parallel to *dvau dvau pādau*, is derived with affix *vuN* (5.4.1 *pādaśatasya* . . .) introduced after *dvīpāda*. A deletion of the final *a*, and subsequent replacement of *pād*

with *pāt*, produces *dvīpat* + *vuN*. Rule 7.1.1 *yuvor anākau* then replaces *vu* with *aka*. An introduction of *TāP*, followed by *i* as a replacement for *a* of *aka*, produces *dvīpad(a→i) ikā*. A replacement of *pād*, in *pat*, is also seen in *vaiyāghryapadyah*, derived parallel to *vyāghrasyeva pādāv asya, tasyāpatyam* 'a son of he whose feet are similar to that of a tiger's', with affix *yañ* introduced after the *bahuvrīhi* compound *vyāghrapāda* (4.1.105 *gargādibhyo yañ*). The *a* of *pāda* is deleted by 5.4.138 *pādasya lopo*. . . . The *ā* of *vyāghra* gets replaced with *aiC* in accord with 7.3.3 *na yvābhyām*. . . .

#### 6.4.131 वसोः सम्प्रसारणम्

*vasoḥ samprasāraṇam*

/ *vasoḥ* 6/1 *samprasāraṇam* 1/1/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129)

*vasvantasya bhasya samprasāraṇam bhavati*

An *aṅga* termed *bha* which ends in *vasu* goes through *samprasāraṇa*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*viduṣaḥ* 'accusative singular of *vidvas* 'scholar''

*viduṣā* 'instrumental singular . . .'

*viduṣe* 'dative singular . . .'

*pecuṣaḥ* 'accusative singular of *pecvas* 'he who has cooked''

*pecuṣā* 'instrumental singular . . .'

*pecuṣe* 'dative singular . . .'

*paṭuṣaḥ* 'nominative singular of *pecvas*'

1. Note that *viduṣaḥ* is derived from *vidvas* + *Śas*, where *vidvas* itself derives with *ŚatR* (3.2.124 *laṭaḥ śatṛśānacāv* . . .), introduced after *vid* as a replacement of *LAṭ*. A replacement in *vasU* is then introduced for *ŚatR* as per 7.1.36 *videḥ śaturvasuḥ*. An application of *samprasāraṇa* on *vidvas* + (*Ś*) *as*, followed by the *pūrvarūpa* of resultant *u* + *a*, produces *vid(v→u) + as + (Ś) as→vid (u+a→u) s + (Ś) as = vidus + as*. Our final form *viduṣaḥ* results from the application of *s→ṣ* (*ṣatva*; 8.3.59 *ādeśa pratyayayoḥ*) and *s→r→ḥ* (*rutva-visarga*). Our next examples are derivatives of *LIT*, introduced after *pac*, where *LIT* gets replaced with *KvasU* (3.2.107 *kvasuś ca*). An application of doubling and related operations then produces *pac + (LIT→KvasU)→papac + vas*. Rule 6.4.120 *ata ekahalmadhyā* . . . then orders *e* and deletion of *abhyāsa*, thereby yielding *pecvas*. We get *pecvas* + *Śas*→*pecuṣaḥ*, through *samprasāraṇa*, *ṣatva* and *rutva-visarga*. The singular instrumental and dative forms, i.e., *pecuṣā* and *pecuṣe*, are similarly derived by introducing *Tā* and *Ñe* after *pacvas*. Deriving *yayūṣaḥ*, from *yā + (LIT→KvasU) + (Ś) as*, yields *yayā + us + as*, through application of doubling, *samprasāraṇa* and related operations. The *ā* of *yayā + us + as*, under the condition of *KvasU* marked with *Kas* *it*, is deleted (6.4.64

*āto lopa iti ca*). Recall that *samprasāraṇa* impairs the condition of *valādi*, and hence, *iṭ* is not introduced (7.2.67 *vasvekājād . . .*).

2. Why is the *samprasāraṇa* of *vas* not treated as *asiddha* 'suspended' in view of deletion of *ā*? These two operations both have different conditions (*nimitta*; *Kāś*: *ākāralope karttavye vasusamprasāraṇasya vyāśrayatvād asiddhatvam na bhavati*). Note that a specification with *vasU* is also desired to include a reference to *KvasU* (*Kāś*: *vasugrahaṇe kvasor api grahaṇam isyate*).

#### 6.4.132 वाह ऊढ्

*vāha ūṭh*

*vāha* 6/1/ *ūṭh* 1/1/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *samprasāraṇam* #131)

'*vāhaḥ*' ity evam antasya *bhasya* 'ūṭh' ity etat *samprasāraṇam* bhavati

A form termed *samprasāraṇa*, namely *ūṭH*, comes in place of the final *vāh* of an *aṅga* termed *bha*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*praṣṭhauhaḥ* 'accusative plural of *praṣṭhavāh* 'a calf under training''

*praṣṭhauhā* 'instrumental singular . . .'

*praṣṭhauhe* 'dative singular . . .'

*dityauhaḥ* 'accusative plural of *dityavāh* ' . . . who carries a demon''

*dityauhā* 'instrumental singular . . .'

*dityauhe* 'dative singular . . .'

1. Note that *vāhaḥ* specifies a derivate of *vah* used with affix *ṆvI* (3.2.64 *vahaś ca*). The assingment of the term *samprasāraṇa* to *ūṭH* facilitates its introduction in place of *v*, a sound denoted by *yaN* (1.1.45 *ig yanaḥ . . .*). That is, *ūṭH* does not replace the final sound (1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*). Refer to derivational details under notes of 6.1.86 *etyedhatyūṭhsu*. Our example *dityavāh* follows derivational patterns similar to *praṣṭhavāh*.

2. Why do we have to introduce the *samprasāraṇa* as *ūṭH*? Why can we simply not introduce the *samprasāraṇa* vowel *u*? This general *u* can then be replaced with *o* (*guṇa*; 7.2.88 *puganta . . .*), under the condition of *ṆvI* revived via 1.1.62 *pratyayalope . . .* This can easily offer us desired results after the *vṛddhi* of *o*. But specifying a general *samprasāraṇa* will render *ūṭH* vacuous (*vyartha*). This, in turn, indicates that the *antaraṅga* 'internally conditioned' rule of interpretation is valid here. That is, a *guṇa*-replacement conditioned by *ṆvI* is internally conditioned (*antaraṅga*), as opposed to assignment of the term *bha* which is externally conditioned (*bahiraṅga*) by vowel-initial affixes. This will render the *samprasāraṇa* as *asiddha* in replacing *u* with *o*. The question of any *vṛddhi* or *guṇa* will thus not arise. It is for this reason that *ūṭH*, and subsequent *vṛddhi* by 6.1.89 *etyedhaty . . .*, is necessary.



## 6.4.133 इवयुवमघोनामतद्धिते

*śvayuvamaghonām ataddhite*

/śva-yuva-maghonām 6/3 (itar. dv.), teṣāṃ; ataddhite 7/1 (nañ.), tasmin/  
(aṅgasya #1 bhasya #129 samprasāraṇam #131)

‘śvan, yuvan, maghavan’ ity eṣāṃ aṅgānām ataddhite pratyaye parataḥ  
samprasāraṇam bhavati

An *aṅga* termed *bha*, namely *śvan* ‘dog’, *yuvan* ‘young’, and *maghavan* ‘Indra’, goes through *samprasāraṇa* when a non-*taddhita* affix follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*śunaḥ* ‘accusative plural of *śvan* ‘dog’

*śunā* ‘instrumental singular . . .’

*śune* ‘dative singular . . .’

*yūnaḥ* ‘accusative plural of *yuvan* ‘young’

*yūnā* ‘instrumental singular . . .’

*yūne* ‘dative singular . . .’

*maghonaḥ* ‘accusative plural of *maghavan* ‘Indra’

*maghonā* ‘instrumental singular . . .’

*maghone* ‘dative singular . . .’

1. Derive *śunaḥ* from *śvan* + *Śas* with *samprasāraṇa*, *pūrvārūpa* of *a* and *rutva-visarga*. The instrumental and dative singular forms, i.e., *śunā* and *śune*, offer nothing new. Deriving *yūnaḥ*, from *yuvan* + *Śas*, involves *savarṇadīrgha*, in addition to *samprasāraṇa* and *pūrvārūpa*. Thus, *yu(v→u)an* + (*Ś*)*as*→*yu(u + a→u)n + as*→*y(u + u→ū)n + as* = *yūna(s→ḥ)* = *yūnaḥ*. Refer to derivational details of *maghonaḥ* under notes of 6.4.128 *maghavā bahulam*.

Why do we have the condition of a non-*taddhita* affix? Consider *śauvam* of *śauvaṃ māṃsam* ‘dog’s meat’. This derivate of *aN̄* (4.3.154 *prāṇirajatādibhyo . . .*) produces *śauvan*, where *au* is introduced as an augment (7.3.4 *dvārādīnām ca*). Rule 6.4.144 *nas taddhite* then requires *ṭi*-deletion of *an* of *śau + v(an→ϕ) + a* = *śauva*. This *ṭi*-deletion, however, is blocked by 6.4.167 *an* in deriving *yauvana* with *aN̄* (5.1.130 *hāyanānta . . .*). Thus, *y(u→au)van + N̄as + aN̄* = *yauvana* ‘youth’.

2. The *Mahābhāṣya* notes that *samprasāraṇa* of *śvā*, etc., is desired only when the derivatives denote feminine, or end in *n*. Thus, consider *yuvatiḥ paśya* where *yuvan* is used with affix *ti* with the signification of feminine. Examples with r.o denotation of feminine are: *maghavataḥ*, *maghavatā* and *maghavate*.

## 6.4.134 अलोपोऽनः

*allopo’ naḥ*

/allopaḥ 1/1 = *ato lopah* (ṣaṣ. tat.); *anaḥ* 6/1/

(aṅgasya #1 bhasya #129)

'an' ity evam antasya bhasya akāraloṇo bhavati

The *aT* of an *aṅga* termed *bha* which ends in *an* is deleted by means of *LOPA*.

EXAMPLES:

*rājñāḥ* 'accusative plural of *rājan* 'king''

*rājñā* 'instrumental singular . . .'

*rājñe* 'dative singular . . .'

*takṣṇāḥ* 'accusative plural of *takṣan* 'carpenter''

*takṣṇā* 'instrumental singular . . .'

*takṣṇe* 'dative singular . . .'

1. This rule deletes *a* of an *aṅga* termed *bha* which ends in *an*. Thus, *rājñāḥ* from *rājan* + (Ś) *as* where deletion of *a* applies. Rule 8.4.39 *stoś cunā ścuḥ* now applies on *raj(a→ϕ) n + as = rāj + n + as* to yield *rāj + (n→ñ) + as = rājñas*. Similar deletion of *a* also applies on *takṣan* + (Ś) *as* to yield *takṣṇāḥ*, through *n→ñ (natva)*.

2. Note that this deletion applies only to an *an* which retains its *n* at the end. Thus, this *a*-deletion cannot apply in deriving *rājñāḥ idam = rājakyam* 'regal', where *n* gets replaced with *k* (4.2.140 *rājñāḥ ka ca*).

6.4.135 षपूर्वहन्धृतराज्ञामणि

*ṣapūrvahandhṛtarājñām aṇi*

/ *ṣapūruva-han-dhṛtarājñām* 6/3 = *ṣakārah pūruvo yasmāt (bv.)*; *ṣapūruvaś ca han ca dhṛtarājā ca = ṣapūrvahandhṛtarājñāḥ (itar. dv.)*, *teṣām*; *aṇi* 7/1 (*nañ.*)/

*ṣakārapūruvo yo' n hano dhṛtarājñāś ca tasyākāraloṇo bhavati aṇi parataḥ*

The *a* of *an* occurring after *ṣ* at the end of an *aṅga* termed *bha*, and the *a* of *an* of *han* and *dhṛtarājan* as well, is deleted by means of *LOPA* when affix *aN* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*aukṣṇāḥ* 'offspring of *Ukṣan*'

*tākṣṇāḥ* 'offspring of *Takṣan*'

*bhraunaghnaḥ* 'he who killed a fetus'

*dhārttarājñāḥ* 'offspring of *Dhṛtarājan*'

1. Note that the 'as is' (*prakṛtibhāva*) provision of 6.4.167 *an* would block the provision of *a*-deletion of our preceding rule. This rule is then formulated to facilitate it. Thus, consider *ukṣan* + *aN* → *aukṣṇa* and *takṣan* + *aN* → *tākṣṇa*, where *ṣ* occurs before *an*. Note that the base which is used in deriving *bhraunaghna* with *aN* (3.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*) is *bhrūnahan*, a compound termed *upapada* paraphrased as *bhrūṇam hatavān* 'killed a fetus'. Affix *KvIP* (3.2.87 *brahmabhṛṇa* . . .) which occurs after *bhrūnahan* is deleted as usual.

Our final form *bhrauṇaghna* is derived with initial *vrddhi*, *a*-deletion and *h*→*gh* (*kutva*; 7.4.54 *ho hanter* . . .). Deriving *dhārtarājña*, from *dhrtarājan* + *Nas* + *aN*, involves *n*→*ñ* (*ścutva*; 8.4.39 *stoś cunā ścuḥ*). That is, in addition to initial *vrddhi* and deletion of *a*.

2. This *a*-deletion is constrained by conditions of *ṣapūrva*, etc., so that, elsewhere, *an* could be retained (6.4.67 *an*). That is, deletion of *a* or *ti*, i.e., *an*, is blocked. Thus, we get *sāmanaḥ* and *vāmanaḥ* with no deletion of *a*. That this deletion applies to specified *bha* only when *aN* follows is also important. Consider *tākṣanyaḥ* where this deletion is not allowed because *Ṇya* (4.1.151 *kurvādibhyo yaḥ*) follows. A retention of *an* in this case is in consonance with 6.4.168 *ye cābhāvakarmaṇoḥ*.

#### 6.4.136 विभाषा डिङ्योः

*vibhāṣā ṇiśyoh*

/ *vibhāṣā* 1/1 *ṇi-śyoh* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*)/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *allopo' naḥ* #134)

*nau parataḥ śīśabde ca ano vibhāṣā akāralopo bhavati*

The *a* of *an* which occurs at the end of an *aṅga* is optionally deleted by means of *LOPA* when affixes *Ṇi* and *Śi* follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*rājñi* 'locative singular of *rājan* 'king''

*rājani* 'ibidem'

*sāmni* 'locative singular of *sāman* 'chant''

*sāmani* 'ibidem'

*sāmnī* 'nominative/accusative neuter dual of *sāman*'

*sāmanī* 'ibidem'

1. This rule offers optional deletion of *a*, provided *Ṇi* and *Śi* follow. Recall that *Śi* here refers to a replacement of *Jas* (7.1.17 *jasas śi*) and *auN* (*au* and *auT*; 7.1.18 *auñ āpah*). Thus, we get *rājan* + *Ṇi* = *rājñi*, with *a*-deletion and *n*→*ñ* (*ścutva*). We will get *rājani* if the optional deletion of *a* is not applied. Similar deletion is seen in deriving *sāman* + *Ṇi* = *sāmni*, or else, *sāmani*. Now consider *sāmnī* and *sāmanī*, where the nominative accusative dual endings *au* and *auT*, when occurring after a neuter, are replaced with *Śi* (7.1.19 *napuṃsakāc ca*).

#### 6.4.137 न संयोगाद्धमन्तात्

*na saṃyogād vamañtāt*

/ *na*  $\phi$  *saṃyogāt* 5/1 *vamañtāt* 5/1 = *vaś ca maś ca* = *vamau* (*itar. dv.*);

*vamāu ante yasya* (*bv. with int. dv.*), *tasmāt*/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *allopo' naḥ* #134)

*vakāramakārāntāt saṃyogād uttarasyāno' kārasya lopo na bhavati*

The *a* of *an* which occurs at the end of an *aṅga* termed *bha* after a conjunct ending in *v* or *m* is not deleted by means of *LOPA*.

EXAMPLES:

*parvaṇā* 'instrumental singular of *parvan* 'junction, section''  
*parvaṇe* 'dative singular . . .'  
*atharvaṇā* 'instrumental singular of *atharvan* 'fire-priest''  
*atharvaṇe* 'dative singular . . .'

1. This rule is a negation (*pratiśedha*). It blocks *a*-deletion when *an* occurs after a conjunct formed with *v* or *m* as its final. Thus, we get *parvan* + *Ṭā* → *parvaṇā*, with *a*-deletion and *n* → *ṇ* (*ṇatva*). An example where *m* forms the final of a conjunct is *carmaṇā* 'instrumental singular' of *carman* 'skin, hide'.

2. The condition of *saṃyogāt* 'after a conjunct consonant' is imposed so that *a*-deletion cannot be blocked in *pratidivan* + *Ṭā* → *pratidiv(a* →  $\emptyset$ ) *n* + *Ṭā* = *pratidivnā* 'instrumental singular' of *pratidivan* 'sun'. Incidentally, the penultimate *i* of *pratidivn* + *ā* is replaced with *ī* (8.2.77 *hali ca*). That the conjunct must end in *v* or *m* is also important. Thus, consider *takṣṇā* and *takṣṇe* where, because of an absence of *v* and *m*, deletion of *a* cannot be blocked.

3. The word *antāt* is used for clarity (*vispaṣṭārtham*). For, *v* and *m* are used as qualifiers to *saṃyoga*, and consequently, the sense of *antāt* could have been available via *tadantavidhi* 'treating *x* as that which ends in *x*'. That is, a specification with *vamaḥ* should have been enough.

6.4.138 अच्:

*acaḥ*  
 /*acaḥ* 6/1/  
 (*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *allopaḥ* #134)  
 'acaḥ' *ity ayam aṅcatir luptanākāro grhyate, tadantasya bhasya akārasya lopo bhavati*

The *a* of *ac* of an *aṅga* termed *bha* is deleted by means of *LOPA*.

EXAMPLES:

*dadhūcaḥ* 'accusative plural of *dadhūc* 'he who loves yogurt''  
*dadhūcā* 'instrumental singular . . .'  
*dadhūce* 'dative singular . . .'  
*madhūcaḥ* 'accusative plural of *madhūc* 'he who loves honey''  
*madhūcā* 'instrumental singular . . .'  
*madhūce* 'dative singular . . .'

1. This rule allows *a*-deletion to a *bha* which ends in *ac*. Commentators explain that this *ac* refers to verbal root *añc*. Our rule has specified *añc* with deleted *ṇ*. Why can this *ac* not be interpreted as referring to vowels? It will

not make sense. For, the context is *a*-deletion, and *a* is part of the listing denoted by *aC*. Why can we not interpret *ac* as denoting vowels and make it a qualifier to *aṅga*. This way, we can accomplish deletion of an *a* which occurs at the end of an *aṅga* ending in a vowel. The deletion offered by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* will then not make any sense.

Refer to preceding rules, and also rule 6.3.137 *cau*, for derivational details.

#### 6.4.139 उद ईत्

*uda īt*

/udaḥ 5/1 īt 1/1/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *acaḥ* #138)

*uda uttarasya ac ikārādeśo bhavati*

The *a* of *ac* of an *aṅga* termed *bha* which occurs after the preverb *ud* is replaced with *ī*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*udīcaḥ* 'accusative plural of *udīc* 'north-bound''

*udīcā* 'instrumental singular ...'

*udīce* 'dative singular ...'

1. This rule replaces the *a* of *ac* with *ī*, provided *ac* occurs after the preverb *ud*. Consider *udīc* + (*ś*)*as* = *udīcaḥ*, where *ud* is a preverb and *udīc* is an *upapada* compound with *KvIN* introduced after '*aṅc*'. The *ī*-replacement for the *a* of *ac*, in *ud* + *ac* + *as*, thus blocks *a*-deletion. Incidentally, *ī* comes in place of the *a* of *ac* in consonance with 1.1.54 *ādeḥ parasya*.

#### 6.4.140 आतो धातोः

*āto dhātoḥ*

/ātaḥ 6/1 dhātoḥ 6/1/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *lopaḥ* #134)

*ākārāntasya dhātor bhasya loṇo bhavati*

The final *ā* of an *aṅga* termed *bha* which ends in a verbal root ending in *ā* is deleted by means of *LOPA*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*kīlālapaḥ* 'accusative plural of *kīlālapā* 'protector of honey''

*kīlālapā* 'instrumental singular ...'

*kīlālope* 'dative singular ...'

*śubhaṃyaḥ* 'accusative plural of *śubhaṃyā* 'auspiciously inclined''

*śubhaṃyā* 'instrumental singular ...'

*śubhaṃye* 'dative singular ...'

1. This rule allows deletion of an *ā* which occurs as final (1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*) of a verbal root. Note that *kilālapā* and *śubhamyā* are *upapada* compounds with affix *vIC* (3.2.74 *āto manin . . .*). Affix *vIC* is, as usual, deleted. Thus, *kilālap(ā→ϕ) + as = kilālapaḥ*, *klālap(ā→ϕ) + (Ṭ) ā = kilālapā* and *kilālap(ā→ϕ) + (N) e = kilālaṇe*, etc.

3. It is because of the twin condition of *ātaḥ* and *dhātoḥ* that *niyā* 'instrumental singular of *nī* 'lead(er)' and *niye* 'dative singular'; and *khatvāḥ* 'accusative plural' of *khatvā* 'cot' and *mālāḥ* 'accusative plural' of *mālā* 'garland' cannot avail this *ā*-deletion. The first set of two derivatives contains verbal root *nī*. The second contains non-root bases.

4. Commentators explain that a split-interpretation (*yogavibhāga*) of this rule, i.e., *ātaḥ*, enables *ā*-deletion also where a root is not used. This is how *ā*-deletion of *ktvā* and *śnā*, in the wording of rules 7.1.37 *ktvo hyaḥ* and 3.1.83 *halaḥ śnaḥ . . .*, can be justified.

#### 6.4.141 मन्त्रेस्वाङ्गादेरात्मनः

*mantrēṣu āṇy āder ātmanāḥ*

/ *mantrēṣu* 7/1 *āṇi* 7/1 *ādeḥ* 6/1/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *lopaḥ* #134)

*mantrēṣu āṇi parata ātmana āder loṇo bhavati*

The initial *ā* of an *aṅga* termed *bha*, namely *ātman*, is deleted by means of *LOPA* in the usage of the *mantra* when *āN*, i.e., *Ṭā*, follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*ātmanā* 'instrumental singular of *ātman* 'self, soul'

1. Note that *āN* is used for *Ṭā* 'instrumental singular' by earlier grammarians (*pūrvācāryaiḥ*). Thus, *āN* does not refer here to a preverb (*upasarga*).

2. The *ādi*, of *ādeḥ* 'of initial', is used for subsequent rules (*uttarārtham*). Recall that *ātaḥ* is carried, and hence, *ā*-deletion could only apply to initial *ā* of *ātman*.

3. The condition of *mantrēṣu āṇy* does not permit *ā*-deletion in *ātmanā* of the classical usage. It blocks *ā*-deletion also in *ātmanāḥ* of the *mantra*, where *ātman* occurs before the genitive singular ending *Nas*. This, however, does not rule out usage such as *tmanāḥ*, etc., found before non-*Ṭā* endings in the *R̥gveda*. Thus, consider *tmani* where *ā*-deletion of *ātman* is seen before *Ni* 'locative singular'.

#### 6.4.142 ति विंशतेर्दिति

*ti viṁśater diti*

/ *ti* (6/1 deleted) *viṁśateḥ* 6/1 *diti* 7/1/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *lopaḥ* #134)

*bhasya vimśates tiśabdasya ḍiti pratyaye parato loṇo bhavati*

The *ti* of an *aṅga* termed *bha*, namely of *vimśati*, is deleted by means of *LOPA*, when an affix marked with *Ḍ* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*vimśakah* = *vimśatyā kṛtaḥ* 'purchased for a twenty . . .'

*viśaṃ śatam* 'one hundred twenty'

*ekavimśaḥ* 'twenty-one'

1. This rule offers *ti*-deletion to a *bha* constituted by *vimśati*, provided an affix marked with *Ḍ* as an *it* follows. Thus, we get *vimśa* (*ti* →  $\emptyset$ ) + *ḌvuN* → *vimśa* + (*ḌvuN* → *aka*) = *vimśa* + *aka*. An application of 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* produces *vimś(a + a → a)ka*, paraphrased as *vimśatyā kṛtaḥ* 'purchased for a twenty'. Similar applications are also involved in deriving *vimśa* from *vimśati* + *Ḍaṭ* (5.2.48 *tasya prae ḍaṭ*).

The condition of a following affix marked with *Ḍ* is imposed so that *ti*-deletion does not apply where an affix is marked otherwise. Consider *vimśati* + *Ṭā* = *vimśatyā* 'instrumental singular of *vimśati*' where *Ṭā* is marked with *Ṭ* as an *it*.

6.4.143 ॐ:

*ṭeḥ*

*ṭeḥ* 6/1/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *lopaḥ* #134 *ḍiti* #142)

*ṭisamjñakasya ḍiti pratyaye parato loṇo bhavati*

The *ṭi* (1.1.64 *aco' ntyādi ṭi*) of an *aṅga* termed *bha* is deleted by means of *LOPA* when an affix marked with *Ḍ* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*kumudvān* 'that (a place) which abounds in lilies'

*naḍvān* 'that (a place) which abounds in reeds'

*vetasvān* 'that which abounds in rattan'

*upasarajaḥ* 'born near a pond'

*mandurajaḥ* 'born in a stable'

*triṃśakah* = *triṃśatā kṛtaḥ* 'purchased for a thirty'

1. This rule allows *ti*-deletion (1.1.64 *aco' ntyādi ṭi*) to a *bha* when an affix marked with *Ḍ* as an *it* follows. Consider *kumudvān*, *naḍvān* and *vetasvān*, where affix *ḌmatUP* (4.2.87 *kumudanaḍavetasebhyo ḍmatUP*) follows *kumuda*, *naḍa* and *vetasa*. The *m* of *kumud(a →  $\emptyset$ ) + mat* and *naḍ(a →  $\emptyset$ ) + mat* is replaced with *v* after *ti*-deletion. The *m* of *vetas(a →  $\emptyset$ ) + mat* is replaced with *v* by 5.4.111 *jhayah*. Refer to derivational details of *upasarajaḥ* and *mandurajaḥ* under the appendix of rule 1.3.7 *cuṭū*. Similar *ti*-deletion applies in deriving

*triṣāka* from *triṣ*(*at*→ $\phi$ ) + (*ḌvuN*→*aka*) = *triṣāka*. Note that, at the strength of affixal *Ḍ* as an *it*, even a non-*bha* can go through deletion of its *ṭi* (*Kāś. anubandhakaraṇa-sāmarthyāḥ ṭilopo bhavati*).

#### 6.4.144 नस्तद्धिते

*nas taddhite*

/naḥ 6/1 taddhite 7/1/

(*aṅasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *lopaḥ* #134 *ṭeḥ* #143)

*nakārāntasya bhasya ṭer lopo bhavati taddhite parataḥ*

The *ṭi* of an *aṅa* termed *bha* which ends in *n* is deleted by means of *LOPA* when a *taddhita* affix follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*āgñiśarmiḥ* ‘offspring of Agniśarman’

*auḍilomiḥ* ‘offspring of Uḍuloman’

1. The *ṭi* of a *bha* which ends in *n* is also deleted when a *taddhita* affix follows. Thus, consider (*a*→*ā*) *gñiśarm*(*an*→ $\phi$ ) + *iñ* = *āgñiśarmi* ‘son of Agniśarman’ and (*u*→*au*) *ḍulom*(*an*→ $\phi$ ) + *iñ* = *auḍulomni* ‘son of Uḍuloman’, where *iñ* is introduced with the signification of *apatya* ‘offspring’ (4.1.96 *bāhvādibhyaś ca*).

2. The condition of *nānta* ‘ending in *n*’ is imposed so that *ṭi*-deletion does not apply elsewhere. Consider *satvataḥ* *apatyam* = *sātvataḥ* where a *taddhita* affix, i.e., *añ*, follows. But *satvat* does not end in *n*. The condition of *taddhite* similarly blocks *ṭi*-deletion, elsewhere. Thus, consider *śarmaṇā* and *śarmaṇe* where the following affixes, i.e., *ṭā* and *ñe*, are non-*taddhita*.

3. A series of *vārttika* proposals have also been made under this rule:

- (i) The following should also be listed in the context of *ṭi*-deletion of a *bha*: *sabrahmacārin*, *pīṭhasarpiṇ*, *kalāpiṇ*, *kuthumin*, *taitalin*, *lāṅgalin*, *śilālin*, *śikhāṇḍin*, *sūkarasadman*, and *suparvan*.  
Note that rule 6.4.164 *inany anapatye* allows retention of *an* to bases which end in *in*. Such a retention to bases which end in *an* is allowed by 6.4.167 *an*.
- (ii) A derivate denoting modification (*vikāra*) of *aśman* ‘rock’ should also go through *ṭi*-deletion. Thus, *āśmaḥ*, as against *āśmanaḥ*.
- (iii) A derivate of *carman* ‘hide’, when denoting *kośa* ‘sheath’, should also go through *ṭi*-deletion. Thus, *cārmaḥ kośaḥ*.
- (iv) Deletion of *ṭi* is also recommended for a derivate of *śvan* ‘dog’ when *saṃkoca* ‘contraction’ is denoted. Thus, *śauvaḥ*, as against *śauvanam*.
- (v) Indeclinables, when *sāyamprātika*, etc., are to be derived, should also go through *ṭi*-deletion.



Thus, *sāyamprātaḥ bhavaḥ* = *sāyamprātikah* 'that which occurs at dusk and dawn'.

#### 6.4.145 अहोष्टखरेव

*ahnos ṭakhor eva*

/ *ahnah* 6/1 *ṭakhoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tayoh;* *eva* φ/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *lopaḥ* #134 *ṭeḥ* #143 *taddhite* 144)

'*ahan*' *ity etasya ṭakhor eva paraṣ ṭilopo bhavati*

The *ṭi* of an *aṅga* termed *bha*, namely *ahan* 'day', is deleted by means of *LOPA* only when the *taddhita* affixes *Ṭa* and *kha* follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*dvyaḥ* = *dve ahanī samāhṛte* 'a period of two days'

*tryaḥaḥ* 'a period of three days'

*dvyaḥīnaḥ* = *dve ahanī adhiṣṭo bhṛto bhūto bhāvī vā* 'he who was hired for two days, etc.'

*tryaḥīnaḥ* 'he who was . . . for three days'

*ahīnaḥ* = *ahnām samūhaḥ kratuḥ*

1. This rule allows *ṭi*-deletion of *ahan* only when affixes *Ṭa* and *kha* follow. The nature of this rule is restrictive (*niyamārtha*). That is, if *ṭi*-deletion of *ahan* occurs, it must occur before the two specified affixes only. Refer to derivational details of *dvyaḥaḥ* and *tryaḥaḥ* under the appendix of 2.1.24 *dviguś ca*. Deriving *dvyaḥīna* with affix *kha* (5.1.87 *rātryaḥaḥ* . . .) with a replacement in *īna* (7.1.2 *āyaneyīniyāḥ* . . .) and *ṭi*-deletion of *bha* is easy. Deriving *ahīna* from *ahan* + *kha* should not present any difficulty.

2. It is stated that *eva* is used here for clarity (*vispaṣṭārtham*). For, when a new proposal is offered against an already existing one, it becomes restrictive. Thus, *eva* does not have to be stated. The *ṭi*-deletion of *ahan* is already made available. This new proposal restricts it to the right context of affixes *Ṭa* and *kha* only. Commentators warn that an opposite restrictive interpretation of this rule should not be resorted to avail the meaning: '*ṭi*-deletion applies to *ahan* only, when affixes *Ṭa* and *kha* follow'. For, *ṭi*-deletion to other bases are also available when *Ṭa* and *kha* follow. Rule 6.4.169 *ātmaḍhvānau khewill* also become vacuous if it offers retention of *an* of *ātman* 'self, soul' and *adhvan* 'road'. What is the purpose of offering retention when *ahan* alone would go through deletion of its *ṭi*.

#### 6.4.146 ओर्गुणः

*or guṇaḥ*

/ *oḥ* 6/1 *guṇaḥ* 1/1/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *taddhite* #144)

*uvamāntasya bhasya guṇo bhavati taddhite parataḥ*

The final sound segment of an *aṅga* termed *bha* which ends in *u* is replaced with its *guṇa* (1.1.2 *adeṇ guṇaḥ*) counterpart when a *taddhita* affix follows.

EXAMPLES:

*bābhravyaḥ* 'descendant of Babhru'  
*māṇḍavyaḥ* 'descendant of Maṇḍu'  
*śaṅkavyaṃ dāru* 'wood fit for making a ritual peg'  
*picavyaḥ kārṇpāsaḥ* 'beneficial for cotton'  
*kamaṇḍalavyā mṛttikā* 'lump of clay fit for making a kamaṇḍalu'  
*paraśavyaṃ ayaḥ* 'iron fit for making an axe'  
*aupagavaḥ* 'descendant of Upagu'  
*kāpaṭavaḥ* 'descendant of Kapatu'

1. This rule offers a replacement in *guṇa* to the final *u* of a *bha*. Of course, when a *taddhita* affix follows. Thus, we get *bābhravya* and *māṇḍavya* from *babhru* + *yaṆ* (4.1.106 *madhubabhrvor* . . .) and *maṇḍu* + *yaṆ* (4.1.105 *gargādibhyo yaṇ*), respectively. A replacement in *av* for the resultant *guṇa* vowel *o* is offered by 6.1.79 *vānto yi pratyaye*. Other examples follow similar derivational steps, in addition to initial *vṛddhi*. Thus, *śaṅkavya*, *picavya*, *kamaṇḍalavya* and *śaṅkavya* are derivatives of *yaT* (5.1.2 *ugavādibhyo yat*). Refer to derivational details of *aupagavaḥ* and *kāpaṭavaḥ* under the appendix of rule 1.1.1 *vṛddhir ādaic*.

2. Why use the technical term (*saṃjñā*) *guṇa* in this rule? Why not simply formulate the rule as *or ot* 'o comes in place of u'? The use of the technical term (*saṃjñā*) *guṇa* indicates that 'an operation specified with a technical term is non-obligatory' (*anitya*; *Kāś*: *saṃjñāpūrvako vidhir anityaḥ*; cf. *PŚ* (94)). One derives *svayambhuvāḥ* to indicate this. We derive *svayambhū*, parallel to *svayaṃ bhavati* 'he who comes about by himself' with affix *KuIP*. Affix *aṆ* is then introduced with the denotatum of 4.3.120 *tasyedam* 'this is his', i.e., *svayambhuvāḥ idam*, where *uvāṆ*, and no *guṇa*, comes as a replacement for *ū*.

6.4.147 डे लोपोऽकद्रवाः

*ḍhe lopo' kadrvāḥ*  
 / *ḍhe* 7/1 *lopaḥ* 1/1 *akadrvāḥ* 6/1 (*nañ.*)/  
 (*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *taddhite* #144 *oḥ* #146)  
*ḍhe parata uvaṇāntasya bhasyākadrvā lopo bhavati*

The final sound segment of an *aṅga* termed *bha* which ends in *u* is, with the exception of *kadrū*, deleted by means of *LOPA* when the *taddhita* affix *ḍha* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*kāmaṇḍaleyaḥ* 'offspring of Kamaṇḍalu'

*śaitabāheyaḥ* 'offspring of Śitabāhu'  
*jāmbeyaḥ* 'offspring of Jambu'  
*mādrabāheyaḥ* 'offspring of Madrabāhu'

1. This rule offers deletion of a *bha* which ends in *u*, provided affix *ḍha* follows. Note that *kadrū* is made an exception to this deletion. Thus, *kadr(ū→o→av) + (ḍhaK→eya)* = *kādraveya* does not go through deletion. Deriving *kāmaṇḍaleya*, *jāmbeya*, *mādrabāheya* and *śaitabāheya* from *kamaṇḍalu* + *ḍhaN*, *jambu* + *ḍhaN*, *madrabāhu* + *ḍhaN* and *śitibāhu* + *ḍhaN*, with initial *vṛddhi* and *ḍha→eya*, is straightforward.

#### 6.4.148 यस्येति च

*yasyeti ca*  
 /*yasya* 6/1 = *iś ca aś ca* = *yam* (*sam. dv.*), *tasya*; *īti* 7/1 *ca*  $\phi$ /  
 (*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *lopaḥ* #134 *taddhite* #147)  
*ivaraṇāntasyāvaraṇāntasya ca bhasya ikāre pare taddhite ca lopo bhavati*  
 The final sound segment of an *aṅga* termed *bha* which ends in *i* and *a* is deleted by means of *LOPA* when *ī* or a *taddhita* affix follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*dākṣī* 'female descendant of Dakṣa'  
*plākṣī* 'female descendant of Plakṣa'  
*sakhī* 'female friend, companion'  
*dauleyaḥ* 'descendant of Duli'  
*āttreyaḥ* 'descendant of Atri'  
*kumārī* 'girl'  
*śārṅgaravī* 'Śiva's consort'  
*dākṣiḥ* 'male descendant of Dakṣa'  
*plākṣiḥ* 'male descendant of Plakṣa'

1. This rule allows deletion of the final *i* and *a* of an *aṅga* termed *bha*, provided *ī*, or a *taddhita* affix, follows. Note that the *ya* of *yasya* could not refer to *ya*. For, our next rule uses *ya* explicitly. If this rule had *ya*, our next rule could have carried the same, via *anuvṛtti*. The *ya←i + a* of this rule refers to *i* and *y*. Since a specification made by means of a sound segment generally involves *tadantavidhi*, *Kāśikā* states '... of that which ends in *i* and *u* (*ivaraṇāntasyovaraṇāntasya ca*)'.

Note that *dākṣī*, *plākṣī* and *sakhī* illustrate instances where *i* of *dākṣī*, *plākṣī* and *sakhī* occur before *ī* of *ÑiṢ* (4.1.65 *ito manuṣya jāteḥ*; 4.1.52 *sakhy...*). Needless to say that *dākṣī* and *plākṣī* are *taddhita*-derivates with affix *iN* (4.1.95 *ata iñ*) signifying an offspring (*apatya*). Commentators warn that deriving these forms with *savarṇadīrgha*, as against *i*-deletion, will create problems. For example, we will encounter negation of assignment of the term *ghī* (1.4.7 *śeṣo ghy asakhi*), and *guṇa*, in *atisakhaḥ*, parallel to *atisakhīm atikramya*.

Affix *ḍhaK* (4.1.122 *itaś cāniṇaḥ*) is used in deriving *duli* + *ḍhaK* → *dauleya*, *vali* + *ḍhaK* → *vāleya* and *atri* + *ḍhaK* → *ātryeya*. The examples all go through deletion of *i* before the *taddhita* affix *ḍhaK*. Refer to derivational details of *kumārī*, *gaurī* and *śārṅgaravī* under the appendix (IV: 764–67) of 4.1.2 *svaujasmauṭ*. . . . These illustrate the deletion of *a* before *ī*. Derivates of *iÑ* (4.1.95 *ata iñ*), such as *dākṣi*, *plākṣi*, *cauḍi*, *bālāki* and *saumitri*, illustrate instances where *a* is deleted before a *taddhita* affix. Incidentally, the *iÑ* of *bālāki* and *saumitri* is introduced by 4.1.96 *bāhvādibhyaś ca*.

2. A *vārttika* proposal negates deletion of *i* and *a* where *auÑ* gets replaced with *Śi* (7.1.18 *auṇa āpah*; 7.1.19 *napuṃsakāc ca*). Thus, this proposal negates deletion of *a* before *Śi* of *kāṇḍa* + (*au* → *Śi*) and *kudya* + (*au* → *Śi*). We derive *kāṇḍe* and *kudye* with *a* → *ī* → *e*, instead. We similarly get *saurye* from *saurya* + (*au* → *Śi*). The deletion of *a*, at the end of *saurya* before *ī*, would also have occasioned deletion of *y* (6.4.149 *sūryatiṣyaḡastya* . . .). Refer to the appendix (IV: 763–90) for derivational insights on feminine and *taddhita* derivates.

How come *iyAÑ* and *uvAÑ* are not introduced in deriving *vātsapreya* and *laiḥhābhreya* from *vatsapri* + *ḍha* and *lekhābhrū* + *ḍha*, respectively? Deletion of *a* blocks *iyAÑ* and *uvAÑ* on the basis of *paratva* ‘subsequent in order’ (1.4.2 *vipratishedhe* . . .).

#### 6.4.149 सूर्यतिष्यागस्त्यमत्स्यानां य उपधायाः

*sūryatiṣyaḡastyamatsyānām ya upadhāyāḥ*

/ *sūrya-tiṣya-agastya-matsyānām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*); *yaḥ* 1/1 *upadhāyāḥ* 6/1/ (*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *taddhite* #147 *īti* #148)

‘*sūrya*, *tiṣya*, *agastya*, *matsya*’ *ity eteṣām yakārasya upadhāyā bhasya loṇo bhavati īti paratas taddhite ca*

The penultimate *y* of an *aṅga* termed *bha*, namely *sūrya*, *tiṣya*, *agastya* and *matsya*, is also deleted by means of *LOPA* when *ī* or a *taddhita* affix follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*saurī balākā* = *sūreyeṇaikadik* ‘unidirectional with sun, a crane going in the direction of sun’

*taiṣamahāḥ* ‘a day when moon may be in the constellation *Tiṣya*’

*taiṣī rātriḥ* ‘a night when moon may be . . .’

*āgasī* = *agastyasyāpatyam strī*

*āgasī* ‘a female descendant of *Agastya*’

*matsī* ‘fish’

1. This rule allows deletion of the penultimate *y* of an *aṅga* termed *bha*, provided *ī* or a *taddhita* affix follows, and the *y* is part of *sūrya*, *tiṣya* and *āgastya*. Note that this deletion of *y* will follow after the deletion of *a* (6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*). The word *upadhā* is specified here to facilitate deletion of *y*. For,

y could not be found before *ī*, or before a *taddhita*, when *a*-deletion is treated as *asiddha* (6.4.22 *asiddhavad atrābhāt*). This condition of *upadhā* blocks deletion in *matsya* + *caraṭ* + *ÑiP* = *matsyacarī*, a derivate of affix *caraṭ* with the denotation of *bhūtapūrva* 'formerly'.

2. It is stated that *yaḥ* of this rule is intended for subsequent rules (*uttarārtham*). A series of proposals are then made under this rule to exactly specify the scope of this deletion:

- (i) A deletion of *y* of *matsya* must apply when *Ñi* 'feminine affix' follows. Thus, we get deletion in *matsya* + *ÑiP* → *matsī*, but not in *matsyasya māṃsam* = *mātsyam* 'fish-meat'.
- (ii) The *y* of *sūrya* and *āgastya* gets deleted only when *cha* and *Ñi* follow. Thus, we get deletion in *sūrya* + *aN* = > *saurya* + *ÑiP* → *saurī* and *āgastya* + *ÑiP* → *āgastī*, but not in *sauryam* and *āgastyaḥ*.
- (iii) The *y* of *tiṣya* and *puṣya* goes through deletion when *aN* follows and a constellation is denoted. Thus, we get deletion in *tiṣyena yuktaḥ kālaḥ* = *taiṣaḥ* and *pauṣaḥ*. Incidentally, *tiṣya* and *puṣya* are synonyms.
- (iv) The *t* and *k* of *antika* is deleted before affix *tasI*. Thus, *antitaḥ* 'from nearby' of *antito na dūrāt*.
- (v) The *tika* and *ka* of *antika* is deleted before *tamaP*. Thus, *atisayena antikaḥ* = *antamaḥ* and *antitamaḥ*.
- (vi) This deletion of *ka* applies variously (*bahulam*). That is, deletion of *y* is also seen. Thus, we get *antike sīdati* = *antiṣad*.
- (vii) This deletion of *ka* is also seen after *ya*. Thus, *antike bhavaḥ* = *antiyaḥ*.

Refer to the appendix for derivational details of many of these examples.

#### 6.4.150 हलस्तद्धितस्य

*halas taddhitasya*

/ *halaḥ* 5/1 *taddhitasya* 6/1/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *īti* #149 *ya upadhāyāḥ* #149)

*hala uttarasya taddhityakārasya upadhāyā īti parato lopo bhavati*

A penultimate *y* which occurs after a consonant, as part of a *taddhita* affix of an *aṅga* termed *bha*, is deleted by means of *LOPA* when *ī* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*gārgī* 'female descendant of Garga'

*vātsī* 'female descendant of Vatsa'

1. Refer to derivational details of *gārgī* and *vātsī* under the appendix of rule 4.1.16 *yañās ca*. Note that the *a* at the end of *gārgya* and *vātsya* is deleted. This deleted *a* is treated as *asiddha* (6.4.22 *asiddhavad atrābhāt*) in

applying  $y$ -deletion. This is how  $y$  qualifies for its status as penultimate (*upadhā*).

2. This deletion of  $y$  does not apply in (*kārikā* + (*ḍhaK*→*eya*)) + *ÑiP* = *kārikeya* + *i*, since  $y$  does not occur after a consonant. It also does not apply in *vaidyasya patnī* = *vaidya* + *ÑiP* = *vaidyī*, since  $y$  is not part of a *taddhita* affix.

3. Why is *taddhita* specified in this rule when it could have been gotten via *anuvṛtti* from 6.4.144 *nas taddhite*? This *anuvṛtti* is suspended. Our next rule should not have used *taddhite* again if the *anuvṛtti* was valid (*PM*: *uttarasūtre punas taddhitagrahaṇāt*).

#### 6.4.151 आपत्यस्य च तद्धिते ऽ नाति

*āpatyasya ca taddhite' nāti*

/,āpatyasya 6/1 ca φ taddhite 7/1 anāti 7/1 = na āt (nañ.), tasmin/

(aṅgasya #1 bhasya #129 lopah #147 yah #148 halah #150)

*āpatyayakārasya hala uttarasya taddhite anakārāḍau yalopo bhavati*

A  $y$  which occurs after a consonant and is part of a *taddhita* affix signifying an *apatya* 'off-spring' of an *aṅga* termed *bha*, is deleted by means of *LOPA*, when a *taddhita* affix not beginning with *ā* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*gārgakam* = *gargāṇām samūhaḥ* 'a gathering of the descendants of Garga'  
*vātsakam* 'a gathering of the descendants of Vatsa'

1. This rule deletes a  $y$  which occurs after a consonant as part of a *taddhita* affix signifying an *apatya*, provided a *taddhita* affix not beginning with *ā* follows. Consider *gārgakam* and *vātsakam* which derive from *gārgya* + (*vuṆ*→*aka*) and *vātsya* + (*vuṆ*→*aka*). Affix *vuṆ* is here introduced with the signification of *samūha* 'group' (4.2.39 *gotrokṣoṣṭrīr* . . .). The *yaṆ* of *gārgya* and *vātsya* denotes an *apatya*, where  $y$  also occurs after *g*, a consonant. Here again, this rule deletes  $y$ , subsequent to deletion of its following *a*.

2. This deletion cannot apply on *kāmpilya* + *vuṆ* = *kāmpilyaka* and *sāṅkāśya* + *vuṆ* = *sāṅkāśyaka*, where *kāmpilya* and *sāṅkāśya* are derivatives of *Ṇya* (4.2.80 *vuñchaṇkaṭha* . . .), a *taddhita* affix not used with the signification of *apatya*. Incidentally, affix *vuṆ* (4.2.121 *dhanvayopadhād* . . .) here denotes the sense of *tatra jātaḥ* 'born there'. Now consider *gārgyāyana* and *vātsyāyana*, where  $y$ -deletion cannot apply since the following affix begins with *ā* (*āyana*←*phaK*; 2.4.64 *yañayoś ca*). That this deletion cannot apply where  $y$  does not occur after a consonant is illustrated by *kārikeyasyāpatyam* = (*kārikeya* + *iṆ*) + *sU*→*kārikeyiḥ*.

3. Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś*) presents a detailed discussion on why *taddhite* is explicitly stated in this rule. He states that *taddhita* is specified here to facilitate deletion of  $y$  in (*soma* + *ṬyaṆ*) + *ÑiP* (6.4.150 *halas taddhitasya*), even when an *apatya* is not denoted. Recall that *ÑyaṆ* does not denote an

*apatya*. If *taddhita* is carried via *anuvṛtti* from the preceding rule, items associated with that *anuvṛtti* will also be carried. If both of these rule were associated, *y*-deletion could be accomplished by the preceding rules. Formulating this rule when the preceding could account for its function will turn it into a restrictive provision (*niyama*). It will thus read: ‘the *y* of a *taddhita* denoting an *apatya* alone is deleted when a *taddhita*, not beginning with *ā*, or an *i*, follow’ (*āpatyasyaivānākārādaḥ taddhite īti ca*). This interpretation will block *y*-deletion in *saumī iṣṭih*. An explicit specification with *taddhita* of this rule cancels the *anuvṛtti* of *taddhita* of the earlier rule. Thus, deletion could now apply to *y*, irrespective of whether or not it is part of a *taddhita* affix denoting an *apatya* (*taddhitagrahaṇe tu sati tena pūrvayoge taddhitagrahaṇasya nivṛttir ākhyātety āpatyānāpatyayor dvayor api pūrveṇa īti loṇo vidhīyata īti saumī iṣṭir ity atrāpi yalopaḥ siddhyaty atas taddhitagrahaṇam*).

#### 6.4.152 क्यच्च्योरच

*kyacvyoś ca*

/kya-cvyoḥ 7/2 (itar. dv.), tayoh; ca φ/

(*aṅasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *lopaḥ* #147 *yaḥ* #148 *halah* #150 *āpatyasya* #151)

‘*kya*, *cvī*’ ity *etayoś ca* *parata āpatyayakārasya hala uttarasya loṇo bhavati*

A *y* which occurs after a consonant and is part of a *taddhita* affix signifying an *apatya* ‘offspring’ of an *aṅga* termed *bha* is deleted by means of *LOPA* when affixes *Kya* and *CvI* follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*vātsiyati* ‘... wishes a *vātsya* for his son’

*gārgīyati* ‘... wishes a *gārgya* for his son’

*gārgīyate* ‘he acts as if he was a *Gārgya*’

*vātsīyate* ‘he acts as if he was a *Vātsya*’

*vātsibhūtaḥ* ‘he who was not a *Vātsya* became one’

*gārgībhūtaḥ* ‘he who was not a *Gārgya* became one’

1. This rule is formulated to facilitate *y*-deletion when a non-*taddhita* affix follows (*PM*: *ataddhitārtho’ yam ārambhah*). A specification with *Kya* includes references to *KyaC* and *KyaN* both. Refer to derivational details under the appendix of 3.1.8 *supa ātmanah* ... and 3.1.11 *kartuḥ kyaṇ salopaś ca*. Note here that *vātsīyati* and *gārgīyati* are derivatives of *LAṬ*, where *LAṬ* is introduced after derivatives of *KyaC*, i.e., *gārgīya* and *vātsīya*. Thus, *gārgya* + *KyaC* and *vātsya* + *KyaC* yield *gārg(y→φ)a + ya* and *vāts(y→φ)a + ya*. The *a* which follows *y* is then replaced with *ī* (7.4.33 *kyaci ca*). The *a* of derivatives of *KyaN*, i.e., *vātsīyate* and *gārgīyate*, is similarly replaced with *ā* (7.4.25 *akṛtasārvadhātukayoḥ*). A similar *a* of *gārgībhūtaḥ* and *vātsībhūtaḥ* is replaced with *ī* (7.4.22 *asya cvau*) after deletion of *y*. Note that these are both examples of *CvI*, introduced by 5.4.50 *abhūtatadbhāve* ..., prior to affix *Kta*.

2. This deletion applies to *y* of an affix which denotes an *apatya* 'offspring'. Thus, *sāṅkāśyate* and *sāṅkāśyabhūtaḥ* do not go through deletion of their *y*. The condition of *halaḥ* is also applicable. We thus do not get this deletion in *kārikeyiyati* and *kārikeyibhūtaḥ*.

#### 6.4.153 बिल्वकादिभ्यश्छस्य लुक्

*bilvakādibhyaś chasya luk*

/ *bilvakādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *bilvaka ādir yeśām* (bv.); *chasya* 6/1 *luk* 1/1/  
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *taddhite* #144)

*bilvakādibhyaḥ uttarasya chasya bhasya taddhite parato lug bhavati*

The *cha* which, of an *aṅga* termed *bha*, occurs after *bilvaka*, etc., is deleted by means of *LUK* when a *taddhita* affix follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*bilvakīyāḥ* = *bilvā yasyām santi*; *tasyām bhavaḥ* = *bailvakāḥ* '... found in a Bilva grove'

*veṇukīyāḥ* = *vaiṇukāḥ* '... found in a bamboo forest'

*vetrakīyāḥ* = *vaitrakāḥ* 'found in a cane forest'

*tṛṇakīyāḥ* = *tārṇakāḥ* 'found in straw'

1. Note that the *bilvakādi* nominals are read as part of the *naḍādi* group. Rule 4.2.91 *naḍādinām kuk ca* introduces augment *kUK* to these nominals. This rule specifies *bilva* with *bilvaka*, obviously with augment *kUK*. It deletes a *cha* which occurs after the nominal thus specified. Thus, (*bilva* + *kUK* + (*cha* → *īya*)) + *TāP* = *bilvakīyā*; *bilvakīyā* + *aN* = *bailvakīyāḥ*, paraphrased as *bilvāḥ yasyām santi* = *bilvakīyā*; *tasyām bhavāḥ* = *bailvakāḥ*. Other examples are similarly derived. Affix *aN* which forms the condition of deletion of *cha* is introduced by 4.3.53 *tatra bhavaḥ*.

2. Recall that *cha* is introduced concurrently with augment *kUK*. This deletion of *cha* is specified with express mention of *chasya* so that *kUK* can be saved from deletion. It becomes necessary since *sanniyogaśiṣṭānām anyatarāpāye ubhayor apy apāyāḥ* 'removal of one means removal of both if two elements were introduced concurrently'. The word *LUK* is used so that this deletion applies to the affix, and not just to *y*.

3. A *gaṇasūtra* informs that *kruñcā* also goes through shortening of its final *ā* when *kruñcakīyāḥ* and *krauñcakāḥ* are derived.

#### 6.4.154 तुरिष्ठेमेयस्सु

*tur iṣṭhemeyassu*

/ *tuḥ* 6/1 *iṣṭha-imā-īyassu* 7/3 = *iṣṭhaś ca imā ca īyāṁś ca* = *iṣṭhemeyāṁśaḥ* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu*/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *lopaḥ* #147)

'*iṣṭhan*, *imanic*, *īyasun*' *ity eteṣu parataḥ trśabdasya lopo bhavati*



The *ṭṛ* of an *aṅga* termed *bha* is deleted by means of *LOPA* when affixes *iṣṭhaN*, *imanIC* and *īyasUN* follow.

EXAMPLES:

*āsutiṃ kariṣṭhaḥ* ‘most active among those pressing out’  
*viyayiṣṭhaḥ* ‘most winning’  
*vahiṣṭhaḥ* ‘most carrying’  
*dohīyasī dhenuḥ* ‘most milk-giving cow’

1. Note that *ṭṛ* specifies both *ṭṛN* and *ṭṛC*. This rule is formed separately from the following to accomplish total deletion of *ṭṛ*. A deletion of final *ṛ* could have thus been accomplished by the following rule. The *anuvṛtti* of *LUK* is not valid here. For, 1.1.63 *na lumatāṅgasya* would then have blocked *guṇa* of *ji* in *viyayiṣṭhaḥ*, etc. It is for this reason that this deletion is accomplished by *LOPA*. Why is *imanIC* stated in this rule when this affix (cf. 5.1.122 *prthvādibhyaḥ* . . . ; 5.1.123 *varṇadṛḍhādibhyaḥ śyañ ca*) is not found after *ṭṛ*? This specification is made here for use in subsequent rules (*uttarārtham*). Refer to derivational details of *kariṣṭhaḥ* and *dohīyas* under notes of 5.3.59 *tuś chandasi*.

Note that *h* → *ḍh* (*ḍhatva*; 8.2.31 *ho ḍhaḥ*) becomes suspended in applying deletion of *ṭṛ*. Thus, *ṭṛ*-deletion applies first. Consequently, *ḍhatva* does not apply. For, the conditions under which *ḍhatva* applies are removed. We thus get *vah* + *iṣṭhaN* = *vahiṣṭha*. A similar suspension of *gh* (*ghatva*) is also found in deriving *dohīyas* from (*dogdhr* + *IyasUN*) + *NiP*. Deriving *viyayiṣṭha* from *vi-jitr* + *iṣṭhaN* involves *guṇa* and *ay*-replacements.

6.4.155 टे:

*teḥ*

/ *teḥ* 6/1/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *lopaḥ* #147 *iṣṭhemeyassu* #154)

*bhasya* *ṭer lopo bhavati iṣṭhemeyassu parataḥ*

The *ṭi* part of an *aṅga* termed *bha* is deleted by means of *LOPA* when affixes *iṣṭhaN*, *imanIC* and *īyasUN* follow.

EXAMPLES:

*paṭiṣṭhaḥ* ‘most clever’  
*paṭimā* ‘cleverness’  
*paṭīyān* ‘clever’  
*laghiṣṭhaḥ* ‘shortest, smallest’  
*laghimā* ‘shortness, smallness’  
*laghīyān* ‘shortest, smallest’

1. This rule allows *ṭi*-deletion (1.1.64 *aco*’ *ntyādi ṭi*) of a *bha* which occurs

before *iṣṭhaN*, *imanIC* and *īyasUN*. Refer to derivational details under notes of 5.3.58 *ajādi guṇavacanād eva*. Derivates of *īyasUN* will involve augment *nUM* and operations similar to *citavān* (cf. appendix, under 1.1.1 *vṛddhir ādaic*).

2. It is proposed that a nominal stem (*prātipadika*), when followed by *Ṇi*, goes through operations similar to when the same is followed by *iṣṭha* (*vt: nāv iṣṭhavat prātipadikasya*). Commentators enumerate following operations as part of *iṣṭhavadbhāva*:

- (i) *pumvadbhāva* 'masculine transformation', as is stated before the *tasilādi* affixes (6.3.35 *tasilādiṣv ākṛtvasucaḥ*) which also include *iṣṭhaN*.

Consider *enim ācaṣṭe* = *etayati*, where *ṆiC* is introduced by a statement of the *Mahābhāṣya*, i.e., *tat karoti tadācaṣṭe* (ad 7.4.97 *i ca gaṇaḥ*). Thus, *etad* + *ṆiP* (4.1.39 *varṇād anudāttāt* . . .) produces *enī*, through *ṭi*-deletion and a replacement of *t* with *n*. One can now derive *etayati*, paraphrased as *enīn karoti enim ācaṣṭe*, form (*enī* + *am* + *ṆiC*) + *LAṬ*, where, as a result of removal of *ṆiP* (*pumvadbhāva*) and *sUP*-deletion, we get *e(n→t)* + *i* = *eti* + *LAṬ*. Recall here that the *t* of *etad* was replaced with *n* concurrently with the introduction of *ṆiP*. A removal of *ṆiP* will thus also cause removal of *n* as a replacement of *t*. It should be remembered here that *pumvadbhāva* also applies before *ṆiC*, as it does before *iṣṭhaN*. Similar derivational details can also be offered for *śyetayati* and *haritayati*, parallel to *śyenīn karoti śyenīm ācaṣṭe* = *śyetayati* and *hariṇīn karoti hariṇīm ācaṣṭe* = *haritayati*.

- (ii) *rabhāva* 'change of *ṛ* to *r*', as is stated by 6.4.161 *ra ṛto halāder laghoḥ*.

Consider (*prthu* + *am* + *ṆiC*) + *LAṬ* → *prathayati*, (*mṛdu* + *am* + *ṆiC*) + *LAṬ* = *mradayati*, etc., where *ṛ* is replaced with *r* and *ṭi*-deletion, *guṇa* and *ay*-replacements produce desired derivates.

- (iii) *ṭi*-deletion, as is stated by 6.4.155 *ṭeḥ*.

Consider *paṭayati* and *laghayati* from (*paṭu* + *ṆiC*) + *LAṬ* and (*laghu* + *ṆiC*) + *LAṬ*, parallel to (*paṭum*/ *laghum*) *ācaṣṭe*, through *ṭi*-deletion, *guṇa* and replacements of *e* with *ay* (*ayādeśa*).

- (iv) *yaṇādilopa* 'deletion of that which occurs subsequent to a preceding sound denoted by *yaN*', as is stated by 6.4.156 *sthūladūra* . . ., whereby an *iK* which precedes *yaN* also goes through a replacement in *guṇa*.

Consider *sthūlam ācaṣṭe* = *sthavayati* from (*sthūla* + *am* + *ṆiC*) + *LAṬ*, where *la* is deleted and its preceding *ū* goes through a replacement in *guṇa*. Thus, *sth(u→o) (la→ϕ)* + *i* = *sth(o→av)* + *i* + *LAṬ* = *sthavayati*, again with *guṇa* of *i* and *ay* of the resultant *e*.

- (v) *vinmatublopa* 'deletion of *vinI* and *matUP*', as is stated by 5.3.63 *vinmator luk*.

Consider *sragvinam ācaṣṭe* = *srajayati* from (*sragvin* + *am* + *ṆiC*) + *LIT*, where *sragvin* is derived with *vinI* (5.2.121 *asmāyāmedhā* . . .). A similar derivate with deletion of *matUP* will be: *vasumantam ācaṣṭe* = *vasayati* from (*vasumat* + *am*) + *LIT*, where deletion of *matUP* and *ṭi*-deletion apply.

- (vi) *kan* as a replacement of *yuvan* and *alpa*, as is stated by 5.3.64 *yuvālpayoh* . . .

Consider *yuvānam ācaṣṭe* = *kanayati*, from (*yuvan* + *am* + *ṆiC*) + *LAṬ*, where *yuvan* gets optionally replaced with *kan*. Recall that our next rule will produce *yavayati*, through *yaṇādilopa*, *guṇa* and *av*-replacement.

3. Yet another proposal desires *iṣṭhavadbhāva* for replacements in *pra*, etc., as is stated by 6.4.157 *priyasthira* . . .

Consider *priyam ācaṣṭe* = *prāpayati*, from (*priya* + *am* + *ṆiC*) + *LAṬ*, where *pra* replaces *priya* and augment *pUK* (7.3.36 *artihirvū* . . .) is introduced subsequently. Thus, (*priya* → *pra*) + *ṆiC* → *pr(a* → *ā*) + *pUK* + *ṆiC*; *prāpi* + *LAṬ* = *prāpayati*.

#### 6.4.156 स्थूलदूरयुवह्रस्वक्षिप्रक्षुद्राणां यणादिपरं पूर्वस्य च गुणः

*sthūladūrayuvahrasvaksipraksudrāṇām yaṇādiparam pūrvasya ca guṇaḥ*  
/ *sthūla-dūra-yuva-hrasva-kṣipra-kṣudrāṇām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām*;  
*yaṇādiparam* 1/1 *yaṇ ādir yasya* (*bv.*); *yaṇādi ca adaś ca paraṇ ca*  
(*karmadhāraya*); *pūrvasya* 6/1 *ca φ guṇaḥ* 1/1/  
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *lopaḥ* #147 *iṣṭhemeyassu* #154)

'*sthūla, dūra, yuva, hrasva, kṣipra, kṣudra*' *ity eteṣām yaṇādiparam lupyate*  
*iṣṭhemeyassu parataḥ, pūrvasya ca guṇo bhavati*

The *yaN*initial part at the end of an *aṅga* termed *bha*, namely *sthūla, dūra, yuva, hrasva, kṣipra*, and *kṣudra*, is deleted by means of *LOPA* with an additional provision that the preceding vowel be replaced with *guṇa*, when affixes *iṣṭhaN*, *imanIC* and *īyasUN* follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*sthaviṣṭhaḥ* 'fatest of all'  
*sthavīyān* 'ibidem'  
*daviṣṭhaḥ* 'farthest'  
*davīyān* 'ibidem'  
*yaviṣṭhaḥ* 'youngest, smallest'  
*yavīyān* 'ibidem'  
*hrasiṣṭhaḥ* 'smallest'  
*hrasīyān* 'ibidem'  
*hrasimā* 'smallness'

*kṣepiṣṭhaḥ* 'fastest'  
*kṣepīyān* 'ibidem'  
*kṣepimā* 'fastness'  
*kṣodiṣṭhaḥ* 'smallest'  
*kṣodīyān* 'ibidem'  
*ksodimā* 'smallness'

1. This rule allows deletion of a *yaN*-initial part at the end of an *aṅga* termed *bha*, with the additional provision that the *iK* vowel which precedes *yaN* goes through a replacement in *guṇa*. These operations both take place when a *bha*, namely *sthūla* 'huge, fat', *dūra* 'far', *yuva* 'young', *hrasva* 'short', *kṣipra* 'fast' and *kṣudra* 'little', is followed by affixes *iṣṭhaN*, *īyasUN* and *imanIC*. Thus we get deletion of *la/ra* followed by *guṇa* of their preceding vowels. Consider *sthūla* + *iṣṭhaN* → *sth(ū→o) + (la→ϕ) + iṣṭhaN*) = *sth(o→av) + iṣṭhaN* = *sthaviṣṭha*, etc. Similar applications are seen in deriving *daviṣṭha*, *yaviṣṭha*, etc. Examples of *īyasUN* are *sthaviyas* + *sU* → *sthaviyān*, *daviyān*, etc., where *nUM* is introduced before *sU*.

Note that examples of *imanIC* are offered only for *hrasva*, *kṣipra* and *kṣudra* because 5.1.121 *prthvādibhyaḥ* . . . introduces *imanIC* under the condition of a listing under the *prthvādi* group of nominals. Others fall outside this listing, and hence, do not qualify for this affix. The condition of a following *yaṇādi* is imposed so that a preceding *yaṇādi* such as *ya* and *ra* of *yava* and *hrasva* could be saved from deletion. That is, the *va* of *yava* and *hrasva* alone gets deleted. There is no concurrent *guṇa*-replacement in derivatives of *yava* and *hrasva* since there is no *iK* before *va*. The word *pūruva* is used for clarity (*viśpaṣṭārtham*). For, subsequent to deletion of *yaṇādi*, *guṇa* could only apply to what precedes.

6.4.157 प्रियस्थिरस्फिरोरुबहुलगुरुवृद्धतृप्रदीर्घवृन्दारकाणां प्रस्थस्फवरबंहिगर्वर्षित्रप्राघिवृन्दाः

*priyasthirasphirorubahulaguruvṛddhatṛpradīrghavṛndārakāṇāṃ prasthaspha-*  
*varbamhigarvarṣitrapdrāghivṛndāḥ*

/ *priya-sthira-sphira-uru-bahula-guru-vṛddha-tṛpra-dīrgha-vṛndārakāṇāṃ* 6/  
 3 (*itar. dv.*); *pra-stha-spha-var-bamhi-gar-varṣi-trap-drāghi-vṛndāḥ* 1/3 (*itar. dv.*)/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *iṣṭhemeyassu* #154)

'*priya*, *sthira*, *sphira*, *uru*, *bahula*, *guru*, *vṛddha*, *tṛpra*, *dīrgha*, *vṛndāraka*'  
*ity eteṣāṃ* '*pra*, *stha*, *spha*, *var*, *bamhi*, *gar*, *varṣi*, *trap*, *drāghi*, *vṛnda*' *ity ete*  
*yathāsaṃkhyam ādeśā bhavanti iṣṭhemeyassu parataḥ*

An *aṅga* termed *bha*, namely *priya*, *sthira*, *sphira*, *uru*, *bahula*, *guru*, *vṛddha*, *tṛpra*, *dīrgha* and *vṛndāraka* is replaced with *pra*, *stha*, *spha*, *var*, *bamhi*, *gar*, *varṣi*, *trap*, *drāghi*, and *vṛnda*, respectively, when affixes *iṣṭhaN*, *imanIC* and *īyasUN* follow.

## EXAMPLES:

*preṣṭhaḥ/ premā/ preyān* 'dearest'  
*stheṣṭhaḥ/ stheyān* 'most stable'  
*spheṣṭhaḥ/ spheyān* 'more than any'  
*variṣṭhaḥ/ varimā/ varīyān* 'best of all'  
*baṃhiṣṭhaḥ/ baṃhimā/ baṃhīyān* 'more than any'  
*gariṣṭhaḥ/ garimā/ garīyān* 'biggest'  
*variṣiṣṭhaḥ/ varṣīyān* 'oldest'  
*trapiṣṭhaḥ/ trapīyān* 'fastest'  
*drāghīṣṭhaḥ/ drāghīyān* 'fastest among all'  
*drāghīmā* 'fastness'  
*vṛndiṣṭhaḥ/ vṛndīyān* 'the biggest herd'

1. This rule offers *pra*, etc., as replacements for *priya*, etc. Their order of enumeration determines assignment of equivalents (1.3.10 *yathāsam-khyam* . . .). Thus, *priya*→*pra*, *sthira*→*stha*, *sphira*→*spha*, etc. Examples of *imanIC* are found only after *priya*, *uru*, *guru*, *bahula*, and *dīrgha*, for reasons, that *imanIC* is not introduced after bases not listed in the *ṛthvādi* group (5.1.121 *ṛthvādibhyaḥ* . . .) of nominals. The *i* of *baṃhi* gets deleted by 6.4.155 *ṭeḥ*. This application of 6.4.155 *ṭeḥ* is not valid in deriving *preṣṭha*, since 6.4.163 *prakṛtyaikāc* approves retention of the original in case of a monosyllabic *bha*. That is why we get the application of 6.1.84 *ād guṇaḥ* to yield *pr(a + i→e)ṣṭha* = *preṣṭha*.

## 6.4.158 बहोर्लोपो भू च बहोः

*bahor lopo bhū ca bahoḥ*  
*/ bahoḥ 5/1 lopah 1/1 bhū (1/1 deleted) ca φ bahoḥ 6/1/*  
*(aṅasya #1 bhasya #129 iṣṭhemeyassu #154)*  
*bahor uttareṣām iṣṭhemeyasām lopo bhavati tasya ca bahoḥ sthane 'bhū' ity*  
*ayam ādeśo bhavati*  
 Affixes *iṣṭhaN*, *imanIC* and *īyasUN*, when occurring after an *aṅga* termed *bha*, namely *bahu*, are deleted by means of *LOPA*, with an additional provision that *bahu* be also replaced with *bhū*.

## EXAMPLES:

*bhūyān* 'most'  
*bhūmā* 'ibidem'

1. This rule offers deletion of *iṣṭhaN*, *imaniC* and *īyasUN*, when they occur after *bahu*. Additionally, *bahu* gets replaced with *bhū*. Note that *bahu* is specified twice in this rule. The first specification is interpreted as made with ablative (*pañcamī*). Consequently, deletion applies only to the initial sound segment of affixes (1.1.54 *ādeḥ paśasya*). The second specification with *bahu*

is interpreted as made with *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive' to specify what gets replaced (*sthāni*). A replacement in place of affixes may, otherwise, have applied. That is, if this second specification was not made. Since *bhū* consists of more than one sound segment, it will replace *bahu* in toto (1.1.55 *anekāl śit sarvasya*).

#### 6.4.159 इष्टस्य यिद् च

*iṣṭhasya yiṭ ca*

/iṣṭhasya 6/1 yiṭ 1/1 ca φ/

(aṅgasya #1 bhasya #1 bahoḥ bhū ca bahoḥ #158)

*bahor uttarasya iṣṭhasya yid āgamo bhavati bahoḥ ca bhūr ādeśo bhavati*

Affix *iṣṭhaN*, when occurring after an *aṅga* termed *bha*, namely *bahu*, is also introduced with augment *yīT*.

EXAMPLES:

*bhūyīṣṭhaḥ* 'most'

1. This rule introduces augment *yīT* to *iṣṭha* when the same occurs after *bahu*. Additionally, *bahu* is replaced with *bhū*. Thus we get (*bahu*→*bhū*) + *yīT* + *iṣṭha* = *bhūyīṣṭha*. The *I* of *yīT* is used for ease of articulation (*uccāraṇārtham*). Augment *yīT* is here introduced as an exception to deletion (*Kāś*: *loṭāpavādo yidāgamah*). Deletion cannot apply since *yīT* intervenes between *jya* and *īyasUN*.

#### 6.4.160 ज्यादादीयसः

*jyād ād īyasaḥ*

/jyāt 5/1 āt 1/1 īyasaḥ 6/1/

(aṅgasya #1 bhasya #129)

*jyād uttarasya īyasa ākāra ādeśo bhavati*

A long *ā* comes in place of the initial sound segment of *īyasUN* when it follows an *aṅga* termed *bha*, namely *jya*.

EXAMPLES:

*jyāyān* 'biggest of them all'

1. The *ī* of *īyas* is replaced with *ā* when the affix occurs after *jya*. Thus, we get *praśasya* + *īyasUN*→(*praśasya*→*jya*) + *īyasUN*→*jya* + (*ī*→*ā*) *yas(UN)* = *jya* + *āyas* = *jyāyas*. Deriving *jyāyān* from *jyāyas* + *sU* with *nUM*, etc., is not difficult.

Note that *ī* would have been deleted if the *anuvṛtti* of *LOPA* was valid here. The *yas* after *jya* would have then caused lengthening of its final *a*. We could have then gotten the form *jyāyān*. Commentators state that this operational procedure is canceled in view of the *paribhāṣā* (93): *aṅgavṛtte punar vṛttāv avidhiḥ* 'an operation applied in this *aṅga* section cancels another equally applicable operation of this section'. Incidentally, *jya* is introduced as a replacement of *praśasya* by 5.3.61 *jya ca*.

## 6.4.161 र ऋतो हलादेर्लघोः

*ra ṛto halāder laghoḥ*

/rah 1/1 ṛtaḥ 6/1 halādeḥ 6/1 = hal ādir yasya (bv.), tasya; laghoḥ 6/1/  
(aṅgasya #1 bhasya #129 iṣthemeyassu #154)

*raśabda ādeśo bhavati ṛkāryasya halāder laghor iṣthemeyassu parataḥ*

A *ṛ* which forms a light (*laghu*) syllable with a preceding consonant in an *aṅga* termed *bha* is replaced with *ra* when affixes *iṣthaN*, *imanIC* and *īyasUN* follow.

## EXAMPLES:

*prathiṣṭhaḥ/prathimā/prathīyān* 'widest of them all'

*mradiṣṭhaḥ/mradimā/mradīyān* 'softest of them all'

1. This rule introduces *ra* as a replacement for a *laghu* 'short' (1.4.110 *hrasvaṃ laghu*) *ṛ* of a *bha*, where *ṛ* occurs after a consonant, and *iṣthaN*, *imanIC* and *īyasUN* follow *bha*. Thus we get  $p(\dot{r} \rightarrow ra)thu + iṣthaN \rightarrow prath(u \rightarrow \phi) = prathiṣṭha$ , through *ṭi*-deletion. Similar rules apply in deriving *mradiṣṭha*. Examples of *imanIC* and *īyasUN* can be similarly derived as *prathiman*, *prathīyas*; and *mradiman*, *mradiyas*. Refer to further derivational details in notes of 5.1.120 *ā ca tvāt*.

2. Why is *ra* allowed only for *ṛ*. So that this replacement does not apply in *paṭiṣṭhaḥ*, *paṭimā* and *paṭīyān*. Why do we have the condition of *halādi* 'consonant-initial'? So that we do not get replacements in *ṛjuṣṭhaḥ*, *ṛjimā* and *ṛjīyān*, where *ṛju* 'straight, upright' does not begin with a consonant. Why do we have this condition of *laghoḥ*? So that *ra* does not replace a short *ṛ* used before a conjunct. Thus, we cannot get this replacement in *kṛṣṇiṣṭhaḥ* 'blackest', *kṛṣṇīyān* and *kṛṣṇimā*, etc., where *ṛ* will be termed *guru* (1.4.111 *saṃyoge guru*) before the conjunct *ṣṇ*.

3. A proposal is made to enumerate the derivatives of this rule as follows:

*prithuṃ mṛduṃ bhṛśaṃ caiva kṛśaṃ ca dṛdhaṃ eva ca/*

*paripūrvaṃ vṛdhaṃ caiva śaḍ etān ravidhau smaret//*

'*prṛthu* 'wide', *mṛdu* 'soft', *bhṛśa* 'plenty', *kṛśa* 'thin' and *dṛdha* 'solid', plus *vṛdha* 'covered, enclosed' when used with the preverb *pari*, these six should be remembered in this operational context of *ra*'

It is for this reason that we do not get *ra*-replacement in *kṛtayati* 'calls, done', *mātayati* 'calls, mother' and *bhrātayati* 'calls, brother'.

## 6.4.162 विभाषजोश्छन्दसि

*vihāṣarjōś chandasi*

/vibhāṣā 1/1 ṛjoḥ 6/1 chandasi 7/1/

(aṅgasya #1 bhasya #129 iṣthemeyassu #154 *ra ṛtaḥ* #161)

'*ṛju*' ity etasya *ṛtaḥ sthāne vibhāṣā repa ādeśo bhavati iṣṭhemeyassu parataś chandasi visaye*

A replacement in *roptionally* comes in place of the *ṛ* of an *aṅga* termed *bha*, namely *ṛju* 'straight, upright' in the Vedic, when affixes *iṣṭhaN*, *imanIC* and *īyasUN* follow.

EXAMPLES:

*rajiṣṭhamanu neṣi pānthām*  
*tvamṛjiṣṭhaḥ*

1. This rule allows *ra* as a replacement for the *ṛ* of *ṛju*, in the Vedic, optionally, when *iṣṭhaN*, *imanIC* and *īyasUN* follow. Thus, we get  $(\dot{r} \rightarrow ra)j(u \rightarrow \phi)$  + *iṣṭhaN* = *raṣṭha*. This optional *ra*, if not accepted, will yield *ṛjiṣṭha*. Examples for other affixes are not available.

#### 6.4.163 प्रकृत्यैकाच्

*prakṛtyaikāc*

/prakṛtyā 3/1ekāc 1/1 = eko' c yasmin (bv.)/

(aṅgasya #1 bhasya #129 iṣṭhemeyassu #154)

*ekāḥ yad bhasamjñakam tadiṣṭhemeyassu parataḥ prakṛtyā bhavati*

An *aṅga* termed *bha* which contains one vowel (*ekāc*) remains as is when affixes *iṣṭhaN*, *imanIC* and *īyasUN* follow.

EXAMPLES:

*srajiṣṭhaḥ* 'possessing most garlands'

*sraṇyān* 'ibidem'

*srajayati* 'third singular causal active present of *sraji*'

*sruciṣṭhaḥ* 'possessing most ritual ladles'

*srucyān* 'ibidem'

*srucayati* 'third singular causal active present of *sruci*'

1. This rule allows a monosyllabic *bha* to retain its original form when affixes *iṣṭhaN*, *imanIC* and *īyasUN* follow. That is, *ṭi*-deletion does not apply. Thus, consider *srajiṣṭhaḥ*, *sraṇyān* and *srajayati*, where *sraj* is retained against *ṭi*-deletion. Note in this connection that *ṭi*-deletion becomes applicable twice. Thus, we first get *sraj* + *vinI* (5.2.121 *asmāyāmedhā* . . .) where *vinI* gets deleted (5.3.65 *vinmator luk*). We do not get any *ṭi*-deletion. This deletion is again blocked here in *sraj* + (*iṣṭhaN*/*īyasUN*). The first *ṭi*-deletion can be blocked by *LUK*-deletion of *vinI*. This retention of the original *bha* is thus needed to block the second *ṭi*-deletion. A similar *ṭi*-deletion in favor of retention of original form is also blocked in derivatives of *matUP*. Thus, *srug asti yasya* = *srugvat*; *srug(vat → φ)* + *iṣṭha* = *sruciṣṭha*. Similar applications are found in deriving *srucyān* with *īyasUN* and *srajayati* and *srucayati* with *ṆiC*, through *iṣṭhavadbhāva* 'operations similar to when *iṣṭha* follows'.



2. The condition of *ekāc* is imposed so that *vasiṣṭhaḥ* 'most wealthy' and *vasiṣṭhān* could be blocked from retaining their original form *vasu* 'wealth', a non-monosyllabic.

3. A *vārttika* proposal is made to allow *rājanya* 'kṣatriya, royalty', *manuṣya* 'human' and *yuvan* 'young' to retain their original form when *aka* follows. Thus, *rājanya* + (*vuṅ*→*aka*) = *rājanyaka* 'group of kings' and *manuṣya* + (*vuṅ*→*aka*) = *mānuṣyaka* 'group of men', where *vuṅ* is introduced with the signification of *samūha* 'group' (4.2.39 *gotroḥkoṣṭhor* . . .). The *ya* of these derivatives is saved from deletion (6.4.151 *āpatyasya ca taddhite nāti*) by this rule. The *ṭi*-deletion of *yuvan*, available from 6.4.144 *nas taddhite*, is blocked in deriving *yauvanikā* with *vuṅ* (5.1.133 *dvandvamanojñādibhyaś ca*)

#### 6.4.164 इनण्यनपत्ये

*in any anapatye*

/in 1/1 ani 7/1 anapatye 7/1 (nañ.)/

(aṅgasya #1 bhasya #129 prakṛtyā #163)

*innantam anapatyārthe' ni parataḥ prakṛtyā bhavati*

An *aṅga* termed *bha* which ends in *in* remains as is when affix *aN* follows with the denotatum of something other than an *apatya* 'offspring'.

#### EXAMPLES:

*sāṅkūṭinam* 'burning all around'

*sāṃrāviṇam* 'noisy all around'

*sāṃmārjīnam* 'cleansing all around'

*srāgviṇam* 'belonging to one who possesses garlands'

1. Refer to derivational details of *sāṅkūṭinam* and *sāṃrāviṇam* (cf. appendix of 3.3.44 *abhividdhau bhāva inuṇ*). A derivate of *mṛj*, i.e., *sāṃmārjīnam*, is similarly derived. This rule allows a *bha* which ends in *in* to retain its original form, provided affix *aN* follows with no denotation of *apatya* 'offspring'. The *aN* of the first three examples denotes *bhāva*. The *aN* of *srāgviṇa idam* = *srāgviṇam* denotes the sense of 'that is his' (4.3.120 *tasyedam*). This rule goes against *ṭi*-deletion of 6.4.144 *nas taddhite*.

2. This retention of the original (*prakṛtibhāva*) is not available to *daṇḍinām samūhaḥ* = *dāṇḍam* 'a group of shaft-carrying ascetics', where affix *añ* (4.2.44 *anudāttāder aṇ*) follows. It is also not available to *medhāvinah apatyam* = *maidhāvaḥ* 'son of an intelligent person', because *aN* follows *medhāvin* with the signification of *apatya*.

#### 6.4.165 गाथिविदथिकेशिगणिपणिनश्च

*gāthividathikesiganipaniṇaś ca*

/gāthi-vidathi-keśi-gaṇi-paṇinaḥ 1/3 = gāthī ca vidathī ca keśi ca gaṇi ca paṇi ca (itar. dv.); ca φ/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *prakṛtyā* #163 in *aṇi* #164)

‘*gāthin*, *vidathin*, *keśin*, *gaṇin*, *paṇin*’ *ity ete cāṇi prakṛtyā bhavanti*

An *aṅga* termed *bha* which ends in *in*, namely *gāthin*, *vidathin*, *keśin*, *gaṇin* and *paṇin*, remains as is when affix *aṇ* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*gāthinah* = *gāthino*’ *patyam* ‘descendant of *Gāthin*’

*vaidathinah* ‘descendant of *Vidathin*’

*kaiśinah* ‘descendant of *Keśin*’

*gāninah* ‘descendant of *Gaṇin*’

*pāninah* ‘descendant of *Paṇin*’

1. This rule allows *prakṛtibhāva* ‘retention of the original’ even when affix *aṇ* with the denotation of *apatya* follows. These derivatives all include *inI* of 5.2.115 *ata inīthanau*. This *prakṛtibhāva* was available to them from the previous rule. This rule allows it before *aṇ* signifying an *apatya*. *Nyāsa* states that this rule is formulated for derivatives denoting *apatya* (*Nyāsa: apatyārtho*’ *yam ārambhah*). The *aṇ* of these derivatives is introduced by 4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*. This rule again goes against *ṭi*-deletion of 6.4.144 *nas taddhite*.

#### 6.4.166 संयोगादिश्च

*saṃyogādiś ca*

/*saṃyogādiḥ* 1/1 = *saṃyoga ādir yasya* (*bv.*); *ca*  $\phi$ /

(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #1 *prakṛtyā* #163 in *aṇi* #164)

*saṃyogādiś ca in aṇi prakṛtyā bhavati*

An *aṅga* termed *iha* which ends in *in* and begins with a conjunct (*saṃyoga*), also remains as is when affix *aṇ* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*śāṅkhinah* = *śāṅkhino*’ *patyam* ‘descendant of *Śāṅkhin*’

*mādrīṇah* ‘descendant of *Madrin*’

*vājriṇah* ‘descendant of *Varjin*’

1. This provision of *prakṛtibhāva*, once again, is made before *aṇ*, used with the signification of *apatya*. This provision also goes against *ṭi*-deletion of 6.4.144 *nas taddhite*.

#### 6.4.167 अन्

*an*

/*an* 1/1/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *prakṛtyā* #163 *aṇi* #164)

*annantam aṇi prakṛtyā bhavati apatyē cānapatyē ca*

An *aṅga* termed *bha* which ends in *an* remains as is, when affix *aṇ*,

irrespective of whether used with the signification of an *apatya*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

*sāmanah* 'relating to a sāman hymn'  
*vaimanah* 'relating to Viman'  
*sautvanah* 'descendant of Sutvan'  
*jaitvanah* 'descendant of Jitvan'

1. This rule allows *prakṛtibhāva* of a *bha* which ends in *an*, irrespective of whether *aN* denotes an *apatya*. Thus, *sāmanah* and *vaimanah* have their *aN* with the signification of 'that is his' (4.3.120 *tasyedam*). The *aN* of *sautvanah* denotes an *apatya*. Incidentally, *sutvan* is derived with affix *ṆvanIP* (3.2.103 *suyajo . . .*), introduced after *ṣuṆ*. Augment *tUK* is also introduced subsequently. Similar applications are followed in deriving *jitvan* of *jaitvanah* from *ji + KvanIP* (3.2.75 *anyebhyo' pi dṛśyante*). This rule again goes against *ṭi*-deletion of 6.4.144 *nas taddhite*.

6.4.168 ये चाभावकर्मणोः

*ye cābhāvakarmanoh*  
 /ye 7/1 *ca*  $\phi$  *abhāvakarmanoh* = *bhāvaś ca karma ca* = *bhāvakarmanī, na bhāvakarmanī* (*nañ.* with int. *dv.*), *tayoh/*  
 (*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *prakṛtyā* #163 *an* #167)  
*yakārādaḥ ca taddhite' bhāvakarmanor arthayor an prakṛtyā bhavati*  
 An *aṅga* termed *bha* which ends in *an* also remains as is when a *taddhita* affix beginning with *y*, and denoting something other than *bhāva* and *karman*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

*sāmānyah* = *sāmasu sādhuḥ* 'skilled in the sāman hymns'  
*vemānyah* 'skilled in distinguishing'

1. This rule allows *prakṛtibhāva* to a *bha* which ends in *an* and occurs before a *taddhita* affix beginning with *y*, provided the same does not denote *bhāva* 'root-sense' and *karman* 'object'. The examples both involve *yaT* with the signification of 'skilled in that' (4.4.98 *tatra sādhuḥ*). A similar *yaT*, for reasons of denoting *bhāva* and *karman* (5.1.128 *patyantāt . . .*), blocks *prakṛtibhāva* in *rājan + yaT* = *rājyam* 'rule, kingdom', paraphrased as *rājñah bhāvah karma vā*. We thus get *ṭi*-deletion as a result.

6.4.169 आत्माध्वानौ खे

*ātmādhvānau khe*  
 /*ātmādhvānau* 1/2 = *ātmā ca adhvā ca* (*itar . dv.*); *khe* 7/1/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #1 *prakṛtyā* #163)

'*ātman*, *adhvan*' *ity etau khe parataḥ prakṛtyā bhavataḥ*

An *aṅga* termed *bha*, namely *ātmā* 'self' and *adhvā* 'road', remains as is when affix *kha* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*ātmanīnaḥ* = *ātmane hitaḥ* 'beneficial for one's self'

*adhvanīnaḥ* = *adhvānam alaṅgāmī* 'traveler'

1. This rule again offers *prakṛtibhāva* against *ṭi*-deletion. The *bha* bases are *ātman* and *adhvan* when occurring before affix *kha*. Thus, *ātmanīnaḥ* and *adhvanīnaḥ*, where *kha*→*īna* is introduced by 5.1.9 *ātmanviśva* . . . and 5.2.16 *adhvano yatkha*, respectively.

2. A condition of *khe* is imposed so that *pratyātman* and *prādhvam* could not avail *prakṛtibhāva*. These derivatives involve *ṬaC* (5.4.108 *anaś ca*) and *aC* (5.4.85 *upasargād adhvanah*), respectively. These examples both go through *ṭi*-deletion.

#### 6.4.170 न मपूर्वोऽपत्येऽवर्मणः

*na mapūrvō' patye' varmaṇaḥ*

/ *na*  $\phi$  *mapūrvah* 1/1 = *makāraḥ pūrvō yasya* (*bv.*); *apatye* 7/1 *avarmaṇaḥ*

1/1 *na varmā* = *avarmā* (*nañ.*), *tasya*/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *prakṛtyā* #163 *aṇi* #164 *an* #167)

*mapūrvō' n avarmaṇō' ni parato' patye' rthe na prakṛtyā bhavati*

The final *an* of an *aṅga* termed *bha* which occurs after *m*, but is not that of *varman*, remains as is when affix *aṆ*, used with the signification of *apatya* 'offspring' follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*sauśāmaḥ* = *suśāmnō' patyam* 'descendant of Suśāman'

*cāndrasāmaḥ* 'descendant of Candrasāman'

1. This rule is a negation (*pratiśedha*). It does not allow *prakṛtibhāva* to a *bha* which ends in *an* preceded with *m*, provided it is not *varman*, and is followed by *aṆ* signifying an *apatya*. Thus, *suśāmnah apatyam* = *sauśāmaḥ* and *candrasāmnah apatyam* = *cāndrasāmaḥ*. The *an* of *suśāman* and *candrasāman* thus goes through *ṭi*-deletion.

2. Note that *prakṛtibhāva* can not be blocked in *sutvanaḥ apatyam* = *sautvanaḥ* since *m* does not occur before *an* of *sutvan*. A similar *prakṛtibhāva* can also not be blocked in deriving *carmanā parivṛtaḥ rathaḥ* = *cārmaṇaḥ*, since *aṆ* does not denote an *apatya*. An exclusion of *varman* is made to allow *prakṛtibhāva*, against *ṭi*-deletion, in *cakravarmaṇaḥ apatyam* = *cākravarmaṇaḥ* 'son of Cakravarman'.

3. A proposal is made to make this negation optional in case of *hitanāman*. Thus, *hitanāmanah apatyam* = *haitanāmah* 'descendant of Hitanāman', with *ṭi*-deletion and *haitanāmanah* with no *ṭi*-deletion.

#### 6.4.171 ब्राह्मोऽजातौ

*brāhmo' jātau*

/ *brāhmaḥ* 1/1 *ajātau* 7/1 = *na jātiḥ* (*nañ.*), *tasyām*/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *apatye* #170)

'*brāhmaḥ*' *ity etad apatyādhikāre' pi sāmāthyād apatyād anyatrāṇi ṭer lopārtham nipātyate*

The word *brāhma* is derived, though not with the signification of *jāti* 'class', via *nipātana*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*brāhmo garbhah* 'the golden embryo'

*brāhmam astram* 'weapon of the Brahman'

*brāhmaṃ haviḥ* 'oblation to Brahman'

1. This *sūtra* is read as two, via split-interpretation (*yogavibhāga*). Thus, (i) *brāhmaḥ*: '*ṭi*-deletion, against *prakṛtibhāva*, applies in deriving *brāhma*, when *aN* with no signification of *apatya* follows. We get examples such as *brāhmaḥ garbhah*, *brāhmam astram* and *brāhmaṃ haviḥ*, where *aN* is introduced by 4.3.120 *tasyedam* 'this is his' and 4.2.24 *sā' sya devatā* '... is the divinity of'. The second split-interpretation is (ii) *ajātau* '*ṭi*-deletion does not apply on *brahman* when an offspring as a class is denoted'. Note that *ajātau* is interpreted as a negation of the *prasajya* type. That is, *nañ* is construed with the verb: *jātau na bhavati* 'does not apply when class is denoted'. Thus, we get *brahmaṇo' patyam* = *brāhmaṇah*. The *Bāḥmanoramā* (ad SK) reads this *sūtra* as *brāhmo jātau*, where it carries the *anuvṛtti* of *nañ*. the *Mahābhāṣya* and SK retain a (*nañ*) as part of the rule, but interpret it as the negation of *prasajya* type.

#### 6.4.172 कर्मस्ताच्छील्ये

*kārmās tācchīlye*

/ *kārmaḥ* 1/1 *tācchīlye* 7/1/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129)

'*kārmaḥ*' *iti tācchīlye ṭilopo nipātyate*

The word *kārma* is derived via *nipātana* when the signification is *tacchīlye* 'characteristic habit of ...'.

#### EXAMPLES:

*kārmaḥ* = *karmaśīlah* 'diligent worker'

1. This rule allows *ṭi*-deletion of *an* in deriving *kārma* from *karman* + *Na*,

where *Na* is introduced by 4.4.62 *chatrādibhyo naḥ* with the signification of *tācchīya* 'characteristic nature'.

2. What is the need for this rule when 6.4.144 *nas taddhite* can itself accomplish *ṭi*-deletion. This rule is formulated for indicating (*jñāpaka*) that 'operations similar to *aN* also apply when *Na* follows with the signification of *tācchīya*'. This is how affix *NiP* (4.1.15 *ṭiddhāñ . . .*) could be introduced in deriving *caurī* and *tāpas*. A condition of *tācchīya* is necessary so that *ṭi*-deletion could not take place in *karmaṇa idam = kārmaṇaḥ* 'something relating to one who works diligently', where *aN* denotes *sambandha* 'relation'.

#### 6.4.173 औक्षमनपत्ये

*aukṣam anapatye*

/ *aukṣam* 1/1 *anapatye* 7/1 (*nañ.*) /

(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129)

'*aukṣam*' *ity anapatye* 'ṇi *ṭiloḥ* *nipātyate*

The word *aukṣam* 'beneficial for a bull' is derived, via *nipātana*, when the signification is something other than *apatya* 'offspring'.

#### EXAMPLES:

*aukṣam padam* 'footprint of a bull'

1. This rule allows *ṭi*-deletion in *aukṣam*, derived from (*ukṣan* + *aN*) + *sU* where *aN* does not denote an *apatya* 'descendant'. This *aN* is introduced by 4.3.120 *tasyedam* 'this is his'. Note that this *ṭi*-deletion will be blocked where *aN* denotes an *apatya*. Thus, *ukṣṇaḥ apatyam = aukṣṇaḥ* 'a descendant of Ukṣan', where *a* is deleted, instead, by 6.4.135 *ṣapūrvahan. . .*

#### 6.4.174 दाण्डिनायनहास्तिनायनाथर्वणिकजैह्मसिनेयवसिनāयानिभ्रान्नाहत्याधावत्यसारवाइक्ष्वाकमैत्रेयहिरण्मयानि

*dāṇḍināyanahāstināyanātharvaṇikajaihmāsineyavāsināyanibhraunahatyadhavatyasāravaikṣvākamaitreyahirāṇmayāni*

/ *dāṇḍināyana-hāstināyana-ātharvaṇika-jaihmāsineya-vāsināyani-bhraunahatyadhavatyasārava-aiṣvāka-maitreya-hiraṇmayāni* 1/3 (*itar. dv.*)

'*dāṇḍināyana, hāstināyana, ātharvaṇika, jaihmāsineya, vāsināyani, bhraunahatyadhavatyasārava, aiṣvāka, maitreya, hiraṇmayāni*' *ity etāni nipātyante*

The words *dāṇḍināyana, hāstināyana, ātharvaṇika, jaihmāsineya, vāsināyani, bhraunahatyadhavatyasārava, aiṣvāka, maitreya*, and *hiraṇmayāni* are derived via *nipātana*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*dāṇḍināyanah* 'descendant of Daṇḍin'

*hāstināyanah* 'descendant of Hastin'

*ātharvaṇikaḥ* 'he who studies *atharvan*'  
*jaihmāśineyaḥ* 'descendant of Jihmāśin'  
*vāsināyaniḥ* 'a descendant of Vāsin'  
*bhrauṇahatyāḥ* 'killing of a fetus'  
*dhaivatyaḥ* 'intelligence'  
*sāravam* 'water of river Sarayū'  
*aikṣvākaḥ* 'descendant of Ikṣvāku; born in the country of the Ikṣvākus'  
*maitreyaḥ* 'descendant of Mitrayu'  
*hiraṇmayāḥ* 'golden; gold ornament'

1. This rule derives *dāḍināyana*, etc., via *nipātana*. Thus, *daṇḍin* and *hastin* are read in the *naḍādi* class of nominals (4.1.99 *naḍādibhyaḥ phak*), whereby affix *phaK* is introduced. This rule blocks *ṭi*-deletion of *naḍin* before *phaK* → *āyana*. Some claim that *phaK* is also introduced via *nipātana*. Thus, *dāṇḍināyana* 'an offspring of Daṇḍin' and *hāstināyana* 'an offspring of Hastin'. The next nominal, i.e., *atharvan*, is read in the *vasantādi* class (4.2.63 *vasantādibhyaḥ thak*) where *ṭi*-deletion of *atharvan* is blocked before *thak* → *ika*. Thus, *atharvāṇam adhīte* = *ātharvaṇikaḥ*. The next *jihmāśin* is read in the *śubhrādi* class (4.1.123 *śubhrādibhyaś ca*), where affix *ḍhaK* is introduced. The *ṭi*-deletion of *jihmāśin* is blocked, again before *ḍhaK* → *eya*. Thus, *jihmāśino' patyam* = *jaihmāśineyaḥ*. Affix *phiṆ* gets similarly introduced after *vāsin*, where *ṭi*-deletion is also blocked before (*ph* → *āyan*) *i*. Thus, we get *vāsināyaniḥ*. The next two bases, i.e., *bhrūṇahan* and *dhīvan*, get *t* as a replacement for their final *n*, again via *nipātana*. But the affix is *ṢyaṆ* (5.1.123 *varadṛḍhādibhyaḥ ṣyaṇ*). Thus, *bhrauṇaha(n→t)* + *ṢyaṆ* → *bhrauahatya*, similarly, *dhaivatya*. Now consider *sarayvām bhavam* = *sārvam* where, given *sarayū* + *aṆ* (4.3.35 *tatra bhavaḥ*), we get *yū* replaced with *va*, again via *nipātana*. We similarly get *ikṣvākuṣu janapadeṣu bhavaḥ* = *aikṣvākaḥ*, where given *ikṣvāku* + *aṆ* (4.1.166 *janapada-śabdād . . .*), *ū* is deleted via *nipātana*. The *yu* of *mitrayu* + *ḍhaṆ* (4.1.136 *grṣtyādibhyaś ca*) is also deleted, via *nipātana*, against the *iy*-replacement of 7.3.2 *kekayamitrayu . . .*. Thus, we get *mitra(yu→ϕ)* + (*ḍha* → *eya*) → *m(i→ai)tr(a→ϕ)* + *eya* = *maitreya*. Finally, *ya* of *hiraṇya* is also deleted, via *nipātana*, before *mayaT* to produce *hiraṇmaya*.

#### 6.4.175 ऋत्यूवास्त्यूवास्त्वमाध्वीहिरण्ययानि च्छन्दसि

*ṛtuyavāstyavāstvamādhvīhiraṇyayāni cchandasi*  
 /*ṛtuya-vāstuya-vāstva-mādhvī-hiraṇyayāni* 1/3 (*itar. dv.*); *chandasi* 7/1/  
 'ṛtuya, vāstuya, vāstva, mādhvī, hiraṇya' *ity etāni nipātyante chandasi viṣaye*  
 The words *ṛtuya*, *vāstuya*, *vāstva*, *mādhvī* and *hiraṇyaya* are derived via *nipātana* in the Vedic.

#### EXAMPLES:

*ṛtuyam* 'found in seasons'

*vāstyam* ‘found in things’  
*vāstvah* ‘ibidem’  
*mādhvīḥ* ‘... honey ...’  
*hiranyayam* ‘gold ornament’

1. This rule derives *ṛtva*, *vāstya*, *mādhvī* and *hiranyaya*, in the Vedic, via *nipātana*. Given *ṛtu* + *yaT* (4.4.110 *bhave chandasi*) and *vastu* + *aN*, the *u* is replaced with *v*, via *nipātana*. A replacement in *yaN* is also allowed in deriving *mādhvī* from (*madhu* + *aN*) + *NiP*. The *ma* of *mayaT* is also, via *nipātana*, deleted after *hiranyaya*. Thus, *hiranya* + (*ma*→ $\phi$ )*yaT* = *hiranyaya*.



## APPENDIX

# Derivational History of Examples

- 6.1.1 *ekāco dve prathamasya*
- 6.1.2 *ajāder dviṭīyasya*
- 6.1.3 *na ndrāḥ saṃyogādayaḥ*
- 6.1.5 *pūrvō' bhyāsaḥ*
- 6.1.6 *ubhe abhyastam*

- (1) *jajāgāra*
- (2) *iyāya*

- (3) *āra*

This set of rules prepares necessary background for iteration (*dviṭva*). The first rule offers iteration to the first (*prathamasya*) syllable of a monosyllabic (*ekāc*) root. The second offers iteration to the second (*dviṭīyasya*) syllable of a root which begins with a vowel (*ajādi*). The third rule offers exception to iteration in the context of roots containing consonant clusters with *n*, *d*, and *r* at the beginning. The fourth rule assigns the term *abhyāsa* to the first element of an iterated string. The last set of this rule assigns the term *abhyasta* to both elements of an iterated string. Obviously, these term assignments are intended to facilitate operations relative to the terms *abhyāsa* and *abhyasta* (hereafter *abhyāsa-kārya*).

Consider (1) *jajāgāra* 'third singular active perfect' of *jāgr* where *LIT* is replaced with *tiP*. This *tiP* is further replaced with *NaL* (3.4.82 *parasmai-padānām* . . .). The *jāg* of *jāgr* + *a* then goes through iteration (*dviṭva*; 6.1.9 *ekāco dve* . . .). We thus get *jāg* + *jāgr* + *a*, where the first *jāg* is termed *abhyāsa* and *jāgjāg* is together termed *abhyasta*. Rule 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ* states that an *abhyāsa* is allowed to retain only that unit which is formed with its first consonant. We thus get *jā(g→ϕ)* + *jāgr* + *a*. A further application of 7.4.59 *hrasvaḥ* replaces the long *ā* of the *abhyāsa* with short (*hrasva*). This gives us: *j(ā→a)* + *jāgr* + *a* = *jajāgr* + *a*. Rule 7.2.115 *aco nṛiti* now applies to replace the *r* of *jajāgr* with *ār*, its *vrddhi*-counterpart. We thus get *jajāg(r→ār)* + *a* = *jajāgāra*. We similarly derive *pac* + (*LIT*→*tiP*→*NaL*)→*papāca* (III:781), *iN* + (*LIT*→*tiP*→*NaL*)→*iyāya* and *r* + (*LIT*→*tiP*→*NaL*) = *āra*. Note here that *pac* of *pac* + *a* will itself (as against its *pa*) go through iteration at the strength of *vyapadeśivadbhāva* (*Paribh.*(31): *vyapadeśivad ekasmin*). One resorts to *vyapadeśivadbhāva* because *pac*, *i* and *r* are *ekāc* by themselves. That is, they are not part of a whole where 6.1.1 *ekāco dve prathamasya* applies. It is to accept the part-whole relationship even in one, or else, to treat one with no part as principal that *vyapadeśivadbhāva* is invoked here. The *vrddhi* of the second *a* of *pa(c→ϕ)* + *p(a→ā)c* + *a* = *papāca* will be accomplished by 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*. Note that *iyāya* follows similar derivational details. We get *iN* + (*LIT*→*tiP*→*NaL*)→*i* + *a* where the *i* goes through *vrddhi* (7.2.115 *aco nṛiti*)

and subsequent replacement in  $\bar{a}y$  (*ayādeśa*; 6.1.78 *eco* 'yavāyāvah'). We thus get ( $i \rightarrow ai \rightarrow \bar{a}y$ ) +  $a = \bar{a}ya$ . We now apply iteration where we end up getting  $i$  as the *abhyāsa* of  $i + \bar{a}y + a$ , basically through 'formal extension of  $i$  (*rūpātideśa*)' with reference to 1.1.58 *dvirvacane* 'ci'. The  $i$  of the *abhyāsa* then receives  $iy\bar{A}\bar{N}$  (6.4.78 *abhyāsasyāsavarṇe*) as a replacement especially in view of 1.1.52 *ñic ca*. We thus get ( $i \rightarrow iy\bar{A}\bar{N}$ ) +  $\bar{a}y + a \rightarrow (2) iy\bar{a}ya$ . Our last example derives from  $r + (LIT \rightarrow tiP \rightarrow NaL)$  where we get ( $r \rightarrow \bar{a}r$ ) +  $a$  through *vṛddhi* (7.2.115 *aco ṇṇiti*). The extensional provision of form in cosonance with 1.1.52 *dvirvacane* 'aci' also applies here in iteration. The result is:  $r + \bar{a}r + a$ . An application of 7.4.66 *ur at* produces ( $r \rightarrow ar$ ) +  $\bar{a}r + a$  which, through the application of 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*, yields  $a(r \rightarrow \phi) + \bar{a}r + a = a + \bar{a}ra$ . The  $a$  of the *abhyāsa* is then replaced with its long counterpart (7.4.70 *ata ādeḥ*). The final derivate is produced by the application of 6.1.100 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*. Thus ( $\bar{a} + \bar{a} \rightarrow \bar{a}$ )  $ra \rightarrow (3) \bar{a}ra$ . Derivates of this rule illustrate three operations relative to *abhyāsakārya*, namely *halādiśeṣa* (7.4.66), *hrasva* (7.4.59) and replacement of  $r$  in *at* (7.4.66) and *dīrgha* (7.4.70).

### 6.1.3 *na ndrāḥ saṃyogādayaḥ*

(4) *undidiṣati*

(6) *arciciṣati*

(5) *aḍḍidiṣati*

This rule negates iteration of the initial of a consonant cluster occurring as part of the second vocalic unit of a vowel-initial root. Examples such as (4) *undidiṣati*, (5) *aḍḍidiṣati* and (6) *arciciṣati* involve roots derived with affix *saN* (3.1.7 *dhātoḥ* . . .). Affix *LAṬ*, subsequently replaced with *tiP*, is then introduced after verbal roots *arciṣa* 'to wish to respect', *undiṣa* 'to wish to be wet' and *aḍḍiṣa*. The  $r$ ,  $n$  and  $d$  of the clusters cannot get iterated. This negation facilitates iteration of *ciṣ*, *diṣ*, and *ḍiṣ* only. The desired derivates are produced through application of 7.4.60 *halādiśeṣaḥ*

### 6.1.6 *jakṣa ityādayaḥ ṣaṭ*

(7) *jakṣati*

(11) *śāsati*

(8) *jāgrati*

(12) *dīdhyate*

(9) *daridrati*

(13) *veryāte*

(10) *cakāsati*

(14) *dīdhyat*

Example (7) *jakṣati* derives from *jakṣ* + *ŚaP* + *jhi* where *ŚaP* gets deleted (2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ śapaḥ*). Rule 6.1.6 identifies *jakṣa* as *abhyasta*, whereby 7.1.4 *ad abhyastāt* replaces *jh* of *jhi* with *at*. We thus get *jakṣ* + ( $jh \rightarrow at$ )  $i = jakṣati$ . We similarly get *jāgr* + *ŚaP* + *jhi* → *jāgr* + *ati*, where  $r$  of *jāgr* goes through a replacement in *yaN*. We thus get *jāgr*( $r \rightarrow r$ ) + *ati* = (8) *jāgrati*. Deriving (9) *daridrati*, from *daridrā* + *ŚaP* + *jhi* → *ati*, involves the application of 6.4.112 *śnābhyastayor ātaḥ*. This rule deletes the  $\bar{a}$  of *daridrā*. We thus get *daridr* ( $\bar{a} \rightarrow \phi$ ) + *ati* = *daridrati*. We similarly get (10) *cakāsati* from *cakāṣ* + *ŚaP* + (*jhi* → *ati*)

and (11) *śāsati* from *śās* + *ŚaP* + *tiP*. Now consider (12) *dīdhyate* which derives from *dīdhī* + *ŚaP* + *jha* → *dīdhī* + (*ŚaP* →  $\phi$ ) + (*jh* → *at*) *a*) = *dīdhī* + *ata*, where *ŚaP* goes through deletion and the third plural middle ending *jha* gets replaced with *at*. An application of *yaN* (6.4.82 *er anekāco* . . .), followed by *etva* (3.4.79 *ṭit ātmanepadānām* . . .), produces *dīdhyat*(*a* → *e*) = *dīdhyate*.

Recall that 7.1.5 *ātmanepadeṣv anataḥ* replaces *jh* with *at*. This replacement is not dependent upon the process of iteration, and subsequent assignments of the terms *abhyāsa* and *abhyasta*. We, however, need the term *abhyasta* for accent. The initial *i* of *dīdhī*, an *abhyasta*, is marked with *udātta* in view of the application of 6.1.186 *abhyastānām ādiḥ*. We get *dīdhyāte* through interaction of rules 6.1.155 *anudāttaṃ padam ekavarjam* and 8.4.66 *udātānu-dāttasya svaritaḥ*. Of course, also with reference to 1.2.39 *svaritāt samhitāyām anudāttaḥ*. We see that assignment of the term *abhyasta* has accentual consequences. This same also applies to (13) *veryāte*.

Now consider (14) *dīdhyat* which is a derivate of *dīdhīN* + *ŚaP* + (*LAṬ* → *ŚatR*) → *dīdhī* + (*ŚaP* →  $\phi$ ) + *at*. Note that *ŚatR* could not be introduced after *dīdhīN* since it is an *ātmanepada* verbal root. It should accept *ŚānaC*, especially in view of 1.4.100 *tanānāv ātmanepadam*. This introduction of *ŚatR* is then to be accepted as the expatiation (*prapañca*) of 3.1.85 *vyatyayo bahulam*. Note that augment *nUM* (7.1.70 *ugidcām sarvanāma* . . .) cannot be introduced to *dīdhyat* + *sU*, especially since 7.1.78 *nābhyastāc chatuḥ* will negate it. This blocking is also one of the consequences of assigning the term *abhyasta*.

6.1.7 *tujādīnām dirgho' bhyāsasya*

6.1.8 *liṭi dhātor anabhyāsasya*

(15) *tūtujānaḥ*

(18) *mīmāya*

(16) *māmahānaḥ*

(19) *tūtāva*

(17) *dādhānaḥ*

(20) *dādhāra*

We derive (15) *tūtujānaḥ* and *māmahānaḥ* from *tuj* + (*LIT* → *KānaC*) → *tūtujāna* + *sU* and *mah* + (*LIT* → *KānaC*) → *māmahāna* + *sU*. Note that *KānaC* optionally replaces *LIT* (3.2.106 *liṭ kānaj vā*) when the denotation is past and the usage is Vedic. Iteration of *tuj* (6.1.8 *liṭi dhātor* . . .) is facilitated via *sthānivadbhāva* by treating *KānaC* as if it was *LIT*. An application of *halādiṣeṣa* (7.4.66) followed by a long replacement for the short of the *abhyāsa* by this rule produces *tūtujāna*. Similar rules apply in deriving (16) *māmahānaḥ*. Deriving (17) *dādhānaḥ* from *dhā* + *dhā* + (*LIT* → *KānaC*) → *dādhāna* + *sU*, involves iteration followed by *d* as a replacement for *dh* of the *abhyāsa* (8.4.54 *abhyāse car ca*). Now consider (18) *mīmāya*, a *LIT*-derivate of *ḌUmiN*, where *tiP* (3.4.78 *tiptasjhi* . . .) is replaced with *ṆaL* (3.4.82 *parasmaipadānām* . . .). This yields *mi* + (*N*) *a(L)* which, through applications of *vṛddhi* (7.2.115 *aco' nṛṇiti*) and replacement in *āy* (*ayādeśa*; 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ*) produces *m(i → ai → āy) + a = māy + a*. We now apply iteration with reference to 1.1.58

*divivacane'* *ci* whereby we get *mi* as the *abhyāsa*. That is, we get *mi* + *māy* + *a* where *mi* comes by as *abhyāsa* by way of extension of the form (*rūpātideśa*) of verbal root *mi*. Our present rule will now apply to yield *m(i→ī)* + *māy* + *a* = *mīmāya*, through a long replacement (*dirgha*). Note that a replacement in *ā* for *i* of *mi* (6.1.49 *mīnātinotidūnām* . . .) is not accomplished. Such exceptions are not hard to find in the Vedic. Similar rules also apply in deriving (19) *tūtāva* from *tu* + *ṆaL* → *tū* + *tau* + *a* and (20) *dādhāra* from *dhṛṇ* + *ṆaL*.

6.1.9 *sanyaṇoh*

6.1.10 *ślau*

6.1.22 *caṇi*

(21) *pipakṣati*

(22) *pipatiṣati*

(23) *aririṣati*

(24) *pāpacyate*

(25) *yāyajyate*

(26) *aṭāṭyate*

(27) *arāryate*

(28) *pramṇonūyate*

(29) *āśīṣat*

(30) *ārdidat*

(31) *apīpacat*

(32) *apīpaṭhat*

Deriving (21) *pipakṣati* from (*pac* + *saN*) + *LAṭ* requires iteration, *halādiśeṣa*, *i*-replacement of the *a* of *pa* (*abhyāsa*) and no introduction of *iṭ*. Recall that *pac* is a root which does not allow augment *iṭ* (*anīṭ*). We get a derived verbal root with the form of *pipakṣa* where *c* of *pac* is replaced with *k* (8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ*). The *s* of *saN* goes through a replacement in *ṣ* (*ṣatva*) as has been shown in many examples. We similarly derive (22) *pipatiṣati* and (23) *aririṣati* from (*pat* + *saN*) + *LAṭ* and (*r* + *saN*) + *LAṭ* where the derived roots are *patiṣa* and *ariṣa*. Both these roots receive augment *iṭ*. The *r* of *ariṣa* also goes through *guṇa* followed by *r*. Their affixal *s* is also replaced with *ṣ* (8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoh*). Operations relative to iteration and *abhyāsa* finally produce desired derivatives.

Note that (24) *pāpacyate* derives from *pāpacya* + (*LAṭ* → *ta*) where *LAṭ* is replaced with the third singular *ātmanepada* affix *ta*. Verbal root *pāpacya* (3.1.32 *sanādyantā dhātavaḥ*) is derived from *pac* + *yaN* where what is iterated in view of our present rule is *pac*. The *a* of the *abhyāsa* is then replaced with its long counterpart (7.4.83 *dirgho' kitah*). Of course, this applies subsequent to the application of *halādiśeṣa*. Thus, *pa(c→ḥ)pac* + *ya* → *p(a→ā)pac* + *ya* → *pāpacya* + (*LAṭ* → *ta*) → *pāpacya* + (*Ś*) *a(P)* + *ta* → *pāpacya* + *a* + *t(a→e)* = *pāpacy(a + a→ā)* + *te* = *pāpacyate*. The last two steps illustrate *etva* (3.4.79 *īṭ ātmanepadānām ṭer e*) and *pararūpa* (6.1.97 *ato guṇe*), respectively. Similar steps apply in deriving (25) *yāyajyate*.

Deriving (26) *aṭāṭyate* with (*aṭ* + *yaN*) + *LAṭ* requires the help of a *vārttika* to introduce *yaN* (*vt: sūtrimūtryaṭyartya* . . .; ad 3.1.22 *dhātor ekāco* . . .). Iteration applies here with reference to the second syllable formed with *ṭya* of *aṭ* + *ya(N)*. Here again we find the application of *halādiḥ śeṣaḥ* (7.4.60; *aṭ(y→ḥ)a* + *ṭya*) and *dirgho' kitah* (7.4.83; *aṭ(a→ā) + ṭya* = *aṭāṭya*). Deriving *aṭāṭyate*

from *aṭātya* + *ŚaP* + (*LAT* → *ta*) follows patterns similar to (24) *pāpacyate*.

Note that (27) *arāryate* also derives with a root ending in *yaṆ*, via the same *vārttika* proposal. The *r* of the root goes through *guṇa* of 7.4.30 *yaṇi ca*. Rule 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdha* . . . could not apply since 1.1.5 *kniti ca* blocks it on account of *Ṇ* of *yaṆ* as an *it*. Iteration applies to *ar* + *ya* but with an exception made again by a *vārttika* (ad 6.1.3 *na ndrāḥ samyogādayaḥ* . . . ; *vt: yakāraparasya rephasya pratiṣedho na bhavati*). We thus get *a* + *rya* + *rya*. An application of *halādiṣeṣa* and *ḍirgho' kitah* (7.4.83) then produces: *ar*(*y* → *φ*) *a* + *rya* → *ar*(*a* → *ā*) + *rya* = *arārya*. Deriving *arāryate* from *arārya* + *ŚaP* + *ta* is easy.

Now consider (28) *prorṇonūyate* where affix *yaṆ* is also introduced after verbal root *pra-ūrṇuṆ* under the same *vārttika* proposal. We find that the focus of iteration is *nu*. The *ro*f *ūrṇu* must here be excluded because of 6.1.3 *na ndrāḥ* . . . The *guṇa* of the *abhyāsa*, i.e., *nu*, followed by *ḍirgha* of the second *nū* is then accomplished by rules 7.4.82 *guṇo yanlukoh* and 7.4.25 *akṛtsārvadhātukayoḥ*, respectively. We thus get: *pra-ūrṇu* + *ya*(*Ṇ*) → *pra-ūr* + *nu* + *nu* + *ya* → *pra-ūr* + *n*(*u* → *o*) + *nu* + *ya* → *pra-ūr* + *no* + *n*(*u* → *ū*) + *ya* = *prorṇonūya*. Follow derivational steps of earlier examples for deriving *prorṇonūyate* from *prorṇonūya* + *ŚaP* + (*LAT* → *ta*). Note, however, that the *n* of *prorno* is replaced with *ṇ* (*ṇatva*; 8.4.1 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ* . . .).

Note that (29) *āśīṣat* and (30) *ārdidat* follow derivational patterns of *āṭīṣat*, in the appendix of rule 1.1.59 *dvirvacane' ci* (II:416–17). The *r* of *ārd* in *ārdidat* will be excluded from iteration on account of 6.1.3 *nandrāḥ samyogādayaḥ*. The next two derivatives are causative. Thus, (31) *apīpacat* and (32) *apīpaṭhat* derive from (*pac* + *NiC*) + *LUN* and (*paṭh* + *NiC*) + *LUN*, respectively. We first get *pāci* from *pac* + *NiC* through applications of 3.1.26 *hetumati ca* and 7.2.116 *ata upa'lhāyāḥ*. Thus, *pac* + (*N*) *i*(*C*) → *p*(*ā*) *c* + *i* = *pāci*. Applications of rules such as 3.2.110 *luṇ*, 3.1.43 *clī luṇi* and 3.1.48 *ṇisṛidrusrubhyaḥ* . . . produce *pāci* + *LUN* → *pāci* + *CLI* + *LUN* → *pāci* + (*CLI* → *CaṆ*) + *LUN* → *pāci* + (*C*) *a*(*Ṇ*) + *LUN*. A replacement in *tī*(*P*) for *LUN*, followed by *i*-deletion (3.4.100 *itaś ca*) and introduction of augment *aT* (6.4.71 *luṇlanḥṇi* . . .), yields *pāci* + *a* + (*LUN* → *tī*(*P*) → *pāci* + *a* + *t*(*i* → *φ*) → *a*(*T*) + *pāci* + *a* + *t*. Deletion of *NiC* (6.4.51 *ṇer aniṭi*) and shortening of the penultimate (*upadhā-hrasva*; 7.4.1 *ṇau caṇi* . . .) then follow. We thus get *a* + *pāc*(*i* → *φ*) + *a* + *t* → *a* + *p*(*ā* → *a*) *c* + *a* + *t* = *a* + *pac* + *a* + *t*. Rule 6.1.11 *caṇi* then applies for iteration to yield *a* + *pac* + *pac* + *a* + *t*. An application of *halādiṣeṣa* then produces: *a* + *pa* + *pac* + *a* + *t*. The *a* of the *abhyāsa* then goes through a replacement in *i* (7.4.79 *sany atah*) under the provision of *sanvadbhāva* 'treatment as if affix *saN* followed'. The short vowel *i* of the *abhyāsa* is then replaced with its long counterpart (7.4.94 *ḍirgho lāghoḥ*). We thus get *a* + *p*(*a* → *i*) + *pac* + *a* + *t* → *a* + *p*(*i* → *ī*) + *pac* + *a* + *t* → *apīpacat*. Similar rules apply in deriving (32) *apīpaṭhat*.

6.1.15 *vacisvapīyajādīnām* . . .

(33) *uktah*

(34) *uktavān*

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|----------------------|---------------------|
| (35) <i>suptaḥ</i>   | (41) <i>ūdhaḥ</i>   |
| (36) <i>suptavān</i> | (42) <i>ūdhavān</i> |
| (37) <i>iṣṭaḥ</i>    | (43) <i>uṣṭaḥ</i>   |
| (38) <i>iṣṭavān</i>  | (44) <i>uṣṭavān</i> |
| (39) <i>uṭaḥ</i>     | (45) <i>śūnaḥ</i>   |
| (40) <i>uṭtavān</i>  | (46) <i>śūnavān</i> |

This section of rules deals with *samprasāraṇa* (1.1.45 *ig yanaḥ samprasāraṇam*), a replacement in *yaN* (*y/v/r/l*) for vowels denoted by *iK* (*i/u/ṛ/ḷ*). The term *samprasāraṇa* refers to both: (i) the process whereby a sound denoted by *yaN* is replaced with a corresponding sound denoted by *iK* and (ii) vowels which are denoted by *iK* and which replace a corresponding sound denoted by *yaN*. An application of replacement in a *samprasāraṇa* vowel also, where applicable, leads to a single replacement of a vocalic sequence similar to what precedes (*pūrvārūpa*). The second vowel of the sequence must be occurring after the *samprasāraṇa* vowel (6.1.107 *samprasāraṇāc ca*).

The examples are all derivatives of the (*niṣṭhā*) suffixes *Kta* and *KtavatU* (1.1.26 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*). Consider *vac* + (*K*) *ta* → (*v* → *u*) *ac* + *ta* → (*u* + *a* → *u*) *c* + *ta* → *u* (*c* → *k*) + *ta* = *ukta* + *sU* → (34) *uktaḥ*, where *v* of *vac* is replaced with its *samprasāraṇa* counterpart *u*. Rule 6.1.107 *samprasāraṇāc ca* replaces the vocalic sequence *u* + *a* with *u*, similar in form to the preceding vowel termed *samprasāraṇa*. Rule 8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ* then replaces the *c* with *k* (*kutva*). This same also applies to *vac* + *KtavatU* → *uk* + *tavat* = *uktavat* + *sU* = (35) *uktavān*. Refer to the appendix of 1.1.5 *knīti ca* for additional derivational details (II: 336–37), especially for applications on derivatives with *tavat*. Deriving *ūdhaḥ* from (*vah* + *Kta*) + *sU*, requires *h* to be replaced with *ḍh* (8.2.31 *hoḍhaḥ*) subsequent to *samprasāraṇa* and *pūrvārūpa*. Rule 8.2.40 *jhaṣastathor* . . . then replaces the *t* of *ta* with *dh*. This *dh* then goes through a replacement in *ḍh* (*ṣṭutva*; 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*). Rule 8.3.15 *ḍho ḍhe lopah* then requires the preceding *ḍh* to be deleted. The short *u* which precedes is then replaced with its long counterpart (6.3.109 *ḍhralop pūrvasya* . . .). We thus get: (*v* → *u*) *a* + *h* + (*K*) *ta* → (*u* + *a* → *u*) + *h* + *ta* → *u* (*h* → *ḍh*) + *t* → *uḍh* + (*t* → *dh* → *ḍh*) *a* → *u* (*ḍh* → *ḥ*) + *ḍh* + *a* → (*u* → *ū*) + *ḍh* + *a* → *ūdha* + *sU* → (40) *ūdhaḥ*. Similar rules apply in deriving *vah* + *KtavatU* → *ūdḥ* + (*K*) *tavat* (*U*) + *sU* = (42) *ūdhavān*. Examples (42) and (43) (*vas* + *Kta*) + *sU* → *uṣṭaḥ* and (*vas* + *KtavatU*) + *sU* = *uṣṭavān*, require a *ṣ* to replace *s* (*ṣatva*; 8.3.60 *śāsivasi* . . .). Our last two examples, i.e., (45) (*śvan* + *Kta*) + *sU* → *śūnaḥ* and (46) (*śvan* + *KtavatU*) + *sU* → *śūnavān*, require that the *t* of the *niṣṭhā* suffix be replaced with *n* (*niṣṭhā-natva*; 8.2.45 *odiś ca*).

#### 6.1.16 *grahijyāvayi* . . .

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|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| (47) <i>grhītaḥ</i>   | (49) <i>grhṇāti</i>     |
| (48) <i>grhītavān</i> | (50) <i>jarigrhyate</i> |

- |                      |                             |
|----------------------|-----------------------------|
| (51) <i>jīnaḥ</i>    | (57) <i>vr̥kṇaḥ</i>         |
| (52) <i>jīnāti</i>   | (58) <i>vr̥kṇavān</i>       |
| (53) <i>jejīyate</i> | (59) <i>var̥vṛścyaṭe</i>    |
| (54) <i>yūyatuḥ</i>  | (60) <i>par̥vṛpc̥hyaṭe</i>  |
| (55) <i>ūyuh</i>     | (61) <i>bhr̥jjati</i>       |
| (56) <i>viddhaḥ</i>  | (62) <i>bar̥ibhr̥jjyate</i> |

Examples (47) *gr̥hītaḥ* derives from (*grah* + *iT* + *Kta*) + *sU* where *iT* is replaced with its long counterpart (7.2.37 *graho'ṛ liti dīrghaḥ*). This same also applies to (48) *gr̥hītavān*. Our example (49) *gr̥hṇāti* is a derivate of *grah* + *LAṬ* where *LAṬ* is replaced with *tiP*. An introduction of *Śnā* (3.1.81 *kryādibhyaḥ śnā*) and its subsequent treatment as marked with *Ñ* (*nit*; 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit*) produces *grah* + *nā* + *ti*. An application of *samprasāraṇa*, *pūrvārūpa* and *ṇatva* (8.4.2 *aṭkupvān* . . .) then produces *g(r→ṛ)ah* + *nā* + *ti* → *g(ṛ + a→ṛ)h* + *nā* + *ti* → *gr̥h* + (*n*→*ṇ*)*ā* + *ti* = *gr̥hṇāti*. Refer to (25) *pāpacyate* (under 6.1.9 *sanyaṇoh*) for derivational details of (50) *jar̥igr̥hyaṭe*. This derivate requires introduction of augment *ñK* (7.4.90 *ñg ṛdupadhasya ca*) to the *abhyāsa*. An application of *samprasāraṇa* then follows under the condition of affix *yaÑ*. We thus get *g(r→ar)* + *grah* + *iT* + *ŚaP* + *ta*, through an additional application of 7.4.66 *ur at*. The *g* of *ga* is then replaced with *j* with the application of 7.4.62 *kuhoṣ cuḥ*.

Note that (51) *jīnaḥ*, (52) *jīnāti* and (53) *jejīyate* all are derivates of verbal root *ḡyā*. The *t* of the *niṣṭhā* suffix *ta* is replaced with *n* (8.2.44 *tvādibhyaḥ*) in *jyā* + *Kta*. Of course, subsequent to the *samprasāraṇa* of *jyā*. The *i* of *ji* + *na* of *jīnaḥ* is replaced with its long counterpart by 6.4.2 *halaḥ*. Our next examples, *jīnāti* and *jejīyate*, are derivates of *LAṬ* where the second carries a derived root with affix *yaÑ*. The first derives with the introduction of *Śnā*. Derivational histories of (54) *yūyatuḥ* and (55) *ūyuh* are discussed in the appendix (III: 698). Our next example (56) (*vyadh* + *Kta*) + *sU* → *viddhaḥ* illustrates that *v* of the root does not go through *samprasāraṇa* because *y*, another *samprasāraṇa*, follows (6.1.36 *na samprasāraṇe* . . .). Thus, we get the *samprasāraṇa* of *y* followed by replacing *t* of *Kta* with *dh* (8.2.40 *jhaṣastathor* . . .). The *dh* of the root is then replaced with *d* (8.4.52 *jhalām jaś jhaṣi*). Thus, *v(y→i)dh* + *Kta* → *vidh* + (*t*→*dh*)*a* → *vi(dh→d)* + *dha* = *viddha* + *sU* → *viddhaḥ*. The next two derivates of *niṣṭhā* illustrate *samprasāraṇa* on *vraśc* of (57) (*vraśc* + *Kta*) + *sU*) and (58) (*vr̥śc* + *KtavatU*) + *sU* where *samprasāraṇa* yields *vr̥śc* + *ta*. The *t* of the *niṣṭhā* is replaced with *n* (8.2.45 *oidtaś ca*). The *s* of the conjunct at the end is deleted (8.2.29 *skoḥ samyog* . . .) and *c* is replaced with *k* (*kutva*; 8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ*). The *n* of *na* of *vr̥k* + *na* is then replaced with *ṇ* (*ṇatva*). Recall here that the *ś* of *vr̥śc* is technically *s* which, before *c*, gets replaced with *ś* (8.4.39 *stoḥ ścunā ścuḥ*). Its deletion by 8.2.29 *skoḥ samyog* . . . is accomplished with the understanding that it is *s*.

Derivational details of (59) *var̥vṛścyaṭe* are similar to many derivates of



yaṆ already discussed. Note that augment *riK* is here introduced to the *abhyāsa* (7.4.90 *riḡrduḡpadhasya ca*). Since there being no *r* in the *upadhā* ‘penultimate position’, a *vārttika* proposal is made (ad 7.4.90: *ut: riḡrtvata iti vaktavyam*). Similar rules apply in deriving (60) *paripṛcchate*. Recall that augment *tUK* is here introduced by 6.1.71 *che ca*. Examples (61) *bhrijjati* and (62) *baribhrijjate* involve similar operational steps. Note, however, that *s* of *bhrasja* is replaced with *d* (*jaṣtva*; 8.4.52 *jhalām jaś jhaśi*). This *d* is then replaced with *j* (*ścutva*; 8.4.39 *stoḥ ścunā ścuḥ*). Thus, *bhra(s→d→j)j + ŚaP + tiP→bh(ra→r)jj + a + ti = bhrijjati*.

6.1.36 *apasprdhethām . . .*

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| (63) <i>apasprdhethām</i> | (68) <i>śrātā</i>   |
| (64) <i>ānrcuḥ</i>        | (69) <i>śritam</i>  |
| (65) <i>ānrhuḥ</i>        | (70) <i>āsīr</i>    |
| (66) <i>cicyuṣe</i>       | (71) <i>āsīrtta</i> |
| (67) <i>tityāja</i>       |                     |

These, still again, are derivatives where both *bāhulaka* and *nipātana* are invoked. Our first example, i.e., (64) *apasprdhethām*, derives from *spardh + LAN*, where *LAN* is replaced with the second person dual middle ending *āthām*. Iteration, *samprasāraṇa* of *r* and deletion of *a* is all accomplished via *nipātana*. Our next two examples, i.e., (65) *ānrcuḥ* and (66) *ānrhuḥ*, are derivatives of *LIT* introduced after verbal roots *archA*. These are third personal active plural forms where *LIT* is subsequently replaced with *us*. An application of *samprasāraṇa* and deletion of *ā* is accomplished via *nipātana*. Iteration and operations relative to *abhyāsa* then follow. Note that lengthening of *a* and augment *nUT* are accomplished by 7.4.70 *ata ādeḥ* and 7.4.71 *tasmān nuḍ . . .*, respectively.

Examples (66) *cicyuṣe* and (67) *tityāja* derive from *cyu + (LIT→thās→se)* and *tyaj + (LIT→NaL)*, where iteration, *samprasāraṇa* of *y* (in the *abhyāsa*) are major applications. The first also involves a replacement in *ṣ* (*ṣatva*). The second involves a *vṛddhi* replacement similar to the preceding *a* of the vocalic sequence. Note also that augment *iT* in *cicyuṣe* is also blocked by *nipātana*. Example (68) *śrātā* derives from *śrīN + Kta* where *śrā* is introduced as a replacement via *nipātana*. Example (69) *śritam* replaces long *ī* of *śrī* by its short counterpart, again via *nipātana*. The last two examples, i.e., (70) *āsīr* and (71) *āsīrtta*, both have *śrīN* with the preverb *āN*. They both get *śrī* replaced with *śīr*. The first is a derivative of *KuIP* before which *śīr* replaces *śrī*. The second is a derivative of *niṣṭhā* suffix *Kta* where *t* of *Kta* is saved from being replaced with *n*, again via *nipātana*.

6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali*

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|---------------------|------------------------|
| (72) <i>didivān</i> | (73) <i>didivāmsau</i> |
|---------------------|------------------------|

(74) *didivāṃsaḥ*(77) *jīradānuḥ*(75) *gaudheraḥ*(78) *āsremāṇam*(76) *paceraṇ*

Note that (72) *didivān*, (73) *didivāṃsau* and (74) *didivāṃsaḥ* are nominative singular, dual and plural forms of *didivas*, a derivate of *KvasU* introduced after *div*. Follow derivational patterns of *papivān* and *jakṣivān* under the appendix of 3.2.107 *kvasuś ca* (III: 745). Refer to the appendix (II: 418–20) under 1.1.59 *dvirvacane*’ *ci* for derivational details of (75) *gaudheraḥ*, (76) *paceraṇ*, (77) *jīradānuḥ* and (78) *āsremāṇam*.

6.1.68 *halṇyābbhyo dīrghāt . . .*(79) *abibhar*(81) *abhinar*(80) *ajāgar*(82) *abhino’ tra*

Example (79) derives from  $bhṛ\tilde{N} + \acute{S}aP + (LAN\rightarrow tiP)$ , where  $\acute{S}aP$  goes through deletion (2.4.75 *juhotyādibhyaḥ . . .*),  $bhṛ$  goes through iteration (6.1.10 *ślau*) and operations relative to *abhyāsa*. This yields:  $bhṛ + bhṛ + t$ . The *i* of *tiP* is, of course, deleted by 3.4.100 *itaś ca*. An application of 7.4.66 *ur at* is followed by 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ* to produce  $bh(\dot{r}\rightarrow ar) + bhṛ + t \rightarrow bha(\dot{r}\rightarrow \phi) + bhṛ + t$ . Rule 7.4.76  $bhṛ\tilde{n}ām$  it then introduces *i* to replace *a* of the *abhyāsa*. This gives us  $bhi + bhṛ + t$  where *guṇa* (7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārddha . . .*) of  $\dot{r}$  and introduction of  $a\dot{T}$  produces  $a(\dot{T}) + bhi + bh(\dot{r}\rightarrow ar) + t$ . Rule 8.4.53 *abhyāse car ca* then applies to replace the *bh* of *bhi* with *b*. Thus,  $a + (bh\rightarrow b)i + bhar + t$ . Our present rule then deletes *t* and we get (79) *abibhar*. Example (80) *ajāgar* follows similar applications except for iteration. For, this root belongs to the *adādi* class. The *guṇa* of *jāgr* is accomplished by 7.3.85 *jāgro’ vicīṇ . . .*. The last example, i.e., (81) *abhinar*, derives from  $a\dot{T} + bhid + \acute{S}naM + (LAN\rightarrow siP)$ . Our present rule deletes the *s* of *siP*. The final *d* of  $a + bh(\acute{S}naM)d + (s\rightarrow \phi)$  is then replaced with *rU* (8.2.75 *daś ca*). The *r* is further replaced with *u* (6.1.112 *ato ror . . .*), followed by its *guṇa* (6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ*) before *atra* of (82) *abhino’ tra*. The *a* of *abhino atra* will then be subjected to the *pūrvārūpa* of 6.1.108 *enaḥ padāntād ati*.

6.1.75 *dīrghāt*(83) *apacācchāyate*(84) *vicācchāyate*

The examples are two derivatives of *cho* ‘to cut, pierce’ in  $LA\dot{T}$  where the roots *cācchāya* and *vichāya* end in  $ya\tilde{N}$  and are used with the preverbs *apa* and *vi*, respectively. Recall that, given *cho* +  $ya\tilde{N}$  (3.1.22 *dhātor ekāco . . .*), the root-final *o* is replaced with  $\bar{a}$  (6.1.45 *ādeca upadeśe . . .*). Iteration (*dvitva*) and shortening (7.4.59 *hrasvaḥ*) of the *abhyāsa* then produce  $ch(\bar{a}\rightarrow a) + ch\bar{a} + ya$ . The *ch* of the *abhyāsa* then goes through a replacement in *c* (*cartva*;

8.4.55 *khari ca*). We thus get *cachāya*. The *a* of the *abhyāsa* is then replaced with long of 7.4.83 *dīrgho' kitaḥ*. We derive *cāchāya* + (*LAT*→*ta*)→*apa* + *cācchāyate* = (83) *apacācchāyate*, with introduction of *tUK* (6.1.73 *che ca*) before *ch*. Similar rules apply in deriving (84) *vicācchāyate*.

#### 6.4.55 *ayāmantālvāyyetnviṣṇuṣu*

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|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| (85) <i>gaṇḍayantaḥ</i> | (89) <i>sprhayāyyaḥ</i>  |
| (86) <i>maṇḍayantaḥ</i> | (90) <i>grhayāyyaḥ</i>   |
| (87) <i>sprhayāluḥ</i>  | (91) <i>stanayitnuḥ</i>  |
| (88) <i>grhayāluḥ</i>   | (92) <i>poṣayişṇavaḥ</i> |

Refer to derivational details of *kārayāñcakāra* and *hārayāñcakāra* under the appendix of rule 3.1.40 *kṛñcānuprayujyate liṭi* (III: 717–18). Our first two examples, i.e., (85) *gaṇḍayantaḥ* and (86) *maṇḍayantaḥ*, are derived from (*gaḍI* + *ÑiC*) + *jhaC* and (*maḍI* + *ÑiC*) + *jhaC* where the *Uṇādi* affix *jhaC* (3.18: *tṛbhūvahibhas* . . .) is replaced with *anta* (7.1.3 *jho' ntaḥ*). Note that the root is marked with *I* as an *it* (*idit*). Consequently, augment *nUM* is introduced by 7.1.58 *idito num dhātoḥ*. An application of non-deletion of *ÑiC*, followed by a replacement in *ay* of this rule, produces *ga(nUM)ḍ + (N)i(C) + (jha→ata)→ga(n→ṇ)ḍ + (i→ay) + ata = gaṇḍayata + sU→(84) gaṇḍayataḥ* and *maḍI + ÑiC + jhaC→ma(n→ṇ)ḍayata = maṇḍayata + sU→(86) maṇḍayataḥ*.

Deriving (87) *sprhayāluḥ* and (88) *grhayāluḥ* from (*sprhi* + *āluC*) + *sU→sprhayāluḥ*, and (*grhi* + *āluC*) + *sU→grhayāluḥ*, also involves non-deletion of *ÑiC* and a replacement in *ay*. Note here that *sprha* and *grha* are accepted as roots of the *cur-ādi* class ending in *a* (*ad-anta*). This *a*, at the end of *sprha* and *grha* before *ÑiC*, is subsequently deleted (6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ*). Affix *āluC* is introduced by 3.2.158 *sprhigrhipati* . . . with the signification of *tācchilya* 'characteristic nature'. Examples (89) *sprhayāyyaḥ* and (90) *grhayāyyaḥ* are similarly derived with the introduction of affix *āyya* after *sprhi* and *grhi* (*Uṇādi* 3.93: *tanudakṣisprhi* . . .). Affix *ÑiC* is saved from deletion and *ay* again comes as a replacement. Example (91) *stanayitnuḥ* is derived from (*stana* + *ÑiC*) + *itnu→stan(a→ϕ) + (i→ay) + itnu = stanayitnu + sU→stanayitnuḥ*. Here again we find *a*-deletion and replacement in *ay*. Refer to derivational details of *pārayişṇavaḥ* under the appendix (III: 754) of 3.2.137 *neś chandasi*. Example (92) *poṣayişṇavaḥ* follows applications similar to *pārayişṇavaḥ*.

#### 6.4.62 *syasicsīyuttāsiṣu* . . .

- |                        |                          |
|------------------------|--------------------------|
| (93) <i>cāyīṣyate</i>  | (99) <i>adāyīṣyate</i>   |
| (94) <i>ceṣyate</i>    | (100) <i>adāṣyate</i>    |
| (95) <i>acāyīṣyate</i> | (101) <i>śamīṣyate</i>   |
| (96) <i>aceṣyate</i>   | (102) <i>śamīṣyate</i>   |
| (97) <i>dāyīṣyate</i>  | (103) <i>śamayīṣyate</i> |
| (98) <i>dāṣyate</i>    | (104) <i>aśamīṣyate</i>  |

- |                           |                           |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| (105) <i>aśamiṣyata</i>   | (122) <i>adiṣātām</i>     |
| (106) <i>aśamayīṣyata</i> | (123) <i>aśāmiṣātām</i>   |
| (107) <i>ghāniṣyate</i>   | (124) <i>aśamiṣātām</i>   |
| (108) <i>haniṣyate</i>    | (125) <i>aśamayīṣātām</i> |
| (109) <i>aghāniṣyata</i>  | (126) <i>aghāniṣātām</i>  |
| (110) <i>ahanīṣyata</i>   | (127) <i>avadhiṣātām</i>  |
| (111) <i>grāhiṣyate</i>   | (128) <i>ahasātām</i>     |
| (112) <i>grahiṣyate</i>   | (129) <i>agrāhiṣātām</i>  |
| (113) <i>agrāhiṣyata</i>  | (130) <i>agrahiṣātām</i>  |
| (114) <i>agrahiṣyata</i>  | (131) <i>adarśiṣātām</i>  |
| (115) <i>darśiṣyate</i>   | (132) <i>adrkṣātām</i>    |
| (116) <i>drakṣyate</i>    | (133) <i>śāmiṣiṣṭa</i>    |
| (117) <i>adarśiṣyata</i>  | (134) <i>śāmiṣiṣṭa</i>    |
| (118) <i>adrakṣyata</i>   | (135) <i>śamayīṣiṣṭa</i>  |
| (119) <i>acāyiṣātām</i>   | (136) <i>cāyitā</i>       |
| (120) <i>aceṣātām</i>     | (137) <i>cetā</i>         |
| (121) <i>adāyiṣātām</i>   |                           |

Refer to derivational details of *karīṣyati* (I: 511–12) and *kāriṣyate* (III: 728) under the appendices of rules 1.4.13 *yasmāt pratyayavidhis . . .* and 3.1.87 *karmavat karmaṇā . . .*, respectively. Derivate (93) *cāyiṣyate* differs from *karīṣyati* in the sense that its  $L\dot{R}\dot{T} \rightarrow ta$  denotes *bhāva* ‘root-sense’ or *karman* ‘object’. A middle suffix, as against an active, is introduced with the signification of *bhāva* and *karman* of 1.3.13 *bhāvakarmanoh*. Of course, *kāriṣyate* is a derivate of *ṆiC* ‘causative’. Thus,  $ci + (L\dot{R}\dot{T} \rightarrow ta) \rightarrow c(i \rightarrow ai) + i\dot{T} + sya + ta \rightarrow c(ai \rightarrow āy) + i + sya + t(a \rightarrow e) = cāyiṣyate$ , where we get the application of *ciṇvadbhāva*,  $i\dot{T}$ , *vṛddhi* and subsequent replacement in *āy*. We will not get  $i\dot{T}$  if the option of *ciṇvadbhāva* is not accepted. Thus,  $ci + sya + t(a \rightarrow e) \rightarrow c(i \rightarrow e) + sya + te =$  (94) *ceṣyate*, with *guṇa* and replacement in *ṣ* (*ṣatva*). Derivates of  $L\dot{R}\dot{N}$ , (95)  $ci + (L\dot{R} \rightarrow ta) = acāyiṣyata$  and (96) *aceṣyata*, can be similarly derived, with augment  $a\dot{T}$  and no replacement in *e* (*etva*) of *ṭi*. Forms such as (97) *dāyiṣyate*, (98) *dāsyate* and (99) *adāyiṣyata*, (100) *adāsyata* are sets of optional middle derivates of  $L\dot{R}\dot{T}$  and  $L\dot{R}\dot{N}$ , respectively, introduced after *dā*. Note that, in addition to *sya*, we also get augment  $yUK$  (7.3.33 *āto yuk ciṇkṛtoḥ*) when the option of *ciṇvadbhāva* is accepted. Thus, *dāyiṣyate/adāyiṣyata* and *dāsyate/adāsyata* in each set. Now consider (101) *śāmi* +  $(L\dot{R}\dot{T} \rightarrow ta) = śāmiṣyate and (102) *śāmiṣyate* where verbal root *śāmi* ends in *ṆiC*. This affix is deleted by 6.4.51 *ner aniṭi* before the optional application of *ciṇvadbhāva* is accepted. It is also because of *ciṇvadbhāva* that 6.4.93 *ciṇṇamulo’ nyatarasyām* offers an optional long replacement for the short (6.4.92 *mitām hrasvah*) penultimate vowel of the *aṅga*. We thus get form one (101) *śāmiṣyate*. No optional long replacement will give us form two (102) *śāmiṣyate*. No optional *ciṇvadbhāva* will bring augment  $i\dot{T}$  of 7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*, and will produce (103) *śamayīṣyate* with *guṇa* and *ay* of *i*. One can similarly derive the three$

derivates of  $LR\tilde{N}$ : (104) *asāmiṣyata*, (105) *asamiṣyata* and (106) *asamayīṣyata*.

Now consider (107) *ghāṇiṣyate*, (108) *hanīṣyate*, and (109) *aghāṇiṣyata*, (110) *ahanīṣyata*, the two derivational sets of *han* with *sya* in ( $LRT \rightarrow ta$ ) and ( $LR\tilde{N} \rightarrow ta$ ), respectively. Derivates of  $LRT$ , when opting for *ciṇvadbhāva*, will go through a replacement in *gh* for *h* of *han* (7.3.54 *ho hanter* . . .). Additionally, we also get a replacement in *vrddhi*, due mainly to  $\tilde{N}$  as an *it* of *ciṇ* (*ciṇvadbhāva*). Derivates of  $LT$  will, additionally, have augment  $aT$ . Thus, *aghāṇiṣyata* and *ahanīṣyata*. Now consider (111) *grāhiṣyate* and (112) *grahiṣyate* where we get optional *ciṇvadbhāva*, augment  $iT$  and penultimate *vrddhi* similar to preceding examples. A replacement in *ś* for *s* of *sya* produces *grāhiṣyate*. But we also get *grahiṣyate* where  $iT$ , in the absence of the option of *ciṇvadbhāva*, is introduced by 7.3.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*. An absence of *ciṇvadbhāva* and *upadhā-vrddhi* is here compensated by long replacement for the short of *i* of  $iT$  (7.2.37 *graho' liṭi dīrghaḥ*). Corresponding forms of  $LR\tilde{N}$ , i.e., (113) *agrahiṣyata* and (114) *agrahiṣyata*, offer nothing new. Examples (115) *darśiṣyate*, (116) *drakṣyate*; and (117) *adarśiṣyata*, (118) *adrakṣyata* illustrate examples of  $LRT$  and  $LR\tilde{N}$  with *sya*, respectively. Option of *ciṇvadbhāva* and  $iT$  offers *guṇa*, followed by *r* (*rapara*). Thus we will get  $d(r \rightarrow ar)\acute{s} + iT + (s \rightarrow \acute{s})ya + t(a \rightarrow e) = darśiṣyate$ . No option of *ciṇvadbhāva* will produce *drakṣyate* with augment  $aM$  (6.1.58 *sṛjidiśor jhaly am akiti*). The  $\acute{s}$  of  $d\acute{r}\acute{s}$  will then be replaced with *r* ( $yaN$ ). Its  $\acute{s}$  will similarly be replaced with *ś* (8.2.36 *vraścabhraśjaśja* . . .). Rule 8.2.41 *śadhoḥ kaḥ si* then replaces the *ś* with *k*. Finally, 8.3.57 *iṅkoḥ* replaces the *s* of *sya* with *ś* to produce:  $d\acute{r} + a(M)\acute{s} + sya + te \rightarrow d(r \rightarrow r) + a(\acute{s} \rightarrow \acute{s} \rightarrow k) + sya + te \rightarrow drak + (s \rightarrow \acute{s})ya + te = drakṣyate$ . Forms of  $LR\tilde{N}$ , (117) *adarśiṣyata* and (118) *adrakṣyata*, will, of course, derive with augment  $aT$ .

Examples (119) *acāyīṣātām* and (120) *aceṣātām* illustrate optional examples of third dual middle (*ātām*; 3.4.78 *tiptasjhi* . . .) of ( $LUN \rightarrow \hat{a}tām$ ) where  $CLI$  is replaced with  $sIC$  and augment  $aT$  is introduced. Thus we get  $aT + ci(\tilde{N}) + (CLI \rightarrow sIC) + (LUN \rightarrow \hat{a}tām) \rightarrow aci + s + \hat{a}tām$ , where the option of *ciṇvadbhāva* introduces augment  $iT$  and *i* of *ci* is replaced with *āy* via its *vrddhi* replacement in *ai*. Thus,  $ac(i \rightarrow ai \rightarrow \acute{a}y) + i(T) + s + \hat{a}tām = acāy + i + (s \rightarrow \acute{s}) + \hat{a}tām = acāyīṣātām$ . We will get *aceṣātām* with a replacement in *guṇa* if the option of *ciṇvadbhāva* is not accepted. We will similarly get derivates of *dā* such as (121) *adāyīṣātām* and (122) *adiṣātām*. The first is derived from  $dā + (LUN \rightarrow \hat{a}tām) \rightarrow aT + dā + sIC + \hat{a}tām \rightarrow a + dā + iT + yUK + s + \hat{a}tām$ . We will get the  $\acute{a}$  of *dā* replaced with *i* (1.2.27 *sthāghvor ic ca*). The *guṇa* of *i* will be negated because of *K* as an *it* status of  $sIC$ . We will thus get *adiṣātām*.

Examples (123) *asāmiṣātām*, (124) *asamiṣātām* (125) *asamayīṣātām* are derivates of  $LUN$ , introduced after verbal root *śami* ending in  $\tilde{N}iC$ . An optional *ciṇvadbhāva*, optional penultimate lengthening and deletion of  $\tilde{N}iC$  will produce *asāmiṣātām* and *asamiṣātām*. No *ciṇvadbhāva* will bring  $iT$  of 7.3.37 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*, *guṇa* and replacement in *ay*, thereby pro-

ducing *asamayīṣātām*. These forms are similar to (104) *asāmiṣyata*, (105) *asamiṣyata* and (106) *asamayīṣyata*. We will similarly get examples of *han* such as (126) *aghāniṣātām*, (127) *avadhiṣātām* and (128) *ahasātām* where the first will go through *kutva*, etc., similar to (109) *aghāniṣyata*. The second and third forms will have optional replacement of *han* with *vadha*. We will thus get *avadhiṣātām* and *ahasātām*. Note that *ahasātām* will have deletion of *n* (6.4.37 *anudāttopadeśavanati* . . .) because of the *kit* status of *sIC* (1.2.14 *hanaḥ sic*).

Our *LUN* derives of *grah*, i.e., (129) *agrāhiṣātām* and (130) *agrahiṣātām*, will opt for *ciṇvadbhāva* and *vṛddhi* of the penultimate vowel. Example (129) *agrahiṣātām* will have the long *i*-replacement of 7.2.37 *graho' liṭi dīrghaḥ*. Refer to earlier forms of these verbal roots for particular operations with or without the option of *ciṇvadbhāva*. Examples (133) *śamiṣīṣṭa*, (134) *śamiṣīṣṭa* and (135) *śamayīṣīṣṭa* illustrate derivatives of *siyUT* (cf. II: 436–37). The last two examples, i.e., (136) *cāyitā* and (137) *cetā* are derivatives of *tās*.

#### 6.4.72 āḍ ajādīnām

- |                       |                         |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| (138) <i>aikṣīṣṭa</i> | (146) <i>aikṣīṣyata</i> |
| (139) <i>aihiṣṭa</i>  | (147) <i>aihiṣyata</i>  |
| (140) <i>aubjūt</i>   | (148) <i>aubjīṣyat</i>  |
| (141) <i>aumbhūt</i>  | (149) <i>aumbhiṣyat</i> |
| (142) <i>aikṣata</i>  | (150) <i>aijyata</i>    |
| (143) <i>aihata</i>   | (151) <i>auṣpyata</i>   |
| (144) <i>aubjat</i>   | (152) <i>auhyata</i>    |
| (145) <i>aumbhat</i>  |                         |

An *aṅga* which begins with a vowel and occurs before *LUN*, *LAN* and *LRN* receives augment *āT* at the beginning. Thus,  $\bar{ik}\bar{s} + (LUN \rightarrow ta) \rightarrow \bar{ik}\bar{s} + i\bar{T} + sIC + ta \rightarrow \bar{ā}T + \bar{ik}\bar{s} + i + s + ta \rightarrow (\bar{ā} + \bar{i} \rightarrow ai)k\bar{s} + i (s \rightarrow \bar{s}) + (t \rightarrow \bar{t})a = (138) aikṣīṣṭa$ . Rule 6.1.90 *āṭas ca* will offer a single replacement in *vṛddhi* for *ā* and *i*, thereby yielding:  $(\bar{ā} + \bar{i} \rightarrow ai)k\bar{s} + i + s + ta$ . Refer to *kṛṣīṣṭa* (II: 339–40) for additional details. Example (139) *aihiṣṭa* is derived from *ih* +  $(LUN \rightarrow ta)$  with similar applications. Our active (*parasmaipada*) derives *ubj* +  $(LUN \rightarrow t(i \rightarrow \phi)) = (140) aubjūt$  and *umbh* +  $(LUN \rightarrow t(i \rightarrow \phi)) = (141) aumbhūt$  will receive *iT* (7.3.96 *astisico' prkte*) in addition to *āT*. Their *sIC* will then be deleted by 8.2.28 *iṭ iṭi*. A *savarṇa-dīrgha* application on  $(\bar{ā} + u \rightarrow au)bj + i + (sIC \rightarrow \phi) + i + t \rightarrow aubj(i + \bar{i} \rightarrow \bar{i}) + t$  and  $(\bar{ā} + u \rightarrow au)mbh + i + (sIC \rightarrow \phi) + \bar{i} + t \rightarrow aumbh(i + \bar{i} \rightarrow \bar{i}) + t$  will finally produce *aubjūt* and *aumbhūt*. Examples of *LAN*, i.e., (142) *aikṣata* and (143) *aihata*, derive from  $\bar{ik}\bar{s} + (LAN \rightarrow ta) \rightarrow \bar{ā}T + \bar{ik}\bar{s} + \bar{śa}P + ta$  and  $\bar{ih} + (LAN \rightarrow ta) = \bar{ā}T + \bar{ih} + \bar{śa}P + ta$ . The *ā* of *āT* and *i* of roots will yield a single replacement in *vṛddhi* (6.1.90 *āṭas ca*). This same also applies to active derivatives (144) *aubjat* and (145) *aumbhat*, where *i* of *ti* gets deleted by 3.4.100 *itaś ca*.

The middle derivatives of  $LR\dot{N}$ , i.e., (146) *aikṣisyata*, (147) *aihiṣyata*, will receive  $\bar{a}T$  and a single replacement in  $vṛddhi$ . They will also receive the usual *syā* and  $iT$ . Their active counterparts, i.e., (148) *aubjīṣyat* and (149) *aumbhīṣyat* are not any different. They will, of course, have the application of 3.4.100 *itaś ca*.

Our last three examples, i.e., (150) *aijyata*, (151) *aupayta* and (152) *auhyata*, are third person singular middle derivatives of  $LAN$  introduced after *yaj*, *vap* and *vah*. *Kāśikā* offers operational steps as follows: *ta* as a replacement of  $LAN$  (*lādeśa*), *yaK*, *samprasāraṇa* and  $\bar{a}T$ . Refer to my notes under this rule concerning obligatory and non-obligatory (*nityānitya*) aspects of rule applications.

6.4.77 *aciśnudhātubhruvām yvoriyaṇuvānau*

(153) <i>āpnuvanti</i>	(160) <i>niyau</i>
(154) <i>rādhnuvanti</i>	(161) <i>niyaḥ</i>
(155) <i>śaknuvanti</i>	(162) <i>luvau</i>
(156) <i>cikṣiyatuḥ</i>	(163) <i>luvaḥ</i>
(157) <i>cikṣiyuḥ</i>	(164) <i>bhruvau</i>
(158) <i>luluvatuḥ</i>	(165) <i>bhruvaḥ</i>
(159) <i>luluvuḥ</i>	

This rule introduces  $iyAN$  and  $uvAN$  as replacements for the final *i* and *u* of an *aṅga* which ends in *śnu* (3.1.73 *svādibhyah śnuḥ*), or of a *dhātu*, or else, the  $\bar{u}$  of *bhrū*. Of course, when a vowel-initial affix, follows. The first three examples derive from  $\bar{a}p + (LAT + jhi) \rightarrow \bar{a}p + (\dot{S})nu + (jh \rightarrow ant)i \rightarrow \bar{a}p + n(u \rightarrow uvAN) + anti = (152) \bar{a}pnuvanti$ . Similar applications are witnessed in (154) *rādhnuvanti* from *rādh + Śnu + jhi* and (155) *śaknuvanti* from *śak + Śnu + jhi*.

Recall that *atus* and *us* are third person dual and plural active replacements of  $LIT$  (3.4.82 *parasmaipadānām . . .*). Examples (156) *cikṣiyatuḥ* and (157) *cikṣiyuḥ* thus derive from *kṣi + (LIT → atus)* and *kṣi + (LIT → us)*, where *i* of *cikṣi + atus* and *cikṣi + us* are replaced with  $uvAN$  after iteration and related operations. Thus,  $cikṣ(i \rightarrow iyAN) + atus \rightarrow cikṣiyatu(s \rightarrow ḥ)$  and  $cikṣ(i \rightarrow iyAN) + us \rightarrow cikṣiy + u(s \rightarrow ḥ) = cikṣiyuḥ$ . Examples (158) *luluvatuḥ* and (159) *luluvuḥ* illustrate a replacement in  $uvAN$  for *u* of *lulu*. Our next four derivatives of  $nī$  and  $lū$  end in affix  $KvIP$  (3.2.61 *satsūdviṣa . . .*; 3.2.76 *kviṣ ca*). Note here that  $KvIP$  goes through total deletion (*sarvāpahāriḥ*) and an item which ends in a  $KvIP$  does not abandon its status as a *dhātu* (cf. *kvibantā dhātutvaṃ na jahati*). Thus,  $n(\bar{i} \rightarrow iyAN) + au \rightarrow (160) \text{niyau}$  and  $n(\bar{i} \rightarrow iyAN) + Ja(s \rightarrow ḥ) \rightarrow (161) \text{niyaḥ}$ . We similarly get (162) *luvau* and (163) *luvaḥ* with a replacement in  $uvAN$ . This rule makes a special mention of *bhrū* because it is a nominal stem. We thus get  $bhr(\bar{u} \rightarrow uvAN + au) = (164) \text{bhruvau}$  and  $bhr(\bar{u} \rightarrow uvAN + (J)as \rightarrow (165) \text{bhruvaḥ}$ .

6.4.149 *sūryatiṣyamatsyānām ya upadhāyāḥ*(166) *saurī balākā*(167) *taiṣam ahaḥ*(168) *taiṣī rātriḥ*(169) *āgastī*(170) *āgastīyaḥ*(171) *matsī*

This rule offers deletion of the penultimate *y* of a *bha*, namely *sūrya*, *tiṣya*, *agastya* and *matsya*, provided *ī* or a *taddhita* follows. We derive (166) *saurī* from *saurya* + *ÑiP*, where *saurya* derives from *sūrya* + *Ñas* + *aN* → *s(ū→au)rya* + *a* → *saury(a→ϕ)* + *a* = *saurya* with initial *vrddhi* and deletion of *a* (6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*). Note here that yet another deletion of *a* is accomplished when deriving *saurī* from *saury(a→ϕ)* + *ÑiP* → *saury* + *ī*. The *y* of *saury* is then deleted by our present rule. This deletion of *y* is accomplished by treating deletion of *a* as *asiddha* ‘suspended’ (6.4.22 *asiddhavad atrābhāt*). For, if *a*-deletion is not treated as *asiddha*, *y*-deletion cannot apply. That is, *y* will then be final, and not penultimate. The first deletion of *a* cannot be treated as *asiddha* because it is conditioned by affix *aN*. The deletion of *y* is conditioned by *ī* of the feminine affix. Deletion of the second *a*, and the penultimate deletion of *y*, both have similar locus (*samānāśraya*). This *a* is treated as *asiddha*. Deriving (167) *taiṣam* from *taiṣa* + *sU* and (168) *taiṣī* from *taiṣī* + *sU* is easy. Note, however, that *taiṣa* derives from *tiṣya* + *aN* with initial *vrddhi*. We also find deletion of *a* and *y* of *taiṣya* before *aN*. Another *a*-deletion is accomplished when affix *ÑiṢ* (4.1.15 *ṭiddhāṇaṇ . . .*) follows *taiṣa*. We similarly derive (169) *āgastī* from (*agastya* + *Ñas* + *aN*) + *ÑiP*, with the signification ‘a female offspring of Agastya, a sage’ (4.1.114 *ṛṣyandhakavṛṣṇi . . .*). Here again, we find *a* and *y* deletions before affix *aN*. We derive (170) *āgastīyaḥ* by further introducing affix *cha*, again with *a* and *y* deletions. The word (171) *matsī* ends in a *ÑiṢ* (4.1.41 *ṣid gaurādibhyaś ca*) introduced after *matsya*. This derivate also involves *a*-deletion which, in turn, facilitates *y*-deletion via *asiddhatva*.



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